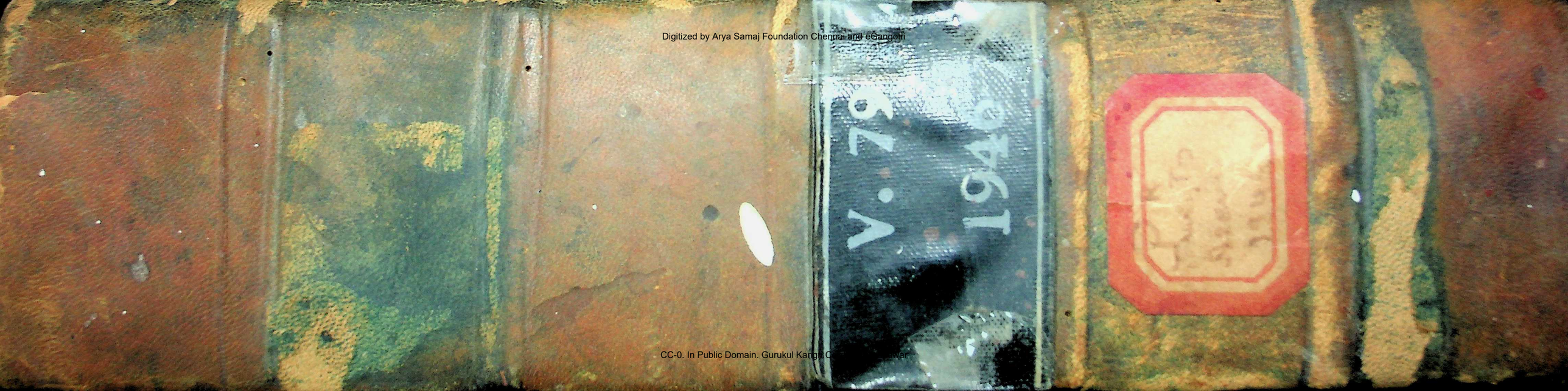
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri C[illegible]war.

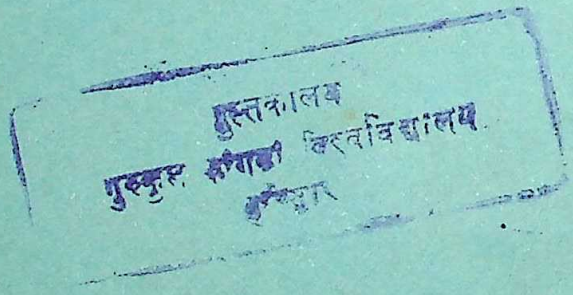
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

110825

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या January to December
पुस्तक संख्या 1442 1946
आगत पंजिका संख्या

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

70110

एक मनोनीत स्थ १९८४-१९८५

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

110825
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
110825

THE MODERN REVIEW

ओ३म्

जनवरी १९४६ से दिसम्बर १९४६ तक

नम्बर ४६७६४-८० तक

110825

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Ramakrishna Chennai and eGangotri

The MODERN REVIEW

FOUNDER

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

7-1-194

1946 :: JANUARY

This Fate-Forged Bond *(a poem)* · *Rabindranath Tagore*

Post-War Economic Depression in India : *P. C. Jain*

An Open Letter to the Government of India : *Taraknath Das*

Drink Control in Great Britain : *H. C. Mookerjee*

Indian Shipping—Past and Present : *Shri Narayan Agarwal*

The All-India Writers' Conference : *K. S. Venkataramani*

An Architect's Experiment in Living and Teaching *(illust.)* : *USIS*

The Marvels of Mohen-Jo-Daro *(illust.)* : *K. N. Vaswani*

U. S. Museum Teaches Use of Modern Mechanisms *(illust.)* : *USIS*

The Gita and War : *S. N. L. Shrivastava*

Post-War Reconstruction in the Indian States : *K. V. Rao*

Delusion of Pakistanism : *N. N. Chanda*

Imperial Britain : *Essenjee*

The South Indian : *Gurdial Mallik*

Sarojini Naidu : *Om Prakash Mohan*

The Vitolias : *D. P. Khanapurkar*

1945—It Ended Better than It Began: *P. R. Sriniwas*

LAND	Rs. 8/8/-
FOREIGN	Rs. 14/8/-
SINGLE COPY	As. -/12/-

Address:
120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Phone:
B.B. 3281

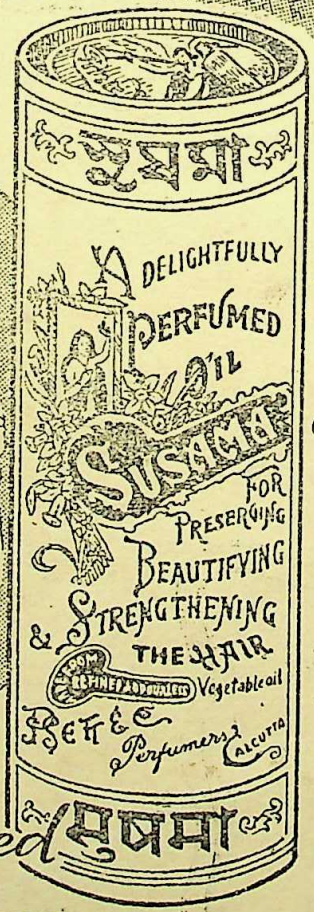
EDITOR : KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BY ANY NAME
YOU CALL A
HAIR OIL
WON'T SMELL
AS SWEET AS

Susama



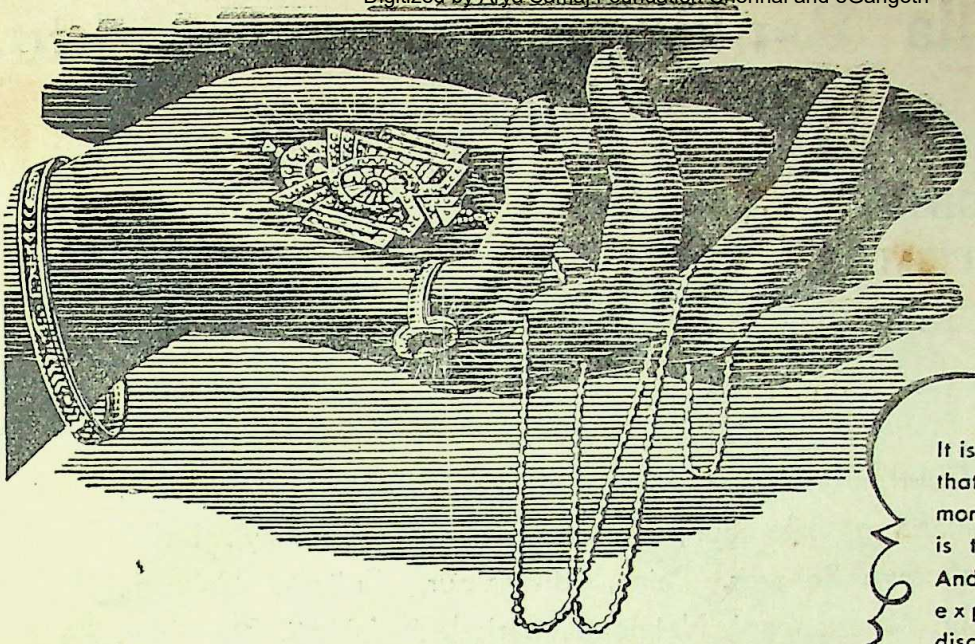


Time & Vogue
may change
but Susama remains unchanged

P. SETT & CO., LTD. CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



How lovely..

It is the Mind and not the Lips that speaks out in rare moments of delight and that is the genuine compliment. And it is by our years' experience we have discovered the secrect in presenting JEWELLERY upto the design of every mind.

For your selection we have a wide range to offer always. Individual designs can also be made to please your caprice.

COMARTS M.B.S-4

M B SIRKAR & SONS

Manufacturing Jewellers

DEALERS IN GUINEA (SOVEREIGN) GOLD ONLY

124,124,1-BOWBAZAR STREET · CALCUTTA

PHONE : B. B. 1761 :: TELEGRAM : BRILLIANTS

HANDS THAT COMFORT

Blessed are the hands that comfort the sick. We are happy in helping their noble cause with our products.



COMARTS

RUBBER CLOTH
HOT WATER BAGS
ICE BAGS
AIR BEDS & PILLOWS
AIR RINGS & CUSHIONS
SURGICAL GLOVES
SURGICAL APRONS
ETC.

Bengal Waterproof Works (1940) Ltd.

CALCUTTA ... NAGPUR ... BOMBAY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Comilla Banking Corporation Ltd.

Established—1914.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL ... ... Rs. 3,00,00,000/-

ISSUED & SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ... Rs. 1,00,00,000/-

PAID-UP CAPITAL ... ... (over) ... Rs. 56,00,000/-

RESERVE FUNDS ... ... Rs. 25,00,000/-

HEAD OFFICE :—COMILLA

BRANCHES:

Calcutta, High Court, Burrabazar, South Calcutta, New Market, Hatkhola, Dibrugarh, Chittagong, Jalpaiguri, Bombay, Mandvi (Bombay), Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, Patna, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, Hajiganj, Dacca, Nawabpur, Narayanganj, Netaiganj, Barisal, Jhalakhati, Chandpur, Puranbazar, Brahmanbaria, Bazar Branch (Comilla).

London Agents :—Westminster Bank Ltd.

New York Agents :—Bankers' Trust Co. of New York.

Australian Agents :—National Bank of Australasia Ltd.

MANAGING DIRECTOR :—MR. N. C. DATTA, M. L. C.

BENGAL CENTRAL BANK LIMITED

Head Office: 86, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA.

BRANCHES:

IN CALCUTTA	IN BENGAL	IN BEHAR
Harrison Road	Dacca	Patna
Shambazar	Narayanganj	Gaya
Bowbazar	Berhampur	Ranchi
Manicktola	Rangpur	Hazaribagh
Jorasanko	Pabna	Kodarma
Burrabazar	Bogra	Giridih
Bhowanipur	Bankura	Purulia
Howrah	Nabadwip	
Salkia	Krishnagar	

BOMBAY BRANCH OPENED AT 10, CHURCH GATE ST., FORT.

London Agents: MIDLAND BANK LIMITED.

New York Agents: NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

Australian Agents: BANK OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

MANAGING DIRECTOR: MR. J. C. DAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ALL YOU NEED IS *Oatine*

This remarkably beautiful lady has been praised by thousands for her exquisite beauty, and she attributes this achievement to "Oatine".

To achieve beauty, and to preserve it, Oatine is indispensable.



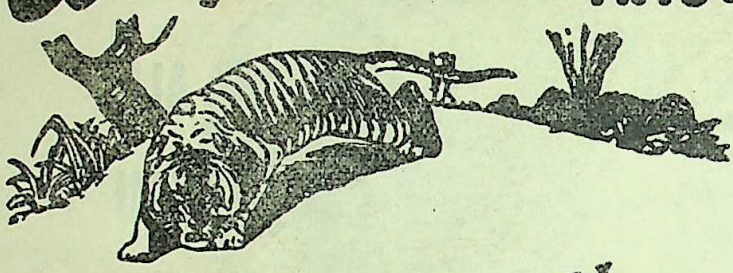
Oatine

SNOW *for* DAY CREAM *for* NIGHT

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cough IS AS DANGEROU THIS ...



TAKE SIROLIN 'ROCHE'



THE BEST REMEDY FOR COUGHS & COLDS

SRI AUROBINDO'S *MAGNUM OPUS*

THE LIFE DIVINE

Vol. I (Revd. 2nd Ed.) ... ... Rs. 6-12

Vol. II ,, ,, ,, ... Rs. 18-0

" This World War has been a terrible catastrophe.....And The Life Divine could not have appeared at a more opportune moment.....slowly and surely it will make its influence felt."

—*Sir Francis Younghusband.*

" He has so clearly expounded the fundamental truths of every religion that followers of each may draw enlightenment from him...." —*The Times Literary Supplement.*

" He represents a new type of thinker in the history of Indian Philosophy, a forerunner and a first classic of a new age of freedom and cosmopolitan collaboration towards which the rapid evolution of India tends."

—*Asia*, New York.

NEW BOOK

SRI AUROBINDO

By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt.

With Illustrations. :: Price : Paper Rs. 8, Full Cloth Rs. 10

" Professor Srinivasa Iyengar's book is an excellent introduction to the study of the sage. It is a glowing tribute to him, giving an outline of his life that illumines his writings." —*The Mail*, Madras.

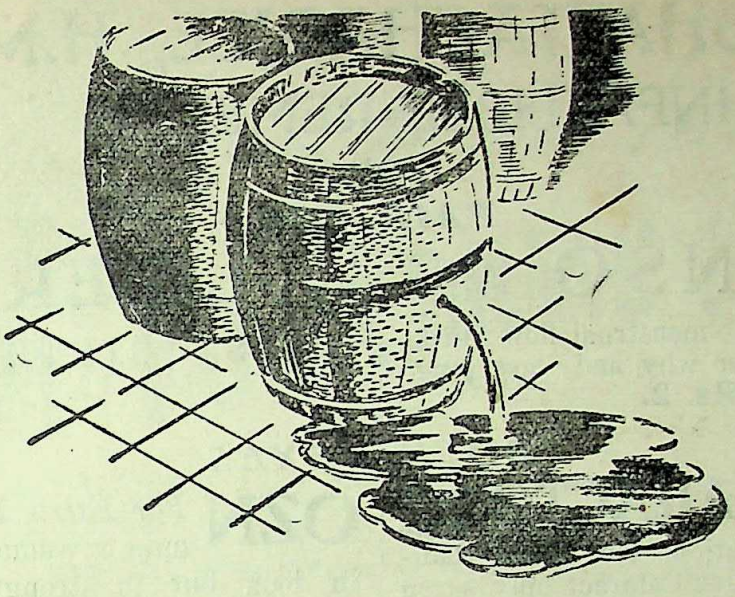
Please write for complete Catalogue:

ARYA PUBLISHING HOUSE,

63, COLLEGE STREET, :: :: CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



STOP WASTE

LOOK out for the leak in your own body! Not necessarily a literal leak, but a leak it is all the same if your system cannot fully utilise the food you take. Much of it is sheer waste unless there is enough Diastase and Pepsin in your stomach to digest the starch and protein which furnish your body with energy and nourishment.



DIAPEPSIN
aids digestion of starch and protein.

UNION DRUG. CALCUTTA

No. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DON'T YOU NEED THEM

Dr. C. BHATTACHARJEE, H.M.D.'S ?

INFALLIBLE REMEDIES

FOR

FAIR SEX



MENSO GOVT. REGD.

Brings back menstrual flow in a day, no matter why and how long suppressed. **Rs. 2.**

LIBERTY—

BEST BIRTH CONTROL

Rs. 2.

BOTH SEXES



CATARACTO Govt. Regd.

No operation—No Risk—Radically Cures Cataract only seven days' trial greatly Benefits. Highly efficacious in all other eye troubles. Waste no time, start using today and get relief. Price **Rs. 2.**

OZN *For Extra Vigour* Makes both man & woman younger not only in look but in strength. It tones up the weak nerves, strengthens the weak glands and infuses full youthful spirit to the weak and run-down. It is for all weakness—Start at once using it. Price **Rs. 4** per bottle.

Ask Your Chemists or Write to—**MENSO CHAMBER,**

120, Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta. Phone: South 2467.

This is only an Announcement and not a Prospectus.

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden		*Mill Site*
Bengal Cotton Estate	MARCH 1942 — 15%	SONARPUR
Tripura	" 1943 — 10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
	" 1944 — 10%	
	" 1945 — (Expectation not below 10%)	

Details of Cloth Selling Agency Scheme on application.

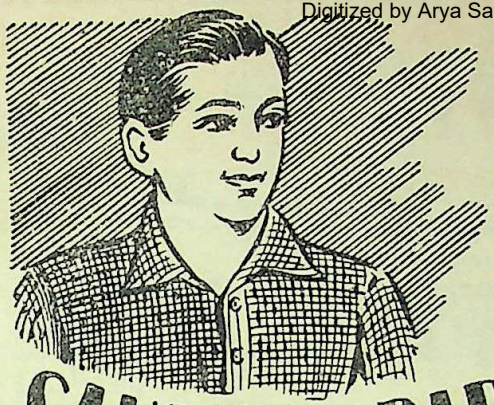
FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED

For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Latest Favourite

SANKHA & PADMA BRAND GENJEES

PHONE : B. B. 6056

GOLDEN POPY SHIRT ★ SUMMER LILY ★ GREY SHIRT ★ PELICAN SHIRT
KULTI SHIRT ★ COLOUR SHIRT ★ SUPER FINE ★ HIMANI ★ SANDOW
SUMMER BREEZE ★ LADY VEST ★ FANCY KNIT ★ SILKOT ★ SHO-WELL



D.N.BOSE'S HOSIERY FACTORY
FACTORY- 36-1A SARKER LANE, CALCUTTA

UP&D

TIGER



BRAND

PAPERS

FOR ALL PUBLICATIONS

Manufactured by

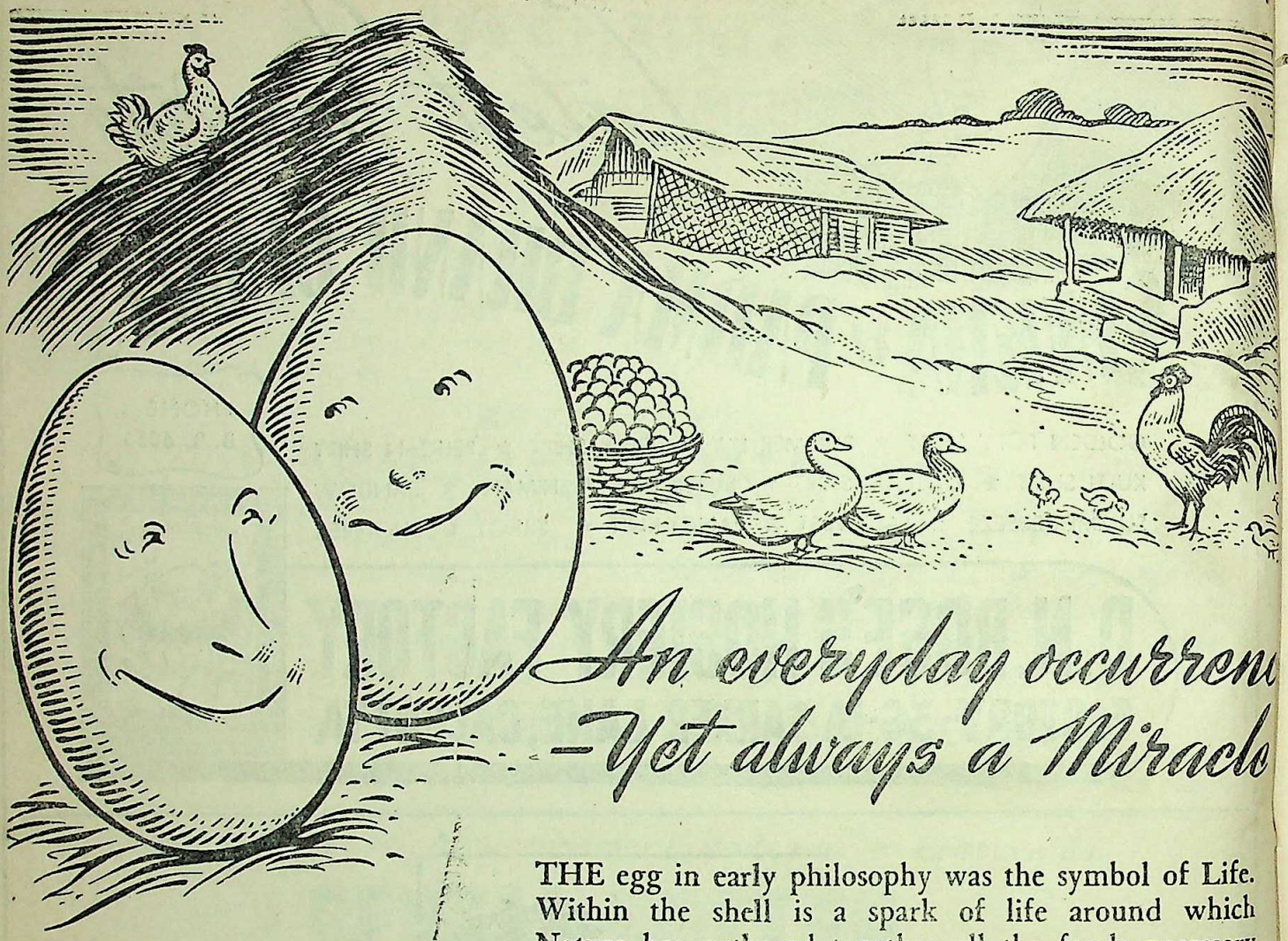
THE BENGAL PAPER MILL Co., Ltd..

Managing Agents :

BALMER LAWRIE & CO., LTD., CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

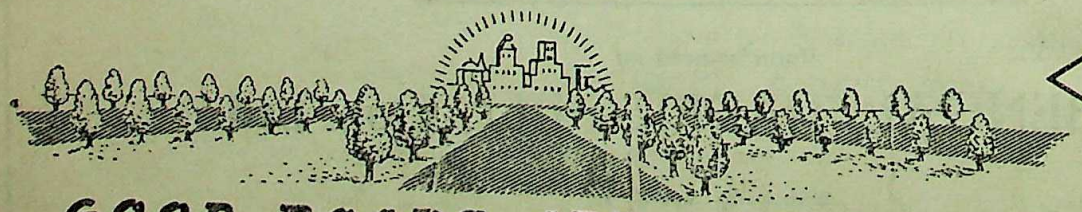


An everyday occurrence —Yet always a Miracle

THE egg in early philosophy was the symbol of Life. Within the shell is a spark of life around which Nature has gathered together all the foods necessary to give it strength and shape. The egg therefore as food is rich and complete. In India we should eat more eggs to remedy the lack of protein in rice, wherever it is a staple food.

To farmers, eggs should mean a sure income as throughout the year there is a regular supply and a constant demand for them. An average hen gives about 40 to 50 eggs per annum with very little expense on feeding and housing.

But eggs are fragile and extremely difficult to handle. Nowadays breakages, together with stale eggs in the hot weather, amount to 25%. To avoid this enormous waste, eggs must be brought safely and speedily to the consumer. SMOOTH, ALL-WEATHER ROADS are the ideal medium of transport.



INSERTED BY BURMAH-SHELL TO PROMOTE MORE ROADS & BETTER CROPS

GOOD ROADS ARE AVENUES TO PROSPERITY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COTTON YARNS

MADURA MILLS Co., Ltd.

Mills at :

Madura, Tuticorin and Ambasamudram

We supply :

Grey Yarns of all Descriptions
For Hand and Power Loom
Weaving and the Hosiery Factory

We do no weaving ourselves

5,00,000 Spindles. **Counts up to 80s.**

Specialities :

SINGLE	YARNS	CHEESE	YARNS
DOUBLE	YARNS	WARP	YARNS
CONE	YARNS	COMBED	YARNS

Managers :

A. & F. HARVEY LTD.

MADURA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LENOX Mounts, Albums, Corners, Folders.

ROBUST NAME in Photography

Nation-wide known

LENOX PHOTO MOUNT MFG. Co., Madura & Madras.

NO MORE DRINKING WATER TROUBLE For supplying PURE DRINKING WATER to Mines, Tea Gardens, Factories, Institutions and Small Villages.

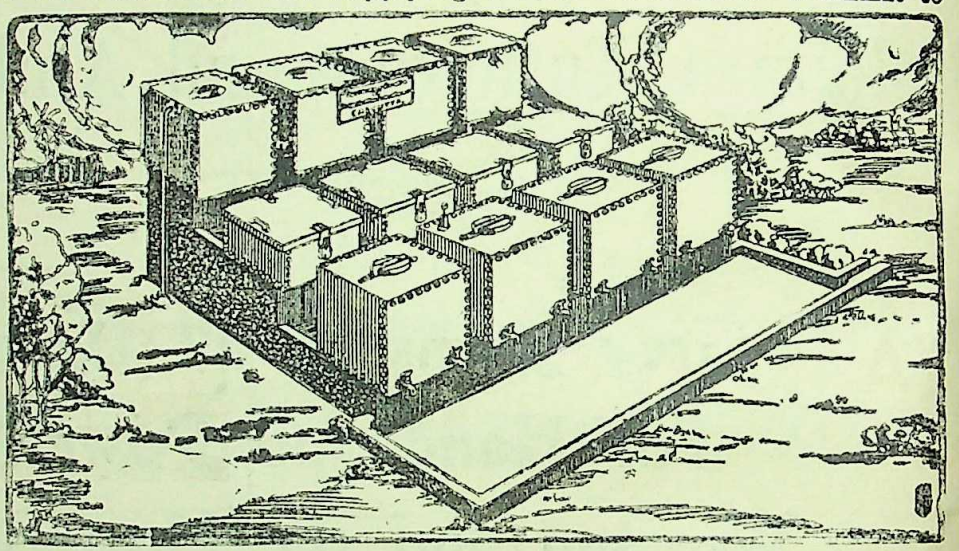
INSTALL OUR PATENTED

Hygienic Rural Filter

THE ONLY WAY TO SOLVE DRINKING WATER PROBLEM

Already installed several of 2,000 gallon output per day under Union Boards of Manikganj, Lakhipur, Sandip, Chaumuhani. etc.

Approved by the Director of Public Health, Bengal, and the Sanitary Board, Bengal.



HYGIENIC HOUSEHOLD FILTER COMPANY, 60, Shikdar Bagan Street, CALCUTTA.

RITU-UDAYA (Regd. Mixture) A Safe simple remedy For menstrual irregularities. Acts like nature to bring back suppressed menses within 24 hours. Not to be taken in Suspected Pregnancy as it creates abortion. Made in 2 strengths. Mild Price Rs. 3. Special extra strength, for advanced and undesirable cases of Female Complaints Rs. 9. (Advance Rs. 2 for moffusil orders.) **BIRTH CONTROL** Permanent Rs. 5. Temporary Rs. 2-4. Postage As. 12 extra.

DR. B. CHAKRABORTY, M.B. (Homœo)
146, Amherst Street. Calcutta.

Homoeopathy—Biochemistry

The leading house in Western India for genuine and reliable Homeopathic and Biochemic medicines, globules, bottles, corks and other physicians requisites. Books — American, English and Indian publications.

Price list free on application.

Homoeopathic Outlook:

A popular monthly. Annual subscription Rs. 2-8.
Specimen copy free on request.

ROY & COMPANY, Homoeopathists
Princess Street, Bombay 2.
BUSINESS ESTABLISHED 1889.

BIRTH CONTROL—POKOL (Oil or Cream)
FOR REMISSION OF FEVER—S. T. Pills.

Absolutely safe & reliable. Approved by Medical science. Guaranteed Quinine free but cent per cent efficacious.

Messrs. S. T. Mallik,
Dealers in Patent Medicines, Contraceptive & Hygienic goods. 68A, Shampukur Street, Calcutta

---

1-Week DANTON Shorthand.

Only 4 Rules. 6 Easy Lessons.
First Lesson Free.

Danton Shorthand School,
(St. Albans), New Road, Post Box 43, Delhi 14.



AMRUTANJAN

FOR HEADACHE

— AND —

ALL OTHER PAINS

SOLD EVERYWHERE

AMRUTANJAN LTD. P. O. Box No. 6825, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BEST for you
BEST for me
BEST for all
is

Tosh's TEA

A. TOSH & SONS,
CALCUTTA



CALCUTTA OPTICAL Co
THE PREMIER OPTICIANS
45, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA

MASTER ENGLISH

At home by world-famous course & become popular writer and speaker. Write forceful letters, advts., articles. Learn to earn.
Details free : **The Associated Schools, Delhi, 91.**

JOURNALISM & STORY-WRITING
taught by post. Earn Rs. 200 p. m. Journalism is an ideal profession & hobby. No pupilage. No examination.
Details free: **The Associated School, Delhi, 95.**

WANTED students to become Accountant, Secy., Steno-Typist, by post. Recognised Diplomas. D.Com. Course. **American Correspondence College, Delhi, 31.**

PITMAN'S 8-DAYS SHORTHAND
by post. Speed 100. 5 Rules. 26 Signs & 9 lessons.
Details : **ASSOCIATED SCHOOL, DELHI, 44.**

KING & CO.,

HOMEOPATHIC CHEMISTS,

90-7-A, HARRISON ROAD, 12, ROYD STREET AND 154, RUSSA ROAD, CALCUTTA

Only purest medicines from Bœricke and Tafel of America are stocked. Rates—ordinary mother tinctures 8 as. per dr., 1 to 12th dil. at 4 as. a dram, 13 to 30th dil. at 6 as. a dram, 200th dil. at as. 12 a dram.

Banish Your DRINKING WATER TROUBLES
By Using **Hygienic Household Filter**

It is a necessity for every village home.



Highest Recommendations from Directors of Public Health.

HYGIENIC HOUSEHOLD FILTER CO.,
60, Shikdar Bagan Street, Calcutta. 'Phone: 1634 B.B

Indian Science of Pulse

Rs. 3-8-0.
By Rajvaidya Kaviraj Prabhakar Chatterjee, M.A.
An epoch-making book of a far-reaching significance.
To be had of—**THE INSTITUTE OF HINDU CHEMISTRY & AYURVEDIC RESEARCH,**
172, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JUST OUT JUST OUT

Sex Education: Bristol Education Committee
An invaluable guide for sex instruction to boys and girls, useful to understand sexual problems of the young for Parents, Teachers, Doctors and Psychologists.
Price Re. 1-8

Handbook of National Planning Committee: Edited by K. T. Shah
Summary of the proceedings, Reports of sub-committees, Resolutions, etc., of the National Planning Committee.
Royal 8vo. Over 160 pages. Rs. 2-8

Foundations of Peace: K. T. Shah
A realistic analysis of the events leading upto San Francisco Peace Conference; United Nations Charter and World Politics, with special reference to India. Rs. 6

Gandhiji As We Know Him: C. S. Shukla
Pen-pictures portraying Gandhiji's vivid personality by seventeen distinguished persons. Art plate by Kanu Desai.
Rs. 3-4

Among The Great: Dilip Kumar Roy
An intimate study and record of the conversations with world's foremost men of the century—Gandhi, Tagore, Rolland, Russell and Aurobindo. Rs. 10

India Speaking: Edited by Sir Manilal Nanavati & C. N. Vakil Rs. 8

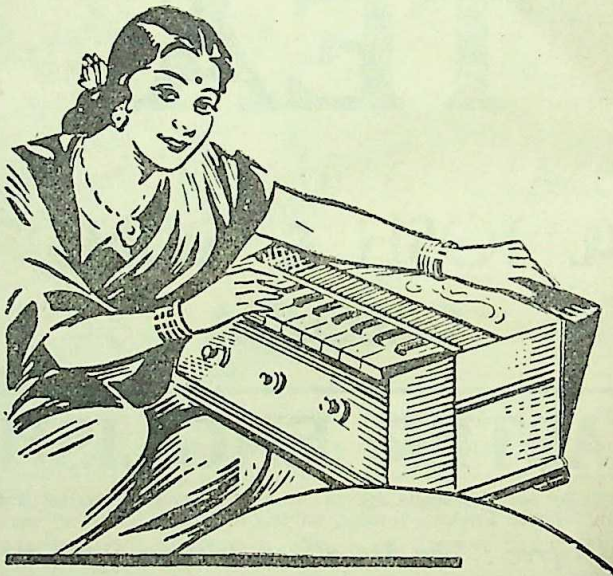
Planning Economic Translation from War To Peace in India: Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao Re. 1-8

Can Planning Be Democratic? By Herbert Morrison, G. D. H. Cole, C. E. M. Joad, Barbara Wotton and others.
Rs. 2-12

Stalin-Wells Talk: H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, etc. Re. 1-8

Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd.
3, Round Building, BOMBAY 2.

Dwarkin's
WORLD-FAMED
HARMONIUMS



"Better Materials" and "Improved Processes"

These are the Dwarkin features and to these owe the splendid reputation of DWARKIN Instruments

Please ask for our price list.

DWARKIN & SON LTD.
11, ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PEOPLE'S BANK Ltd.

Head Office:—5/1, Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta.

A

(NAME FOR)

SAFETY, SECURITY and PROFIT

ATTRACTIVE SCHEMES

— FOR —

FIXED DEPOSITS

SPECIAL DEPOSITS

DEALS IN ALL SORTS OF MARKETABLE SHARES AND SECURITIES UNDER OUR OWN EXPERTS.

TRANSACTS ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS.

Kaviraj R. N. Sen Gupta Kaviratna's



Re. 1/-

FOR

- Impurities of Blood
- Skin diseases
- Nervous Debilities
- Female diseases
- General Tonic

(WITH GOLD)

MAHAT AYURVEDIYA OUSHADHALAY

144-1, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta

QUICK ACTION
Against Skin Dangers

such as

Ring-worm, Boils, Eczema, Pimples, Cuts, Itches, etc., etc.

= *CURED BY* –

"SONAL"

"Bio-Sarasa"

A powerful blood purifier and TONIC useful in Gout, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Sciatica, Psoriasis, Ring-worm and all Skin Diseases.

∴

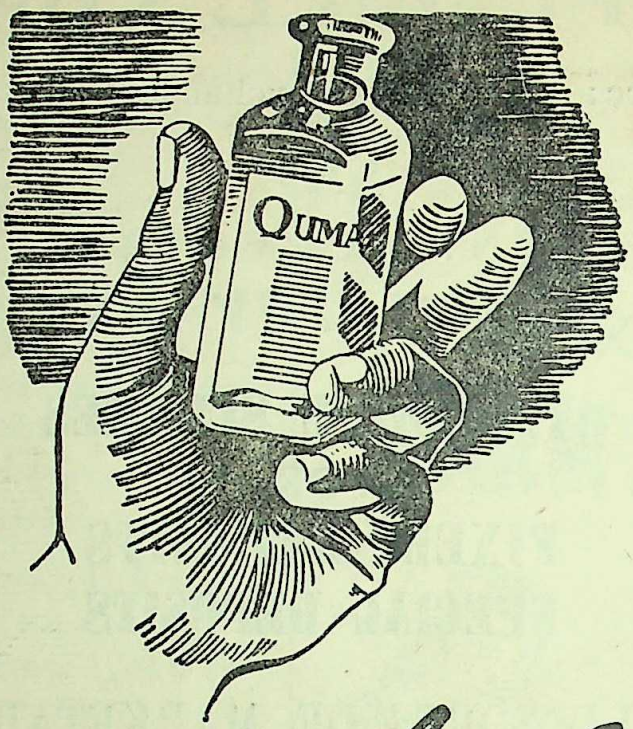
AGENTS

T. N. C. NAGALINGAM PILLAI & SONS,

Chemists & Druggists, MADURA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Qumaresh

Composed of:

KALMEGH, KULIAKHARA, GHOSALATA and AJOWAN.

It is superfluous to explain the efficacy of these drugs to the people of this country, each one of which has directly or indirectly a specific action on the liver. In infantile liver with constipation, flatulent diarrhœa and sluggish liver of infants, children and adults alike, in the advanced stages of dysentery, anasarca and jaundice, QUMARESH has been of excellent service from the moment it was released from our research laboratory. It has not only been highly extolled in private practice but has actually been tried and adopted in Government Hospitals and other institutions also.

O. R. C. L.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJ JYOTISHI

WORLD-FAMOUS ASTROLOGER AND TANTRIK

Pandit Harish Chandra Sastri, Jyotishtirtha,

President, All-Bengal Astrological Association.

HOUSE OF ASTROLOGY, 141/C, RUSSA ROAD, KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA,

Just East of Hazra Park. 'Phone : SOUTH—978.



This great scholar is not only well-versed in Eastern & Western Astrology but his gift in palm-reading is also simply marvellous. Those who have come in close touch with him, are fully appreciating the wonderful results of his super-human Spiritual and Tantrik rites which he gained by propitiating Mahamaya SRI SIDDHESWARI by deep meditation.

He has acquired an uncommon power by YOGA & TANTRA in redressing the evil influence of stars and in bringing sure success in complicated Law-suits, in curing incurable diseases.

He is also expert in casting the results of *RACES.* Please come to him in the morning of the race-day and take the tips of Fortune,—*90% success sure.*

Many prominent persons of India and other countries—England, France, America, China, etc., have honoured the Panditji with testimonials for his extraordinary merit.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED BY HIS WONDERFUL JEWELS:

Santi Kavacha: It brings peace of mind, happiness in family, heals incurable diseases, saves from accident, premature death, fire and theft, ensures success in examination. The wearer of this Jewel is saved from all sorts of troubles as it pleases evil stars. **Ordinary Rs. 5, Special (ready action) Rs. 20 only.**

Bagala Kavacha: It helps to gain success in occupation, to fulfil desire, to get Royal Honour, to get promotion in service, to attain prosperity in business, to increase wealth, to secure command upon all. Many persons have attained successes in the most unfavourable and complicated Law-suits. **Ordinary Rs. 12, Special (ready action) Rs. 45 only.**

Nrisinha Kavacha: It helps to cure all sorts of female diseases, to do away with the defects of bringing forth still-born child, to beget a son to a barren woman, to cure menstrual troubles, etc. **Ordinary Rs. 10, Special (ready action) Rs. 29 only.**

A few of the respectable persons amongst thousands who are fully satisfied by his honest services :

His Highness The Maharaja of Dhenkanal, Orissa ; Colonel Govinda Shamser Jaung Bahadur, Raja of Nepal ; Mr. Fajlul Huq, Ex-Premier, Bengal ; Mr. K. N. Dalal, Managing Director, Nath Bank Ltd., Calcutta ; His Highness Raja Jagat Narayan Singh, Gaya ; Mr. P. K. Sen, Judge, High Court, Patna ; Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, M.L.A., Assam ; Mr. P. R. Dass, Bar-at-Law, Patna ; World-famous dancer Mr. Udaya Sanker ; Mr. J. C. Chakrabarty, Registrar, Calcutta University ; Mr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta ; Mr. Sankar Lall Agarwal, Proprietor, Coal Mine, Jharia ; Syed Abdul Karim Khan, Nawab, Ramnagar ; Mr. J. D. Tata, Bombay ; Mr. S. Nagaraj, Madras ; Mr. K. Venkata Rao, Vizagapattam ; Mr. A. Chandler, England ; Lieut. H. J. Tayler, Umerkudi ; Mr. F. G. White, South Africa ; Etc.

Those who believe in Sastras may test his wonderful powers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WONDERFUL REMEDIES!

Medicines prepared from HERBS. In case of failure, Money refunded.

SEMENIA

SEMENIA (Vitamin Tonic) makes a man or woman look and feel 15 to 20 years younger than the actual age. A surprising increase in vitality and energy is noticeable within the first 24 hours. If you suffer from loss of vigour, weak memory and body, Nervousness, Impure Blood, Sickly Skin, Depression, Insomnia, Giddiness, Mental or Physical Exhaustion, etc., there is new hope for you. It gives good appetite and increases weight from 5 to 10 lbs. within a week. Roses return to your cheeks and your appearance is improved 100%. The brilliance and lustre on your face will be the same as in youth when your skin was smooth and fresh. "Semenia" improves your looks, puts a sparkle into your eyes, rosy colour into your cheeks and lips. It darkens whitish grey hair permanently for life and gives natural new teeth to the old men. Price Rs. 10 for Full Course.

WHITE LEPROSY AND LEUCODERMA.

Get rid of these horrible diseases by application of this medicine, in spite of failure by hundreds of Hakims, Doctors, Kavirajs, and advertisers. Price Rs. 2-8.

END GREY HAIR

Not by hair dye. Our BRAINIA—Ayurvedic scented oil restores grey hair to its natural black colour permanently and stops turning grey. It wards off brain weakness, giddiness and cures headache. It improves the eyesight and sharpens the memory. Adds gloss and lustre to hair, nourishes the weakened roots. IT IS A BOON TO THOSE WHO HAVE TO DO BRAIN WORK DAY AND NIGHT. Price Rs. 2-8 for a few grey hairs, and Rs. 3-8 for more than those and Rs. 5 for about all.

B. Guru Shahai Lall, B.Sc., B.L., M.L.C., Ex-Minister of Bihar Province, writes: "I have used the Brainia hair oil and found it very useful. It has a very soothing effect and keeps the brain cool. It removes headache at once. The scent of oil does not vanish even after bath. I have never come across any hair oil like it. And it is very useful for grey hairs."

S. S. Gupta Pharmacy, Post Box No. 70, Gaya, India. (MC)

SOME OF OUR PUBLICATIONS:

BY SWAMI ABHEDANANDA:

1. MEMOIRS OF RAMAKRISHNA: Life & Teachings: Rs. 5
2. INDIA AND HER PEOPLE: Rs. 6-8
3. HOW TO BE A YOGI: A Guide to Yoga Practice: Rs. 4
4. PATH OF REALIZATION: Rs. 2-8
5. SPIRITUAL UNFOLDMENT: (An excellent book): Re. 1-12
6. REINCARNATION: A Comparative Study: Re. 1-12
7. DOCTRINE OF KARMA: A Study in Philosophy & Practice of Karma: Rs. 3
8. SELF-KNOWLEDGE: The Upanishadic Truth unveiled: Rs. 3
9. DIVINE HERITAGE OF MAN: Rs. 2
10. GREAT SAVIOURS OF THE WORLD: Re. 1-8
11. LIFE BEYOND DEATH: A Study in Spiritualism: Rs. 6-8
12. SONGS DIVINE: Sanskrit Hymns with Eng. Translation in Verses: Rs. 2
13. HUMAN AFFECTION & DIVINE LOVE: Re. 1-4
14. LECTURES IN INDIA: Rs. 3-8

BY SWAMI SANKARANANDA:

1. RIG-VEDIC CULTURE OF THE PREHISTORIC INDUS
   Vol. I. (*In the Press*): Rs. 8
   Do. Vol. II. Rs. 10

Mystic Tales of Lama Taranath: Rs. 4.

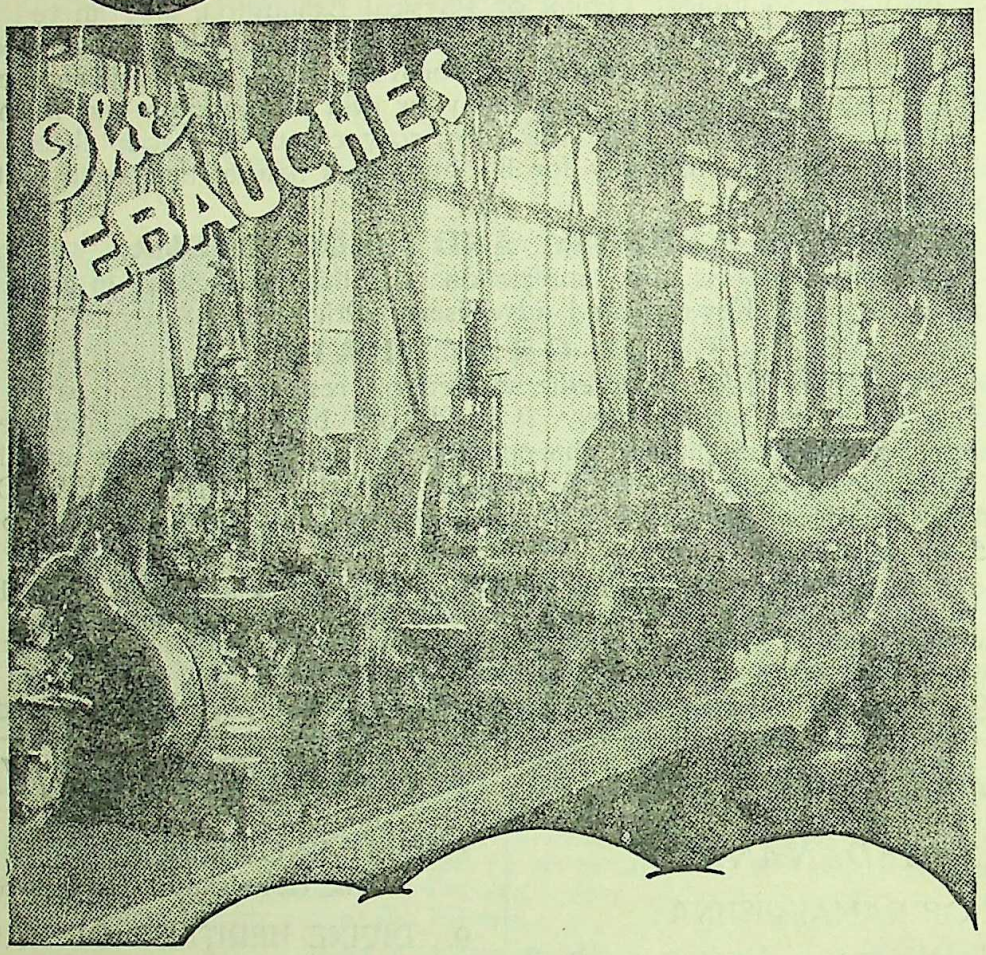
RAMAKRISHNA VEDANTA MATH

19B, RAJA RAJKRISHNA STREET, CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HOW ANGLO-SWISS WATCHES ARE MADE.....



To-day's demands would not be met if these delicate parts of your watch were not manufactured en masse. Series of precision machines manned by skilled technical staffs are here manufacturing at high speed the Ebauches or rough parts, which are to enter into the best wrist watches.

BRIGADE —— CAVALRY

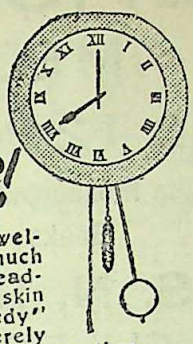


ANGLO SWISS
WATCH CO., CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As regular as clockwork -but no daily dose!



SCIENCE says bowel-irregularity causes much ill-health, including headache, tiredness and skin troubles; but the "remedy" which forms a habit merely substitutes one burden for another.

"MEDILAX" Brand Laxative Pellets do not call for daily use. Clinical experience confirms that their good effect lasts for several days. They are gentle and sure in action. Their oval shape and silver coating ensure easy, pleasant swallowing.



A very important point is that MEDILAX cleanses both the upper and lower bowel, thus doing away with any risk of incomplete elimination.

Rs 1/2 and Rs. 2/12 of all Chemists.
INTERNATIONAL TRADING CO.
187-418A, Lohar Chawl, BOMBAY.

"MENSCO" The Ideal specific to restore long stopped menses within 24 hours, harmless and Guaranteed. Rs. 2-8. Postage As. 12. For critical cases write for special preparation, Rs. 12-8.

Dr. U. N. CHAKRAVORTY,
126-2, Hazra Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.

Stockists :—RIMER & Co., M. Bhattacharjee & Co., L. M. Mookherjee & Co., Hall Pharmacy, Dacca.

WOMEN ! GIRLS !!

DELAYED ?

Use "KUMARI" (Regd.) the ideal harmless specific to restore even several months' delayed or stopped menses —amazingly in a few hours ! Thousands of grateful users everywhere !! Price Rs. 3. For Obstinate Cases —Rs. 5. V. P. As. 12 extra !!!

[B. C. Tablets for 6 months—Rs. 4.]

Mrs. P. DEVEE, F.D.S. (M.C.)
Tollygunge, Calcutta.

— *Stockists* —

M/s. L. M. Mukerjee & Sons, Ltd.,
167, Dhuramtola Street, Calcutta.

WHATEVER MAY BE YOUR

RELIGION & NATIONALITY

and

STATUS OF LIFE

SURELY YOU WOULD PREFER

our

"Rhino" BRAND Genzies

suitable for

ALL CLIMATES AND ALL OCCASIONS

Manufacturers :—

Agarpara Kutir Silpa Pratisthan

P. O. KAMARHATI :: 24 PARGANAS

Branches :—1. 10, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta
Opp : Sealdah Station.

2. 2/3, Chandmari Ghat Road, Howrah
Opp : Howrah Station.

3. Raniganj Bazar, Burdwan, E. I. R.

4. Arbind Road, Naihati, B. & A. R.

Just Out ! *Just Out !*

Two Books on Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy

By

Dr. S. K. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Benares Hindu University.

Published by The Benares Hindu University.

(1) AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO Second Edition. Price Rs. 2-8

Some Press Opinions on the First Edition :

"Dr. S. K. Maitra of the Benares Hindu University has presented in the book under review a neat and careful, though brief, study of the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo." —*Hindu*

"Dr. Maitra's book will help considerably to fulfil the naturally widespread desire to understand Sri Aurobindo's teaching." —*Statesman*

(2) STUDIES IN SRI AUROBINDO'S PHILOSOPHY Price Rs. 3

"All admirers of this great soul (Sri Aurobindo) should feel grateful to Professor Maitra for his very interesting studies in Sri Aurobindo's philosophy." —*Hindusthan Standard*

"Dr. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Benares Hindu University, is a great student of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. In these essays he has probed deeper into the philosophy of the Pondicherry saint." —*Probuddha Bharata*

Both these books are to be had of :

(1) The Author, Quarters No. D/8, P. O. Benares Hindu University.
(2) The B. H. U. Press Book Depot, Benares Hindu University.
(3) Arya Publishing House, 63 College Street, Calcutta
and also of other booksellers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BANK WITH FULL CLEARING FACILITIES

THE ASSOCIATED

Bank of Tripura

Limited

Patron:

HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA MANIKYA BAHADUR K. C. S. I. OF TRIPURA

Chief Office—AGARTALA, TRIPURA STATE

Regd. Office:—GANGASAGAR (B. & A. Rly).

Calcutta Offices:

11, CLIVE ROW & 3, MAHARSHI DEBENDRA ROAD

Other Offices:

Dacca, Chakbazar, Narayanganj, Brahmanbaria, Manu, Golaghat, Jorhat, Srimangal, Gangasagar, North Lakhimpur, Shamsernagar, Kailasahar, Ajmiriganj, Bhanugach, Kamalpur, Habiganj, Tezpur & Gauhati.

Shillong Branch opened on 11th July 1945.

Managing Director:

Maharaj Kumar Brojendra Kishore Dev Barman

Women Delayed!

"THREE NOT" pills recommence menstruation within three days only. Price with guarantee letter per bottle Rs. 5-8, Foreign Shs. 10.

"RAHAT" is most effective permanent contraceptive medicine. Price with guarantee letter per bottle Rs. 5-8. Free consultation on any monthly troubles.

B. C. SERVICE, 42M, Churchgate St., Fort, Bombay. (Phone No. 21343).

ASTHMA

ONE DOSE rare herbal treatment given to over 1,00,000 sufferers. Highly praised. Send Rs. 5-7. Free to the poor. **Mahant Ram Sumeran, 'Krishna Kunj', Allahabad.**

Asthma & T. B. Germs killed in a day. Guaranteed radical cure by a phial of "Asthmodyna" (Regd.) of Saint Dharmadas Naga, reviver of dead prince of Bhowal.

Phial Rs. 3. Wanted Agents.

W. DYE & CO., (M. R.)

P. O. Wari, Dacca (Bengal).

HOMOEOPATHIC MEDICINES

10 & 12 PICE PER DRAM.

Dealers in Homoeopathic and Biochemic Medicines, Books & all Sundries.

S. N. RAY & CO.

85-A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

REGULAR HOMOEOPATHIC PHARMACY

Howrah Kustha Kutir

The Oldest Home Of Over 50 Years Where

LEPROSY, LEUCODERMA,

Eczema, Psoriasis, Syphilitic eruptions and 180 kinds of Skin-diseases are successfully treated and cured. Write for particulars and free booklet.

FOUNDER:—**PANDIT RAM PRAN SHARMA Kaviraj.**

ASHRAM:—1, Madhab Ghose Lane, Khurut, Howrah.

'Phone 359 Howrah.

BRANCH:—36, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

WOMEN DELAYED.

"Ritupravartini" brings back menstrual flow in one day even suppressed 4-5 months. Harmless & Guaranteed. Rs. 3. Postage & Packing As. 12. **Birth-Control "Parbati"** Permanent Rs. 4-8, Temporary Rs. 2.

VIGOURIN The renowned tonic for health and mind. It gives new life to the weak, shortness of memory, nervous debility, loss of appetite, sleeplessness. Rs. 3.

Kaviraj R. N. Chakravorty, Ayurvedsastry,

24, Debendra Ghose Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

Phone: South 308.

Hair-Disease-Specialist

Dr. N. C. Basu's

Kucher-Taila

(Kunj oil, oil of bead fruit, abrus precatorius)

Specific for Baldness, Hair-falling, dandruff etc. After twenty years' research, this oil has now been much improved in efficacy and more suitable for use. It has been well-tried in the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta. Price now increased to **Re. 1-8** Per Phial. 3 Phials **Rs. 4.**

Dr. N. C. BASU, B.SC., M.B., D.T.M., D.P.H.

Shambazar Market, 1st Floor, Room 52, Calcutta

And RIMER & COMPANY's DISPENSARIES.

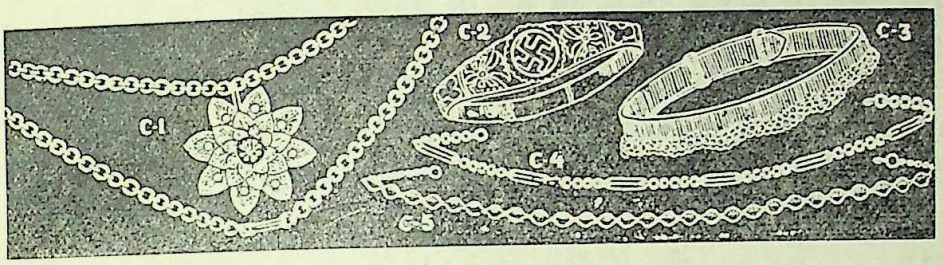
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

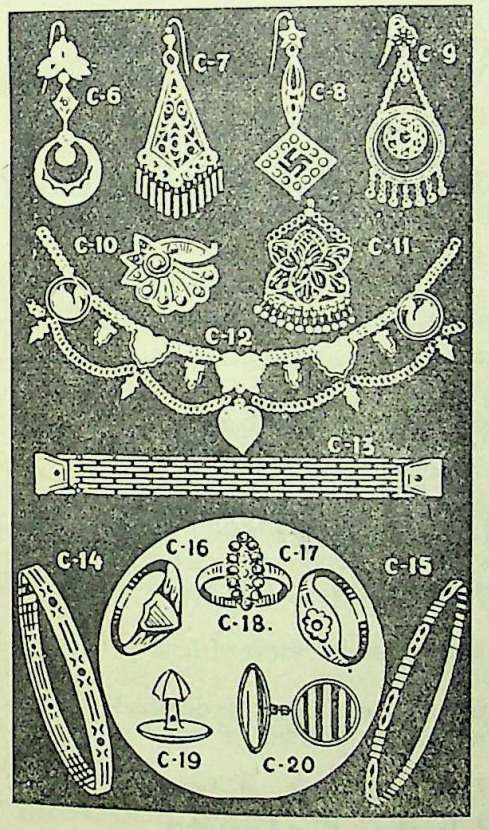
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A SUPREME FASHION ACHIEVEMENT IN

UMBER JEWELLERY

Now Save On A Basis of Quality.





UMBER JEWELLERY is scientifically prepared, electroplated with sovereign gold through latest devices and is available in a wide assortment of exquisite designs. It is sold under guarantee of standard quality—retains its colour, lustre and spotless dazzle and is perfected with a finish making. It is Acid Proof and non-tarnishable against atmospheric conditions. UMBER JEWELLERY provides the luxury of real gold at a fraction of its cost.

SCALE OF RETAIL PRICES

C-1 Filigeri Neckchain 22" with rose pendant...Rs. 13-4 each. C-2 Bracelets...Rs. 15 per pair. C-3 Waist Belt adjustable...Rs. 15 each. C-4 Fancy Neckchain with pendant 22" .. Rs. 8-4 each. C-5 Round Bead Necklace...Rs. 13-8 each. **EAR-RINGS:** C-6...Rs. 5-4 pair. C-7 Filigeri...Rs. 5-4 pair. C-8 Set with stones all over . Rs. 13-8 pair. C-9 Filigeri... Rs. 5-8 pair. C-10 Clip Ear-tops set with stones...Rs. 12-8 pair; C-11 Filigeri...Rs. 10-8 pair; C-12 Fancy Necklace... Rs. 18-8 each; C-13 Fancy wrist watch chain...Rs. 8-4 each. C-14 Broad Bangles...Rs. 11-8 pair; C-15 Fancy Bangles... Rs. 3-12 pair. **RINGS:** C-16 Rs. 5-8 each; C-17 Stone set... Rs. 6-8 each; C-18 set with seven stones Rs. 12-8 each. C-19 Buttons set of four...Rs. 5-4. C-20 Cuff-links...Rs. 5-4 per pair.

FREE: Our catalogue containing 300 designs in Rich Fashions of latest Varieties of Jewellery and Ladies' Hand Bags, Cigarette Cases, Writing Pads, Shaving Sets, Tobacco Pipes etc., will be sent free.

Agents Wanted.

APPLY:—

B. A. UMBER & SON, (Dept. M. R.)

157, GIRGAUM, BOMBAY 4.

110825

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JUST RELEASED: A BOOK OF THE DAY:

IRRIGATION-PLANNING IN BENGAL

By Kanak Bhusan Banerjee, A.M.I.E. (India)

With a Foreword From Eminent Scientist

DR. MEGHNAD SAHA, F.R.S. (Lond.)

The only comprehensive and planned Book on Irrigation in Bengal—Highly appreciated by eminent Scientist and Technicians. A successful guide to Students and Research workers as well as to Engineers and Surveyors engaged in Irrigation-Planning of Bengal—the problem of the Day—Illustrated by Maps.

Price Rs. 2-8, Postage Annas Six only.

To be had of:

Shilpa-Sampad Prakashani, 3, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta

& Other Leading Book-Sellers of the City.

For Other Publications Please Write for Catalogue.

Wonderful Talisman

IF FAILS MONEY REFUNDED.

LAKSHMI KAVACHA. It gives sound health, immense wealth, vast learning, son, high fame, good friends, respect everywhere, success in lottery, race, examinations, trade, business, recovery from fatal diseases. It has miraculous power in bringing all kinds of luck and prosperity. Price **Rs. 4-9.** Specially prepared giving immediate effects, **Rs. 22-12.**

MOHINI KAVACHA. Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

OPINION: Mr. V. D. Jacob, Electrical Storekeeper, Power House, Achampet, Hyderabad, (Deccan): —"One Lakshmi Kavacha I bought from you, within 6 months it worked wonder of wonders, it raised me in wealth like rocket....."

Foreign orders will be booked with full advance. Detailed Catalogue Free.

DAIBABAL ASHRAM, (M.), Hatkhola, Calcutta.

IODISAL (Regd.)

(BLOOD PURIFIER)

Purifies the blood—Regulates the nervous system acting as a laxative—Romoves all skin affections arising from Gonorrhœa, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Ringworm, Itches, Scabies etc. etc.

CIBOL

(Name, Design & Colour of Label Regd.)

The best remedy

for

ITCHES ECZEMA

SCABIES PIMPLES

etc., etc.

AVAILABLE AT ALL CHEMISTS

Mfd. By: **THE SOUTH INDIAN MFG. CO., Madura.**

AGENTS **for Madras City: Nellore, Ceded & Vizag Districts:** Rajan Drug Stores, Chemists, P. T. Madras; **for Guntur, Kistna, Godavari Districts & Nizam's Dominions:** Seetharama General Stores, Bezwada; **for Mysore State:** Seshamahal Pharmacy, Bangalore City.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

DO NOT BE CHEATED WITH PRODUCTS SIMILARITY IN NAME

LAL MOHAN SAH'S WONDERFUL PRODUCTS HAVE NO EQUALS.

KANDU DAVANAL

The Best Specific for Itches, Eczema, Cuts, Burns and Sores, etc.

SARVAJARA GAJASINGH

For Sure & permanent Remission in all fevers.

SARVA DADRUHUTASAN

For Ring-worm & other Skin Diseases.

SULAGUN! For all sorts of Pains.

L. M. SAHA

SANKHANIDHI & Co.

Head Office: DACCA.

Branch: 32E, Jackson Lane, Calcutta.

Stand by Your Bank

THE HOOGHLY BANK Ltd.

43, DHARAMTALA STREET.
CALCUTTA.

Phone: Cal. 2260 (3 Lines)

Figures on 30-11-45 in Thousand.

Paid-Up Capital (with advance) and Reserve	... Rs.	29,54,000
Cash, Government Securities, etc.	... Rs.	2,14,91,000
Deposits	... Rs.	3,26,82,000
Working Capital	... Rs.	3,84,93,000

Our Dependability is an Assurance of Your Prosperous Future.

Govt. Regd. MKC Trade-Mark.

FEMININE DISORDER

"Chumbaki Rechani" ensures easy and speedy discharge within 24 hours no matter why or how long the menstruation is suppressed. Harmless and guaranteed. Rs. 2-12.

BIRTH CONTROL

"Dampati-Sakha" controls birth as desired. The most harmless at the same time infallible specific that have ever been invented. Temporary for 6 months Re. 1-8. Permanent Rs. 4-4.

BLOOMING YOUTH & MANLY VIGOUR

"M....Vilas Rasayan"—The famous tonic for body and mind. Seven days' use of this valued drug produces marvellous effects to remove all sorts of nervous debility, giddiness, loss of appetite, sleeplessness and other ailments. It is a heavenly gift to the married life. Price Rs. 2-8, Postage As. 12.

Every medicine supplied with a written guarantee.

KAVIRAJ M. KABYATIRTHA, (M.R.), Jalpaiguri.

Branch:—70, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Stockists—M. BHATTACHARYA & Co.; RIMER & Co.

EVERVERGIN

Not to be taken during pregnancy as it creates abortion.

MENSTRUATION. No matter why and how long suppressed, **"Eververgin"** miraculously brings back perfect menstrual flow by a doze only. It is also an excellent remedy of **Dysmenorrhœa.** Price—One Phial Rs. 3-8 only.

KAVIRAJ—BHATTACHARYYA, SIDHANTASASTRI,
Modern Ayurvedic Works, Sreedham, Nabadwip, Bengal

Calcutta Stockist:—**RIMER & CO.,**
114, Asutosh Mukherjee Road.

New Delhi Stockist:—**Bose, Chakraborty & Co.**
41, Mata Sundari Road.

LOGIC STUDENTS!

Revd. Principal N. D. Gurbaxani's Manual of Deductive Logic and Manual of Inductive Logic, costing Rupees two each. They contain hundreds of University questions with answers and a very large number of exercises with solutions. They are a sure prospect to success. Write to the author. Jacob Road, Hyderabad, Sind.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Estd.—1921 Telegrams—BANKER

For Efficient Banking

EASTERN TRADERS BANK LIMITED

Head Office : 84, ASHUTOSH MUKHERJEE ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Phone :—South 200

Calcutta Office : P-7, Old Chinabazar Street.

Phone Cal. :—4173

Calcutta Branches

Ballygunj, Shyambazar, Bhowanipur, Entally and Burrabazar.

Other Branches

Howrah, Chittagong, Feni, Noakhali, Chandpur, Puranbazar, Chowmuhuni, Narayanganj, Daulatgunj, Dinajpur, Thakurgaon, Patuatoli and Nawabpur (Dacca), Patna, Adra, Purnea, Muzaffarpur, Ranchi, Patna City, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga and Allahabad.

Mr. T. MAZUMDER, *Secretary.*

Mr. M. K. GUHA, *Managing Director.*

Leucoderma or White Leprosy

is believed by those as incurable, if come over to me I will cure one little spot free. A gift from Great Saints, that cures many a hopeless sufferer, must be tried once. For impurity of blood, Eczema, Batrakta, anesthetic patch, Psoriasis, Leucoderma and all other skin diseases, please consult Pundit S. Sharma.

'Vicharchikari Ointment'

Cures unbearable Itches, Eczema, Wring-worm, Psoriasis, etc. in one week. Re. 1 per phial.

Pundit S. Sharma,

Calcutta—26-8, Harrison Road, (Time 3—8 P.M.)

Home address—Bhatpara, 24-Perganas.

Never-failing Talisman of Bhattapalli Divine Power is the only remedy for serious and incurable diseases, poverty, unemployment, law-suits, examinations, ill luck, etc.

1. Navagraha Kavach Rs. 5 2. Sani Kavach Rs. 3. 3. Dhanada Kavach Rs. 7. 4. Vagalamukhi Kavach Rs. 15. 5. Mahamrityunjoy Kavach Rs. 13. 6. Nrisinha Kavach Rs. 11. 7. Rahoo Kavach Rs. 5. 8 Surya Kavach Rs. 5. Postage extra.

Name, *Gotra* and birth time should be intimated with the orders. *Thikujee*, Horoscope, Marriage discussion undertaken. Write for particulars: **MANAGER, Bhattapalli Jyoti Sangha, P.O. Bhatpara, (24-Perganas)**

NEW STANDARD BANK Ltd.

HEAD OFFICE: COMILLA

		Rs.
Authorised	...	1,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	...	20,00,000
Paid-up Capital	...	18,15,000
Reserves over	...	3,00,000

Branches

Canning Street, College Street, Ballygunj, Shyambazar, Mymensing, Faridpur, Tangail, Asansol, Burdwan, Khulna, Silchar, Sylhet, Shillong, Tinsukia, Jorhat, Chhatak, Ranchi, Jubbulpore and Allahabad.

AGENCY IN ALL IMPORTANT TRADE CENTRES

Nath Bank Ltd.

Head Office :—

135, CANNING STREET, CALCUTTA.

'Phone : Cal. 3253 (3 Lines)



OFFICE AT ALL IMPORTANT TRADE CENTRES OF INDIA.

Board of Directors:

S. K. ROY, Esqr.
P. D. HIMATSINGKA, Esqr.
PULIN KRISHNA ROY, Esqr.
G. V. SWAIKA, Esqr.
JAGANNATH KOLAY, Esqr.
D. P. DASGUPTA, Esqr.

K. N. DALAL, *Mg. Director.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Our Latest Publications

SARATCHANDRA—Man & Artist—S. C. Sen Gupta, M.A., PH.D., Author of *The Art of Bernard Shaw*

Sarat Chandra is undoubtedly India's most popular novelist. Best sellers in Bengal, his novels have gained wide publicity and applause in other provinces of India as well. A competent but lucid monograph on this great novelist who occupies a large space in Indian cultural life is now placed before the country by one of our foremost critics, Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta, M.A., PH.D., the well-known author of *The Art of Bernard Shaw,* which was hailed by the *Times Literary Supplement, The Years Work in English Studies, Christian Science Monitor* of New York as an important contribution to Shaviana. In this new book Dr. Sen Gupta gives an outline of Sarat Chandra's life, stressing the literary significance of biographical details and discusses Sarat Chandra's art in all its various aspects. It will be as much welcome to the student who is deeply read in Sarat Chandra's novels as to him who wants to be introduced to them. Apart from its literary importance, which is considerable, the book provides an excellent guide to the understanding of Indian life through critical literature Rs. 5-0

THE SOVIET EAST—L. G. Ardnihcas

An absorbing story of the revolutionary progress of Central Asia. With maps Rs. 3-8

INDIANS IN BRITISH INDUSTRIES—Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D.

Whiteman's burden in India examined from Indian point of view. A critical analysis of our economic relations with the British. Highly eulogised in the Press. Proceeds of the author's share of profit dedicated to the Kasturba Fund Re. 1-4

CAPITAL, (*unabridged*)—Marx: **Vol. I** .... *2nd edition in the Press*

Do. **Vol. II** .... Rs. 12

Do. **Vol. III** .... Rs. 18

Do. **Vol. I** *Abridged.* The entire text has been retained. Only some of the time-worn illustrations have been deleted. Cloth Rs. 6-8; Stiff Cover Rs. 5

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM—Plekhanov (*unabridged*), Full Cloth Rs. 3-0

MAKING THE REVOLUTION—Lenin Re. 1-0

TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION—Lenin As. 12

SARASWATY LIBRARY, C18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta

THE FIRST SCHEDULED BANK IN ASSAM

THE BANK OF ASSAM

LIMITED

Head Office :—SHILLONG { Telegram :—BANKASSAM. Telephone :—20 (2 Lines)

Calcutta Office :—6, Clive Row { Telegram :—ASSAMBANK Telephone :—Cal. 6940.

Branches:

BARPETA, DHUBRI, GAUHATI, GOALPARA, JORHAT, NOWGONG.

CAPITAL	AUTHORISED	Rs.	20,00,000
„	ISSUED	Rs.	10,00,000
„	SUBSCRIBED	Rs.	10,00,000
„	PAID-UP OVER ... ... (with calls in advance)	Rs.	5,63,000
RESERVE	FUNDS	Rs.	75,000
WORKING	FUNDS NEARING	Rs.	1,00,00,000

MANAGING DIRECTOR:

H. BANERJEA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

● BOOKS ●

Dr. Niharranjan Ray

DUTCH ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST

A very important historical document. **Rs. 4**

Professor Anathnath Basu

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA

A highly spoken of & thought-provoking treatise. **Rs. 4**

The Book Emporium Ltd., 22-1, Cornwallis St., Calcutta

WOMEN! DELAYED?

DON'T WORRY. I WILL HELP YOU.

WARNING—Never use unscientific medicines, the habit is too dangerous. Take renowned physician's (Govt. Regd.) well-tried "RAJO-NIYAMONI" brings back long-suppressed menstrual flow harmlessly and very swiftly. No question how long or why stopped. It is abortive, should not be taken in pregnancy. Guaranteed. Contract is also accepted. Price Rs. 3-8, V.P. As. 12 Ext.

"**RODHAKI**" is the best infallible specific for birth control at the same time harmless and guaranteed. Permanent Rs. 5, Temporary Rs. 2-8. V.P. As. 12 Ext.

Kaviraj M. Bhattacharya, (M.R.) **Kavya-Vyakarantirtha,**
120/1/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXXIX., No. 1 Whole No. 469

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1946.

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—Call Of The Earth (*in colours*) —*Tarapasad Biswas*

NOTES— ... ... 1—16

Post-War Economic Depression In India—*P. C. Jain, M.A., M.Sc.* (*Econ.*) *London* ... 17

An Open Letter To The Government Of India —Department Of Education, Health And Lands—*Taraknath Das, Ph.D.* ... 19

Drink Control In Great Britain—*H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.* 21

Indian Shipping—Past And Present—*Prof. Shri Narayan Agarwal, M.A., B.Com.* ... 30

The All-India Writers' Conference—*K. S. Venkataramani* 32

Famed U. S. Architect Conducts An Experiment In Living And Teaching (*illust.*)—*USIS* ... 33

The Marvels Of Mohen-Jo-Daro (*illust.*)—*Prof. K. N. Vaswani, M.A. LL.B.* (*Bomb.*) *F.R.E.S.* (*London*) 35

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

Or **AWAKENED INDIA**

The Prabuddha Bharata, a monthly journal started by Swami Vivekananda, enters the 51st year of its publication from January, 1946. It is a high-class journal devoted to the cause of universal religion and culture and includes among its contributors many eminent writers both from India and abroad. The January Number will be an illustrated and attractive one.

Annual Subscription **Rs. 4.** Single copy **As. 7.**

Prabuddha Bharata—Golden Jubilee Number, 1945

This is a bumper issue brought out to commemorate the 50th year of the Magazine. Profusely illustrated and richly contributed to by many eminent writers both from the East and the West.

Price **Rs. 3-8.** *Registration fee As. 3 Extra.*

NEW BOOK! JUST OUT!

MY LIFE AND MISSION

By
SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Contains a hitherto unpublished lecture of Swami Vivekananda delivered in America in 1900. Portrays in the Swami's own words the story of his inner struggles and sorrows and his intense feeling for the suffering millions of India. Also gives an idea of the plan of the great Swami for the amelioration of their condition and the uplift of his beloved motherland to the position of her past glory. The book opens with a nice picture of the Swami.

Nice printing and attractive get-up. Price **As. 8.** Pp. 37

For a complete list of our other publications please apply to :—

ADVAITA ASHRAMA : 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta

PERFUMERY & TOILET REQUISITE,

Please Enquire,

J. M. PARAKH & Co.

Direct Importers & Stockists,

6, Karbala Mahammad Street,

SELLING DEPOT,

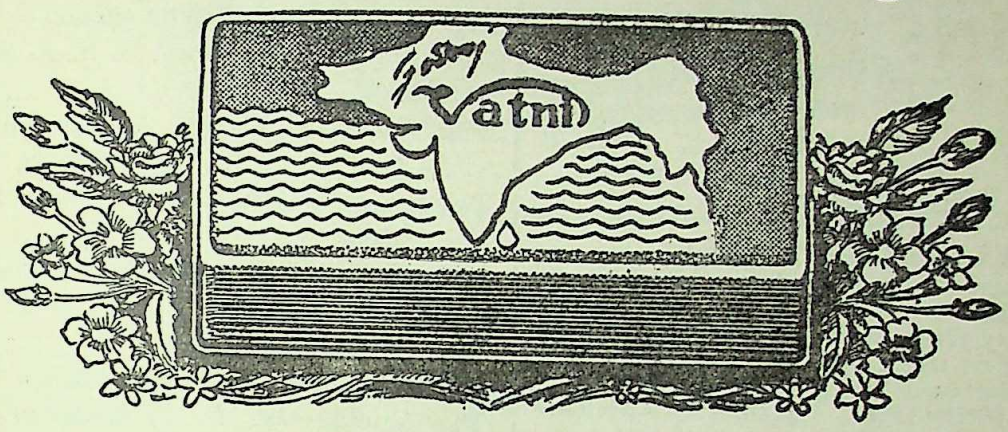
44/45, Ezra Street, CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

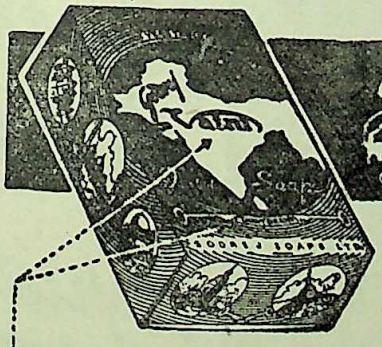
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The NEW Figure

of India's Popular Beauty



Your beloved, buxom 'Vatni' has had a miraculous beauty treatment. Without any loss *whatever* in weight or in the many lovable qualities of her birth, she has banished her curves and acquired this elegant, new figure. You'll recognise this gem of a girl — snuggled in the green-and-white "gown" — by these familiar birth-marks.



The soap and this Green-and-White carton *genuine* only if they bear these marks.

Godrej Vatni Toilet Soap
CHAVI BRAND

Vatni "baby" (New shape): cartoned individually like the Big soap.

Some of the other renowned

Godrej 'chavi' brand Toilet Soaps:—
No. 1 Sandal Lavender Khus

Shaving Stick Shaving Round

Godrej 'chavi' brand GLYCERINE

GODREJ SOAPS, LTD.

Calcutta: 102, Clive St. — Bombay — Patna — Madras
Ernakulam — Hyderabad (Dn.) — Nagpur — Ahmedabad

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REMEDIES THAT NEVER FAILED

DIGESTIV: Specific for Dyspepsia, Colic, Liver Complaints, etc., etc. Re. 1-4.

ASTHMOL: Invaluable Cure for Bronchitis, Asthma & Lung Diseases: Rs. 2-8.

MALRIN: Guaranteed Cure for Malaria & other fever: Re. 1-8.

KALNA CHEMICAL :: Kalna :: Bengal

Sole Agent for U. P.: **M/s L. Rangi Lal & Sons,** CAWNPORE

MARVELLOUS POWER.

Secret of new Health, Vigour, Memory and Personal Magnetism will be mailed post free to 1000 persons who apply **first** with Rs. 2 Membership-fee. Wondrous power on this earth. Cure of habits and diseases also undertaken on receipt of particulars. *Write to-day.* **PRINCIPAL, SIDDHI ASHRAM SOCIETY,** Mirzapur, U. P.

PRACTICAL PSYCHIC INSTRUCTION - - -

HYPNOTISM, Mesmerism, Mind-Reading, Auto-Suggestion, Crystal Gazing, Concentration, etc., are practically taught by post and also by class tuition. Success guaranteed in ten weeks, various diseases of body and mind are treated. Hundreds cured.

For particulars, please send an anna stamp.

PROF. R. N. RUDRA,
Sadhana Kutir, P. O. Alamnagar, (Rangpur)

CONTENTS—(Continued)

PAGE

U. S. Museum Teaches Use And Working Of Modern Mechanisms (*illust.*)— 37

This Fate-Forged Bond (*Poem*)—*Rabindranath Tagore* 39

The South Indian—*Gurdial Mallik* 40

INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)— ... 40

The Gita And War—*Prof. S. N. L. Shrivastava M.A.* 41

Post-War Reconstruction In The Indian States —*Prof. K. V. Rao, M.A., M.Litt.* ... 44

Delusion Of Pakistanism—*Nagendra Nath Chanda* 48

1945—It Ended Better Than It Began—*P. R. Sriniwas* 50

Imperial Britain—*Essenjee* 53

Sarojini Naidu—*Om Prakash Mohan* ... 54

The Vitolias—*Dr. D. P. Khanapurkar, M.A., Ph.D.* 56

BOOK REVIEWS: 57—60

Nirmal Kumar Bose, J. M. Datta, Monindra-Mohan Moulik, Sunil Kumar Basu, A. B. Dutta, D. Burman, Chintaharan Chakravarti, T. C., G. M., T. V. Parvate, K. M. J.



TELEPHONE CAL. 4982
TELEGRAM: "JEWELLERY"

Over a Century's Reputation

ROY COUSIN & CO.

Jewellers & Watchmakers

4, DALHOUSIE SQ. "STEPHEN HOUSE", CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR EVERY FORM OF
FILARIA

Arseno Typhoid

IS AN EXCELLENT REMEDY. DOCTORS RECOMMEND IT. THOUSANDS TREATED.

Ask for free literature.

FOR
HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE
USE ERUSEDOL TAB.

IT REDUCES HIGH BLOOD-PRESSURE & INDUCES RESTFUL SLEEP.

IDOCOL (PLAIN)
IDOCOL WITH METHYL SALICYLATE

NON-STAINING, NON-IRRITATING OINTMENT FOR RHEUMATISM, PAINFUL JOINTS, CUTS, SPRAINS, ETC., ETC.

Particulars free from :—

CALCUTTA CLINICAL
RESEARCH ASSCIATION, Ltd.,
Manufacturers of high class Vaccines, Bacterio-Phages and various injectable products.
6, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEGLECTED COUGH AND COLD MAY LEAD TO SERIOUS COMPLICATIONS.



More often than not they are precursors of illnesses like Pneumonia, Pleurisy, Asthma and Tuberculosis. Take timely precautions to prevent the onset of Cold and Cough, but when they come do not delay, take a course of the tried remedy.

KASABIN

RATIONAL CURE FOR COUGH & COLD.

with approved formula.

●

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA :: BOMBAY

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
INDIAN PERIODICALS : ...	63—69
Small Nations and Big Powers ...	63
The Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man ...	64
I. N. A. Trials	65
Pakistan	65
Education of Indians in Foreign Countries	67
All-India Writers' Conference	68
Ancient Hindu Polity	68
FOREIGN PERIODICALS : ...	71—76
The Indian Textile Industry	71
Progress Toward an International Language	75
The Menace Of Foreign Capital—*Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya*	76

DIABETES

DEFINITELY TREATED WITH

Diabetox

EXTENSIVELY USED BY DOCTORS & HOSPITALS

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE

Available at leading Chemists or from

THE HIMALAYA DRUG CO. M.R.

POST BOX 5016, BOMBAY. 9.

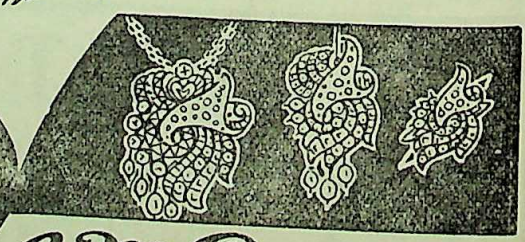


Add to

YOUR CHARMING

Beauty

Natural Beauty-Lines of the body become aristocrate with the superior workmanship of our ORNAMENTS.



PHONE B.B. 2074

J. M. Roy & Co.

MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS

36. CORNWALLIS ST, CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MEDICOVINE

AN IDEAL TONIC

For

Health, Strength & Vigour.

Specific for all forms of Anæmia, convalescence, general debility, exhaustion and weakness of brain and heart. Most useful after child-birth.

STANDARD MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE Ltd.

106/1A, Raja Dinendra Street, CALCUTTA

AT ALL TIMES

BANK OF COMMERCE

IS A GOOD PLACE

FOR SAVINGS

Hd. Office: 12, CLIVE ST., CALCUTTA

and Branches



READ ANY GOOD BOOK.

Partition or Federation?

by Prof. D. N. Banerjee,

Head of the Dept. of Political Science, University of Dacca.

This is a study in the Indian Constitutional Problem. Price **Rs. 2** only.

India's Sterling Assets

by P. Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S. Rs. 2

Industrial Planning: Why & How

(Revised second edition)

by Dr. N. Das, Ph.D., I.C.S. Rs. 3

Fiscal Policy of India

by P. Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S. Rs. 10

	Rs.	As.
History of Bengal, Vol. I (edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.) ...	20	0
Early History of Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal (Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit.)	10	0
Hindu Colonies in the Far East (Dr. R. C. Majumdar) ...	7	8
Krishnakarnamrita of Lilasuka (ed. Dr. S. K. De)	6	0
Padyavali of Rupa Gosvamin (ed. Dr. S. K. De)	5	0
Kichakavadha of Nitivarman (ed. Dr. S. K. De)	4	0
Collection of Fragments of Lost Brahmanas (Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh) ...	6	0
Suvarnadvipa (in two parts) (Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.) each ...	10	0
Art of War in Ancient India (Dr. P. C. Chakravarty, M.A., Ph.D.) ...	5	0
Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs (Dr. R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D.)	5	0
The Meaning of Art (Dr. Rabindranath Tagore)	2	0
Doctrine of Sakti in Indian Literature (Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarty, M.A., Ph.D.) ...	5	0
Early Arabic Odes (Dr. S. M. Husain, M.A., Ph.D.) ...	15	0
History of the Paramara Dynasty (Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D.) ...	10	0
Concepts of Riti and Guna in Sanskrit Poetics (Dr P. C. Lahiri) ...	4	0
Hinduism at a Glance (Swami Nirvedananda)	4	8

General Printers & Publishers Ltd.—119, Dharamtala Street, CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To-day's Acts Determine To-morrow's Destiny

To-day's wise act may determine the future life and happiness of those whose destiny is linked with yours. To-day the wisest act is to be protected with a Life Insurance policy which determines the destiny of those whom you may leave behind in these uncertain days. A Hindusthan Policy gives you additional security because it is a company of proved dependability and the utmost solvency.

A COMPANY THAT SPEAKS IN TERMS OF CRORES.

NEW BUSINESS

(1944)

Over Rs. 10 Crores

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

Head Office :

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA.

DARJEELING BANK

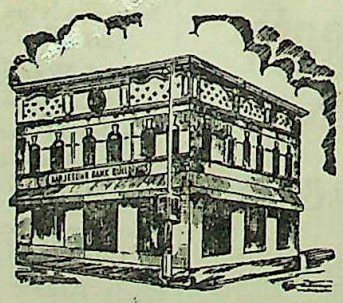
LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE : BHOWANIPUR ::: CALCUTTA.

Tele : RAINBOW—CAL. : Estd.—1931 : Phone : P. K.—2681.

A FIRST GRADE COMMERCIAL BANK WITH ALL CLEARING FACILITIES.

Calcutta Branches :
DALHOUSIE SQUARE
BURRA BAZAR
COLLEGE STREET
SHYAM BAZAR



Calcutta Branches :
SEALDAH
NEW MARKET
BALLYGUNJ
BEHELA

Bank's own Building in Calcutta.

TRANSACT ALL YOUR BANKING BUSINESS THROUGH OUR FIFTY BRANCHES ALL OVER INDIA.

B. MUKHERJEE, *Managing Director.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Gaurisankar
By Sunil Paul



Sivapuri, Nepal
By Sunil Paul

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CALL OF THE EARTH

By Tarapprasad Biswas

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1946

VOL. LXXIX, No. 1 WHOLE No. 469

NOTES

1946

As the War-Lords of the Western peoples have declared that World War No. II is over, 1946, *Anno Domini* should be hailed as the first year of peace after half a decade of organised violence, terror and destruction. Peace if it be, indeed, then it is Peace in a garb unknown to all the prophets and philosophers of old. What with Europe hidden under the impenetrable veil of a complete news-blackout, with the Near East quaking and Iran staging a series of puppet-shows under the direction of Moscow, with Britain as an uneasy spectator, with Indo-China and Indonesia ringing under the iron heels of Imperialistic Militarism engaged in the crushing of the aspirations of infant Asiatic democracies, with China poised on the cross-roads between civil war and anarchy and with Japan being given a demonstration of Mosaic Law, the rosy dreams of peace are melting fast. For the Asiatics the portents of 1946 seem to be for a Blood and Iron peace, the uneasy interlude between one orgy of death and destruction and, maybe, another of a still more horrible and devastating nature. For Europe, it seems, as if 1946 is ushering in the entreacte of *Gotterdammerung* of Western civilization. And for the leaders of the Americas, 1946 is the Year of Trial for democracy.

In the Economic sphere, in the world of trade, commerce and industry, this new-born year will be the year of a queer moratorium, the year in which the buyers will go begging after sellers, as if for alms, and the sellers will ride the high-horse, drunk with the loot of war-profiteering. Viewed from all points therefore, 1946 is the year of the hiatus, the gap in the transition from carnage and chaos to the unknown.

Of Europe we have heard but little since the cessation of hostilities and what little there has been of news, was of the most disturbing nature in so far as the civilians, old and young, are concerned. Rape and pillage in Austria has been reported and mass transfers of population. A short glimpse into the conditions prevailing may be got from the following list of news sent by the *USIS* :

New York, Dec. 24.—A Christmas appeal to the people of America on behalf of the children of Europe was issued yesterday by 50 prominent churchmen and laymen representing the major Christian denominations in the United States.

The appeal told the American people to petition the United States Congress to join in the effort to save Europe's children, "regardless of race, nationality or creed."

The appeal was based on official reports and information received from abroad by the various religious relief organizations.

The appeal pictured conditions where "millions of Europe's children live in heatless rooms, often without windows, with leaking roofs and sometimes open to the winter sky. Their food must also fuel their bodies with heat." The appeal asked for aid for all of Europe's children, including those in the Axis countries.

The Soviets are working their will on the conquered peoples in the accepted methods of medieval Europe. The British and Americans seem to have confined their energies to "make the punishment fit the crime." It might be considered unseemly to refer to such a grim tragedy as is being enacted in Europe in a strain of levity, but we find nothing in the news to describe the role of the Anglo-Americans in Europe better than by the above quotation from *Mikado*.

Indeed from all accounts the Soviets are taking time by the forelock in both the hemispheres. The following news item from the *Worldover Press* bulletin would give an idea regarding the Soviets' activities in Latin America :

Has Venezuela Revolt Spoiled Soviet Center ?

Almost lost to sight was the arrival of a plane bearing 24 Soviet Embassy officials at Caracas the day before the recent revolution broke out. The new functionaries announced that others would soon follow until the staff numbered sixty. Coupling this with slowness of the USSR to replace the late Ambassador Constantine Oumansky in Mexico, where Russian coldness has undone much of his work, and the support given Venezuela's President Medina by Communists early in the revolution, it appears that Caracas had been selected as the new center for diffusion of Soviet activity throughout Latin America. When it was charged in Mexico City last year that the Soviet Embassy there had sixty officials, indignant denials were forthcoming.

Mexico is to have a hot election in 1946, and the political battle lines are already forming. This does not provide a good climate for intensive Communist propaganda. Neither does the country's proximity to and friendship with the U.S. which is adopting a tougher attitude. The ending of the war has made work in South America more feasible from a nearer headquarters. All these factors were behind the choice of Caracas, but the new regime may or may not be as willing to swap favors for labor support as was the deposed President. Romulo Betancourt has al-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ready been characterized as a "Trotskyite" by certain Latin American papers with a Communist ideology.

With regard to the reference to the Soviets Embassy in Mexico, the following extracts from an article by Tavares de Sa in the November issue of *Asia and the Americas* are interesting :

> One has heard a great deal about the pro-Fascist, reactionary factions in Latin America : the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico, the *Integralistas* in Brazil, the military clique in Argentina and other countries. What about the Left ?
>
> First of all, it is necessary to proceed cautiously, tongue in check, to avoid overrating the importance of Communism south of the border. Every government there, but especially dictatorships like Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, have long used the convenient label of "Communist" to stick on whoever happens to be against them....
>
> On the other hand, it would be puerile to deny that Communism is a growing force throughout Latin America, many countries having vigorous and thriving political offshoots of Marxism. A quick survey of some key countries bears this out.
>
> In Mexico the swing to the Left has a long and tormented story behind it ; the Mexicans refer to it as the *Revolucion Mexicana*. And they will tell you proudly that their revolution, with its Marxist conceptions of confiscation of *latifundia* and expropriation of foreign corporations, got under way several years before Lenin debarked at the Finland Station in Petrograd. Perhaps as a throwback to historical days in the evolution of Communism, Mexican Marxists are even today split into a Stalinist and a Trotzkyist wing....
>
> Soviet Russia has not been unaware of this favorable climate in a strategic part of the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet Embassy in Mexico City boasts of a very large staff of topflight specialists and experts in various fields ; while at its head was one of the leading Soviet foreign service men. Ambassador Oumansky, recently killed in an airplane crash, was conceded to be Russia's outstanding diplomat.

While the Soviets' activities in the New World are confined to the traditional methods of Western diplomacy, the same cannot be said by any means about the Old World.

In Eastern Europe the Soviets are maintaining their stranglehold with a mailed fist behind an almost total news-black out. But it is in Asia, in the Near East and up in the northern provinces of Iran, that we really get a picture of the Russian Sphinx in action. There while one paw is menacing Turkey, the other one is slowly feeling its way to the Persian Gulf. The position in Iran is becoming clearer day by day, and it is perhaps here that the sowing of the Dragon's Teeth is begun in earnest. With the Arab-world in ferment the Soviets' Embassy in Baghdad would be in a position of great strategic importance, and with British Permanent Officialdom fully engaged in fishing in the troubled waters of Pakistan in India, Stalin's "castling move" in Azerbaizan becomes of vital significance. From Azerbaizan to Mazendran and Khorassan, and thence it is but a step to the powder-magazines of Afghanistan and the trans-frontier regions of the Indian North-West.

While Britain is shouldering the laudable task of putting back Humpty-Dumpty in Indo-China and Indonesia and incidentally "larning" Asiatic aspirants after liberty with bombs and mechanized weapons in her traditional fashion, and while the U.S.A. is busy educating the Japanese, civilians and military, in the code of Mosaic Law, the Soviets' moves in the sphere of *Real-politik* are indeed masterly. Bernard Shaw's remarks on the eve of the first meeting of Stalin with Churchill and Roosevelt now seem to be justified more than ever.

Big Powers' Fight Over Iran

"When the British Lion and the Russian Bear move together," wrote a nineteenth century poet, "the fate of Iran will be sealed." Today the fate of Iran is being decided with a vengeance. India cannot but watch the big Powers' fight over Iran with mounting anxiety for obvious strategic reasons. The American Eagle has now begun to participate in this trial of nerves. Iran's only sin is that she occupies a strategic position important both to Britain and Russia. Moscow has already engineered a revolt in the northern part asking for separation from Teheran. After that London is bound to create and protect her own sphere of influence to maintain her oil interests and sea position. Iran has figured prominently in the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Moscow.

Andre Visson, writing in the *Readers' Digest,* has given a good account of what is happening in Iran. He says that the stage is set for trouble there. In this Near Eastern country, located athwart important commercial routes and rich in oil and metals, British and Russian interests collide. The results of that collision are already being felt half a world away, in America.

Britain wants to continue development of British-owned oil-fields in the southern Iranian provinces, and to maintain communication lines across Iran to India.

Russia wants to get a share of Iranian oil and ores, a warm water port on the Persian Gulf and the use of Iranian roads for transit of goods to and from Central Asia.

Visson says, America wants no special privilege. The great majority of the people of Iran have a standard of living too low to permit them to be important buyers of American goods, and American imports from Iran—rugs, lambskin, Kashmir goat-hair etc.—are not vital to America. As regards oil and ore America herself has plenty. Yet America is there because she is vitally concerned by what happens in this remote and barren land. Explaining the American position Visson writes :

> There the security zones of Great Britain and the Soviet Union overlap. For more than a century the British have been worriedly blocking Russian penetration. Soviet pressure today is severe ; and there is a limit to the concessions the British can afford to make. Should the Soviet Union try to go too far, a conflict could hardly be avoided—and Americans could not ignore such a conflict.
>
> The Iranians have long dreaded a war between the two great powers, knowing that the victor might absorb Iran. But they are equally apprehensive of complete agreement between the Russians and British, fearing that such agreement would result in a partitioning of their country.
>
> The Iranians have always dreaded a friendly move between the British Lion and the Russian Bear on their own soil. The Lion and the Bear did move together

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in 1907. Declaring that they "agreed to respect the integrity and independence of Persia," they actually divided the country into three zones—a northern one for Russian influence ; a southern one with the rich oil-fields for British control and a middle one which both agreed to let alone.

This arrangement was torn up in 1917 by the Russian revolution and immediately the two Powers clashed in Persia. Out of the struggle Persia emerged once again under its ancient name of Iran, with the soldier-Shah Riza Khan on the throne. Riza Khan shrewdly played Russia and Britain against each other and by 1930 had the nation on the way to political and economic independence.

Hitler's attack on Russia once more induced the Bear and the Lion to move together. British and Soviet armies invaded Iran in August 1941 and in three days overwhelmed the Iranian forces. Riza Shah was exiled to the island of Mauritius and his son Muhammad Riza, succeeded him in a country occupied and partitioned by Britain and Russia.

The British and the Russians promised to evacuate their forces from Iran, six months after the end of hostilities against "Germany and her satellites." This pledge, made in 1941, was re-emphasised at the conclusion of the Teheran Conference in 1943. At Potsdam, the early withdrawal of Russian and British token forces from Teheran was re-affirmed.

But in fact, despite all these political gestures, the independence of Iran remained suspended. The five northern provinces under Russian administration are Iran's granary. Russia has isolated them, closed their borders to all travellers, even to Iranian tax-collectors and has prohibited the export of any food to the deficient southern provinces under British control. So the British had to send food to Iran from famished India.

When war ended in Europe, Iran demanded that Britain, Russia and America live up to their pledges and take away their troops within six months. Moscow pointed out that the pledge was worded "after the defeat of Germany and her satellites", and said that Russian troops could not leave Iran until Japan was defeated. Britain, on her side, would not consider withdrawal as long as there were Soviet troops about. Meanwhile, the Iranian political situation is fast deteriorating. The Government is rapidly losing even its nominal authority. Such a situation cannot last indefinitely ; it is dangerous for Iran, dangerous for Britain and Russia and dangerous for the United States equally entangled and involved.

Labour Govt.'s Choice : Free India or the World's Biggest Blood-bath ?

Mr. F. A. Ridley, writing in the *New Leader,* says that the world will have to face many explosions bigger than those caused by the atomic bomb, in the coming few years and the biggest of them all will be the Indian revolution overthrowing the yoke of British Imperialism. Faced with a movement of such magnitude Britain's Labour Government will either have to give India independence or indulge in one of the most gigantic blood-baths in all history by way of repression, warns the author of this article, forecasting what the immediate future holds for the whole world in general and Britain and the United States in particular.

Ridley writes that the proverbial truth, "coming events cast their shadows before them" applies in particular to three gigantic phenomena which, together, are evidently destined to overshadow the coming era. These, according to him, are respectively the fast mounting rivalry between the two dominant World Powers of the immediate future; the capitalist-imperialism of America and the new Russan power-politics ; the coming American economic crisis and the coming Indian revolution.

With regard to the first, "the dawning struggle for world power between the two winners of the second Imperialist war," Ridley says :

> President Truman's publicly proclaimed determination to keep the secret of the Atom Bomb in American hands for the general good of the world affords an interesting and revealing glimpse of the still painfully crude and primitive attitude of the world's greatest imperialist power. "Uncle Sam" must save mankind from itself ! No wonder the Russians who have been taught both by Lenin and by bitter experience to look behind words for the things which they actually represent, are outspokenly cynical at this crude twentieth century Calvinistic version of the "chosen race !" Soon, they too will have the Bomb, around which human history now turns, and then . . . the Deluge ? The Third and greatest World War to save civilization by making its contribution impossible ?

How soon this last catastrophe may become imminent, according to the author, depends on our second threat to world stability : the coming economic crisis in the U.S.A. For, the United States, today, represents a spectacle of glaring political and economic contradictions upon a scale never previously witnessed in the history of the world. The New World is now evidently destined not to "correct" but to breakdown the "balance of the Old."

An economic crisis is on the way which will also upset all previous records : a crisis which, as Middleton Murray recently expressed it in *Peace News,* in a striking phrase, will be a crisis "worthy of the Atomic Age itself". Asserting that this crisis is inevitable, Ridley writes :

> Consider the current contrasts between America's phenomenal economic output and her infantile political outlook. At one and the same time the U.S.A. is speeding up production to fantastic heights, whilst, simultaneously, removing all controls, and turning its back on all planning, and like an economic "Rip Van Winkle," is running the age of super-technics and the atom bomb according to the "political economy" of the remote days of Adam Smith. Truly a giant with seven-league boots . . . and the brain of a child ! Her contempt for economic theory will infallibly land her in the greatest crash in history.
>
> For what result can possibly accrue from such a basic contradiction except an economic crisis as unparalleled in human annals as is the super-productivity which will be its motivating cause. In probably about three years' time the world will be in the grip of a crisis compared with which that of 1929-33 was a mere storm in a tea-cup. That storm produced, among other things, Hitler and the Third Reich ; what will its greater successor produce in relation to a far more exhausted world-economy ?

The American crisis is bound to be a crisis for the whole capitalist world. World economy, which is capitalist economy, is today even more dependent on American economy than was the world economy of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nineteenth century on that of Britain. Hence the coming crisis will be a world crisis and it may come in 1948, exactly a century after the great world crisis of 1848, which gave birth to the doctrine of socialism.

Lastly, dealing with the Indian revolution, Ridley says :

> A recent writer described Spain, not unjustly, as "the moral touchstone of world-politics". But actually, this description applies even more accurately to India, which has a world importance denied to Spain. In particular, India will prove the moral touchstone for the third Labour Government. In this last connection, let us say outright and right here that a Party which resorts to violence against the greatest colonial movement of an oppressed people in the world in order to deny it its legitimate aspirations to political and economic self-determination, has forfeited all claim to the status of an international socialist party : the place of such a party is in the ranks of the imperialist enemies and oppressors of mankind.
>
> In particular, a British Labour Government which denies freedom to India has no more claim to represent that great champion of Indian freedom, Keir Hardie, than, say, the present nationalist and imperialist Russian bureaucracy has to represent that other great anti-imperialist, Lenin.

Ridley warns Britain, and specially the Labour Party, to do away with the humbug and self-deception in this matter and points out that all Asia today is stirring, as never before, from the Red Sea to the Pacific Ocean and "of all the Asiatic movements of national liberation that of India is the greatest. The liberation movements which are battling today for freedom in Annam and Java will go into action in India on a far vaster scale tomorrow. And such movements, if long frustrated, will inevitably turn to violence. For in this last connection, the influence of Mr. Gandhi, the last great figure of the pre-industrial age in India, cannot long survive in a country undergoing such rapid industrialisation as in present-day India ; any more than the very similar pacifist influence of Tolstoy could survive in the Russia of 1917. A modern India will inevitably look to modern leaders and methods."

The events cannot be long in coming to pass. The supreme test for Labour Party will come soon : the irrevocable parting of the ways between international Socialism and Imperialism.

The Sapru Committee Report

The Report of the Sapru Committee has been published. The Committee has recommended a single union of India including the whole of British India and the Indian States and has summarily rejected the demand for Pakistan. The Committee has, however, recommended, as the basis for Hindu-Muslim settlement, a parity of representation between Muslims and Caste Hindus in the Lower House of the Indian Legislature and the Central Executive but subject to the important proviso that joint electorates with reservation of seats would be introduced for all elected bodies in the country. The important point to note here is that this parity has been proposed between Muslims and Caste Hindus only, and not between Muslims and all Hindus. As such, we think, it does not go much further than the representation conceded to the Muslims in the Lucknow Pact.

No doubt there would be criticism of some of the Committee's recommendations, specially where they have gone into details. But for the matter of that we do not think that the Report deserves a summary condemnation as "out of date" as the Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta has done. The Report has been drawn up by some of the best legal brains of India whose profound knowledge in Constitutional Law and Procedure are in no way inferior to the acknowledged world authorities on the subject. The general problems have been dealt with in the Report which cover burning topics of the day and a critical and attentive study of them will certainly be helpful in removing the deep distrust that now separates the two main bodies of the Indian national life.

In the chapter on Pakistan, the Report examines the theoretical basis and the practical possibilities of a division of India. Applying the objective tests of nationality to the two provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the Committee points out that a separate nationhood for Muslims cannot be established on grounds of race, language and culture. Hindus and Sikhs who are in substantial numbers in these provinces also consider these areas as their homelands. Stalin's definition of a Nation may be cited here. He defines Nation as follows : "A Nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. It is only when *all* these characteristics are present that we have a Nation. It must be emphasised that none of the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a Nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a Nation." The Muslim claim for Nationhood is untenable in terms of this definition as well. The Muslim communities do not form a stable unit, since religion is dependent on conversion. Secondly, language of all the Muslims of India is *not* the same. It covers a wide range from Pushtu on the Western Frontier to Bengali and Assamese on the Eastern front. Urdu is *not* a common language for all Muslims in India. In Bengal, where the Muslims who have a five per cent majority over the Hindus, cannot through any argument, claim the whole of Bengal as their Pakistan. But all of Mr. Jinnah's demands have not followed the path of reason, he has claimed Bengal with its present boundary and Assam, where Muslims are barely thirty per cent of the population, as the Eastern Pakistan zone.

The Committee has traced the history of the theory of self-determination as enunciated by President Wilson and has pointed out that in Europe after the last war nationality was found to be an indeterminate criterion and gave little assistance in deciding frontiers. The principle became "loaded with dynamite" and later became a term of sinister German propaganda ; it thus ended by being turned into a weapon of war. The history of the Succession States in Europe for the two decades, 1919-1939, have amply demonstrated that whatever might have been the intention of President Wilson, his doctrine of self-determination benefited none but the Imperialist powers. In India, under British Imperialism, there is no reason why things would be different. The Committee says in conclusion that Pakistan "solves no communal problems and only raises fresh ones ; that on grounds of defence, leaving aparty major considerations, a division of the country

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

into two independent States will endanger the safety of both and that there is no justification for the British Government to support such a revolutionary scheme if they have genuine faith in that unity of India which they themselves have built up and fostered."

The Committee has also examined Reginald Coupland's Regional Scheme which recommended a division of India into four regions, the underlying idea being to create artificially two regions in which Muslims will be in a majority and another two in which Hindus will be in a majority. The Report characterises this scheme as fantastic, unreal and academic.

Rejecting all schemes of partition and division, the Committee concludes, "We are convinced that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by history nor by political expediency. It is incompatible with the greatness, safety and economic development of the country and will lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination. It multiplies and complicates the problem of minorities without solving it and threatens to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the eighteenth century."

The Sapru Committee has hit hard at the very root of all our complicated problems in clearly declaring that joint electorates must be made the basis of all elections. We consider this as their most important and most vital recommendation. The breaking up of our joint electorates into separate communal ones has been a deliberate policy of the ruling power in India and it has been followed with a clear purpose. Communal electorates have been multiplied and pushed forward down to the village electorate of a local or a district board. The result has certainly been conducive to the interests of Imperialist Britain. Britons of the progressive schools have themselves condemned the introduction of this sinister device in the Indian constitution. Barely two weeks ago, H. N. Brailsford, writing in the *Reynold's News* condemned the communal electorate. He said, "Much worse than narrow franchise is the rigid division of Hindus and Muslims in distinct constituencies, which vote separately. *This fatal arrangement has done, more than anything else, to divide Indians on medieval lines of religion.*" The Committee have done well to emphasise the reintroduction of joint electorates as the very basis of any future communal negotiation. Parity or a three-fourths majority in the Constituent Assembly will lose its sinister sting as soon as joint electorate is re-introduced.

Lord Wavell on India's Political Future

Lord Wavell has delivered his annual address at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. As is customary, he has dealt with a long series of problems including those of reconversion from war to peace economy, wartime controls, black market, cloth shortage, troops in Indonesia, government planning, agriculture, industry, I.N.A. trials and so forth, in the presence of the British multi-millionaires. The Viceroy compared himself and his councillors to the beggar in the proverb and said, with reference to Sir Renwick Haddow's tribute, "We get more kicks than half pence ; but you, Mr. President, have given us quite a generous six pence." The Viceroy and his councillors have thus succeeded in eliciting praise not from the people of the land but from a group of foreign merchants with vested interests in India and have waxed eloquent on it.

In the portion of his speech dealing with the political situation, Lord Wavell has, as he had done last year, ridiculed the Quit India slogan. Here is what he said :

> I can assure you unreservedly that the British Government and the British people honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and *a Government or Governments, of their own choice.* But there are certain elements of the problem which we must recognise. It is not a simple problem ; it cannot and will not be solved by repeating a password or formula. "Quit India" will not act as the magic "Sesame" which opened Ali Baba's cave. It cannot and will not be solved by violence. Disorder and violence are in fact the one thing that may check the pace of India's progress. There are various parties to the settlement who must somehow or other reach a measure of agreement amongst themselves—Congress, the largest political party in India ; the minorities, of whom the Muslims are the most numerous and most important, the Rulers of Indian States ; and the British Government. The objective of all is the same—the freedom and welfare of India. I do not believe an agreed solution between the parties is impossible : I do not believe it would even be very difficult, given goodwill, commonsense and patience on all sides.

Quit India is no catchword. It is neither the quack's pill nor the magician's wand. It does not connote race hatred. Quit India does not mean expulsion of British people as such from India ; it means an end of British rule in this country. For Indians, it is not a mere slogan, it is an ideal written in letters of blood in the heart of hearts of every politically conscious citizen in this country.

Two points in Lord Wavell's speech deserve special notice. First, his utterances hitherto about the geographical unity of India had been quite clear and explicit. For the first time we find this straightforward soldier-Viceroy treading in tortuous paths covered with a mist characteristic of British Imperialist politicians. The long asserted geographical unity of India has been made completely vague. In this speech, Mr. Jinnah reads meanings which, according to him, convey an idea that the British Government is gradually coming to realise the force behind the demand for Pakistan. Lord Wavell's words are so vague that they admit of any interpretation that might be put upon them.

Secondly, we had so long heard that there were two main parties in dispute on Indian constitutional problem—the Hindus and the Muslims. For some time past, the Native States had been sprung upon as a third party. Lord Wavell has made the whole thing completely vague by adding a fourth to the list—the British Government. A measure of agreement amongst these four parties has been made a condition precedent to the framing of the Indian constitution by the Indian people. We wonder why such an impossible agreement is called for. The interests of the Indian people and the British Government run counter to each other, any agreement between them seems hardly possible. Sixty years of negotiations, since the birth of the Congress in 1885, have failed so far to bring about an agreement between these two parties advantageous to both. The path of negotiations was followed right up to 1942 when the string finally broke. Here also the coup came from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British Government and not from the Congress representing the Indian people.

The interests of the Native States lie in the enjoyment of feudal advantages under the protection of the paramount power. It is the British Government upon whom they depend for the perpetuation of their overlordship in backward areas carefully segregated from political India. Here the personal interests of the Rajas and Nawabs, whose enthronement, dethronement and tenure of lordship depend upon the will of the Paramount power, run counter to the people's interest. We wonder how Lord Wavell expects to find a measure of agreement between these conflicting interests so long bayonets are available to maintain the present political and economic structure.

We can well understand the sanctimonious "Guardian Angel" attitude that is usually taken by British Permanent officialdom with regard to Native States and the semi-feudal zemindary states, but we did not expect that Lord Wavell would so soon fall from grace and join the ranks of the *pucca sahibs*. To illustrate the real motives of these guardians of mediaevalism we would cite the case of the Ramgarh Raj during the minority of the present holder of the estate. The Ramgarh State is a semi-feudal estate in Behar with vast lands rich in forests and mineral deposits. During the period when the State was in the Court of Wards, that is when the "Guardian Angels" were in charge, great mineral concessions were given, *sub-rosa*, to an European concern on terms that are usual in such cases. We learn that the "Guardian Angels" of the Native State of Bastar are now similarly desirous of transferring the rights of the gigantic iron-ore deposits of the State, while the young prince is still a minor.

As for the Muslim minorities represented by the Muslim League the position has been made quite clear. They must oppose the Congress in its endeavour to earn political power ; when any measure of political rights is earned through the untold suffering and sacrifice of the Congressmen, the Nawabs of the League must jump forward to demand their share, often with a very large weightage. For decades, this unseemly demand has been propped up with the British bayonet concealed at the back. As soon as this bayonet is withdrawn from the back of the League, the mainspring of the Hindu-Muslim cleavage will vanish and the largest common measure of agreement will be reached between them in no time. Let the third party withdraw, and the Indian poltical problem will be no problem at all.

Wavell has reminded us of the horrors of civil strife and has advised us to avoid it. But may we ask who engineered it ? It is now a historical fact that communal passions have been carefully roused by the third party in India in the interests of Imperialist domination in this country. We need not recapitulate but we must point out that if anybody has steered India to the path of civil war, it is the very people who now tell us of its horrors. The genial relations that existed between Hindus and Muslims for over a century, has been disturbed so widely on the principle of *divide et impera* by the British politicians during the last fifty years. Immediate efforts to avoid civil war must be made but not at the cost of freedom from British yoke. America, England, France, Russia all had their civil wars before they could draw up their constitutions. China is having it. We never fostered it nor do we want it. If civil war comes, it will not be of our creation.

Mahatma Gandhi in Bengal

Mahatmaji has at long last begun his visit to the real Bengal. Although he has been in this province now for nearly a month he had hardly seen anything at all that is significant of Bengal. He has previously visited the Governor of Bengal on many occasions, to what purpose we do not know. Perhaps we might be excused if, in the light of what little experience we have of our home province, and its executive, we venture to express our pessimism regarding the results of Gandhiji's exertions while he sojourned at Sodepur Ashram. All ashrams are detached from the world of realities and Sodepur is affectionately regarded by most of us as being even more so, and further we have neither seen nor heard of any knowledgeable person who was near Mahatmaji during his stay there to supply him with ready reference to the realities of the Bengal of today. Gandhian alchemy has before now transmuted base metal, we know, and so we have a lingering hope that we are wrong in our misgivings. After Sodepur followed a visit to Santiniketan which, after the passing of Gurudeva, is now being slowly converted into a Sleepy Hollow, inhabited mostly by disgruntled Rip van Winkles and Lotus-eaters. It is only now that Gandhiji is in touch with problems and ailments of a Bengal, that has been long expecting his visit with hope and expectation.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Youth of Bengal

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Bengal and his lightning tour of Assam, has been inspiring indeed. His welcome insistence on discipline has been the first correct directive to the youth of Bengal in two decades and if they take it to heart, really and truly, then, indeed, there is some ray of hope for this suffering province. If there is anything that is needed most for the days of trial that are ahead of us, then that is discipline in the rank and file of nationalism. There have been errors of leadership galore in this province— and in other provinces too—but nothing so tragic as the wrong ideas put in youthful minds regarding their role in the building of a nation.

The I. N. A. Trials

The Government of India by its latest ordinance permitting the Court-Martial to inflict prison terms of lesser duration than life-sentences, has followed in line with the concluding arguments of the prosecution, in which it was virtually admitted that whatever the results of the trial, the accused would leave the court with their honour untarnished. The effect of these trials has been the reverse of what might have been expected by officialdom and although the trials have so far taken a course quite different to what was chalked out in the beginning, it cannot be denied that it would have been much better if they had been stopped, from all points of view. The world is changing fast from what it had been in the days of Colonel Blimp and it is about time that it was understood that those that fight for the honour and liberty of their fatherland must be deemed to have fulfilled their most supreme duty. There is a supreme code of honour that is above all laws, civil or military, that concerns all those who fight for liberty and equality.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Parallel Government in Midnapore

The happenings in the Tamluk Subdivision of the district of Midnapore during the period August, 1942 to September, 1944 are contained in the report of a non-official committee composed of Sj. Satish Chandra Samanta, President, Tamluk Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Sj. Syamadas Bhattacharya, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Sj. Ananga Mohan Das, Joint Secretary, Tamluk Sub-divisional Congress Committee, and Sj. Prahlad Kumar Pramanik, President, Tamluk Thana Congress Committee. The report gives a connected story of the mass upheaval in the district and the acts of cruelty and repression amounting to arson, loot and rape which were perpetrated on the people. The most noticeable feature of the Report is that the people of Midnapore had established a Government of their own and ran it for two successive years in the teeth of a terrible repression which only Satan in a hdman form could conceive. The detailed accounts of the repression are now widely known. We need not dilate upon them. We quote below that portion of the report which deals with the work programme that was held on to for two consecutive years undaunted by the fury of nature and the wrath of a vindictive government. The National Government of Midnapore was dissolved and the workers surrendered only when Gandhiji had advised them to do so in his statements, dated, July 29, and August 6, 1944.

The following is the summary of an account of how the Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar (Tamluk National Government) functioned :

> The Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar was formed on December 12, 1942 ; and on January 26, 1943, in each of the thanas of Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahisadal and Tamluk, a Thana Jatiya Sarkar was set up subject to the control and supervision of the Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar. On account of the exceptional circumstances, elections could not be held. A Sarbadhinayaka (Director) was appointed by the Congress Committee. The Sarbadhinayaka acted within the limits set by the Congress Committee. He was empowered to appoint, subject to the approval of the Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Ministers to take charge of different departments. He was himself the War Minister. Other important departments were Law and Order, Health, Education, Administration of Justice, Agriculture and Propaganda each in charge of one Minister.
>
> Vidyut Vahinis (Lightning Corps) were formed. In each of its corps, there was one G.O.C. and one Commandant. It had three divisions, (1) Fighting Branch, (2) Intelligence Branch, and (3) Ambulance. The Vidyut Bahini was the National Army of the Jatiya Sarkar. Three more branches were later added, *viz.*, (1) Guerilla Detachment, (2) Sisters' Army and (3) Law and Order, The last named department did noteworthy work in arresting thieves and dacoits let loose to create disorder. These thieves and dacoits were produced before the Court of the Jatiya Sarkar and dealt with according to law. The Government publication, *Some Facts about the Disturbances in India 1942-1943* pays a tribute to this organisation thus, "In Midnapore in Bengal the operations of the rebels indicated considerable care and planning ; effective warning system had been devised, elementary tactical principles were observed, for instance, encirclement and flanking movements clearly on pre-arranged signals. The forces of disorder were accompanied by doctors and nursing orderlies to attend the casualties and the intelligence system was efficient.
>
> A short description of the working of the different departments of the Jatiya Sarkar is given below :—
>
> (*A*) *Department of Justice* : This was the most popular department of the Jatiya Sarkar. Each thana Jatiya Sarkar had a department of justice in charge of a Minister of Justice. The fee for filing a case was Re. 1 later increased to Rs. 2. An additional fee of Rs. 2 was charged from January 1, 1944, for emergency cases. Both civil and criminal cases were adjudicated. Against the order and judgment of the Thana Jatiya Sarkar Court, an appeal lay to the Sub-divisional Court of Jatiya Sarkar. Against the order and judgment of this latter court, an appeal lay to a Special Tribunal consisting of three judges.
>
> The court used to move and sit in different places to suit the convenience of the public. The public were allowed to be present at the time of the sitting of the court. Sometimes as many as 200 to 300 persons would be present. Many long-standing cases of the Sub-divisional and District Courts and the High Court were adjudicated successfully by the Jatiya Sarkar Courts. Sometimes, lawyers and mukteers were present. They always expressed their satisfaction at the working of the Courts. In criminal cases, the accused who were found guilty were given different punishments according to the nature of the offence. Warning, fine, detention till the rising of the court, whipping, etc., had been resorted to in order to meet the ends of justice. Property of absconders was sometimes attached and in some cases, sold in public auction. In execution of decree, property was in some cases attached. But attachment and sale were allowed only in a few rare cases, for instance, where persuasion failed. The prestige of the Jatiya Sarkar was, however, so high as to bring about settlement through its courts in most cases and get a ready obedience to its decisions. In Sutahata Jatiya Sarkar Court, 836 cases, in Nandigram, 222 cases, in Mahishadal, 1055 cases, and in Tamluk, 794 cases, *i.e.*, a total of 2,907 cases were instituted. Out of these, 1,681 cases were adjudicated. A few cases came up for decision before the Sub-divisional Court, and a few before the Tribunal. Before dissolution of Jatiya Sarkar, the depositors of fees of pending cases were given back their money. So high was the Jatiya Sarkar's prestige that many people were reluctant to take back their fees and wanted that the Jatiya Sarkar Court should try their cases when it might be revived.
>
> (*B*) *War Department* : It was of course mainly concerned with resistance movement for checking the offensive measures of the Government. As however the distress caused by the cyclone and famine became acute, aggravated by a deliberate policy of bungling and mismanagement by the authorities, the War Department paid greater attention to relief work.
>
> (*C*) & (*D*) *Health and Public Safety* : These departments tried their utmost to combat famine and pestilence. Clothings, paddy, rice and money were collected at different places and distributed among the needy. The rich hoarders and profiteers were served with notices by the Jatiya Sarkar to stop

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exploitation and they were made to pay fair sums of money and paddy which were distributed among the distressed people. In the acute days of famine the members of the army camps of Jatiya Sarkar first subsisted on one meal of boiled gram and one meal of rice, and then for nine continuous months, they lived on one meal of 3 chataks of rice and another meal of half *poa* of boiled or fried gram. Medicines of many varieties were distributed. In all Rs. 79,000 worth of clothings, medicines, paddy and rice were distributed.

(*E*) *Law and Order* : This department with the help of the Intelligence Branch maintained peace in the Sub-division. This department was responsible for arresting and getting punished a good number of thieves and dacoits. Notorious dacoits had been released and encouraged to commit all sorts of offences and on many occasions, the Police Station refused to give any aid to persons suffering from depredations of these people. On Jatiya Sarkar taking up firm steps to prevent the crimes, these crimes stopped and very few cases of thefts and dacoities were reported, which received prompt attention from the Jatiya Sarkar. The Jatiya Sarkar's remedy was speedy, effective, inexpensive and to the entire satisfaction of all sections of people.

(*F*) *Education Department* : Many schools received regular grants in aid. Schools were regularly inspected by competent inspectors.

There were also Propaganda Department and Finance Department each in charge of a Minister.

Mr. Jinnah Replies

We are informed through the medium of the daily press that Mr. Jinnah has replied to Master Tara Singh's statement in the Urdu Press as reported in our issue of December, 1945. The reply which is in the characteristic fashion typical of Mr. Jinnah, is as follows:

> Bombay, Dec. 20.—"This is a downright falsehood and an absolute fabrication", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, when his attention was drawn to the editorial notes of the *Modern Review* of December, 1945, wherein has been reproduced the report purported to have been circulated by Master Tara Singh and published in a section of the Urdu press to the effect that "Mr. Jinnah is receiving a sum of rupees six lakhs annually from the Government of India through a Muslim State."
>
> Mr. Jinnah added, "I am not getting a single pie from any State for Pakistan propaganda."—*U.P.*

The League Ministry in Bengal and Boat-Contracts

In the *Prabasi* (our Bengali Monthly) for 'Pous', which came out on the 15th of December, we published an editorial regarding the boat-building contracts that were given out by the administration of Sir John Herbert and his pet Muslim League Ministry headed by Sir Nazimuddin. A few days after the publication of this editorial a local daily published a re-arranged translation of our Bengali editorial as its first editorial. There were some very important omissions made regarding certain names, and of course there were some garnishing at the beginning and at the end. We are, however, thankful that the matter obtained further publicity in this curious fashion and further that our staff has been spared the trouble of translating this important editorial into English. We give below the translation appending the omitted portions in their proper places.

The full story of the "denial policy" and its connection with Bengal famine has yet to be told. The Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress has told only a part of it. We propose to give an account of the sequel to that policy in relation to the destruction of about 40,000 country-boats by the order of the Government of Sir John Herbert. Bengal, particularly lower Bengal, is a riverine province. The only means of communication in a large part of the province is the country-boat. In fact the internal trade of the country largely depends on this particular conveyance. One of the staple foods of the people is fish and Bengal, therefore, has a much larger population of fishermen than any other province. The construction and repair of boats give employment to thousands of carpenters who have for generations specialised in the line. The then Governor and his advisers of the Muslim League Ministry, did not give any consideration whatsoever to the likely effect of the boat-denial policy on the lives of the people. Lakhs of people lost their employment as a result of this policy. Majority of them were Muslims and of the scheduled classes.

When, therefore, Sir John Herbert's Government launched on a policy of purchase of foodstuffs and their removal or their destruction they made the advent of famine inevitable. So panic-stricken were they at the imminent prospect of a Japanese invasion that they became utterly indifferent to what would happen to the people. It is the rural population that was naturally far more affected than the urban in this man-made famine. The village artisans, the boatmen, the landless labourers, the petty traders and the fishermen formed the bulk of the fifty lakhs who died of starvation. And they were mostly Muslims and the "scheduled" people. The boats having gone, there was no means of the distribution of foodstuffs which were stored in the city and which eventually became unfit for human consumption. The Muslim Leaguers called to office by Sir John Herbert aided and abetted their patron and were thus responsible for the calamity. By resort to hooliganism they are now preventing the Nationalist Muslims and others from telling that story in full detail to the electorates. And if they are being assisted, directly or indirectly, by some of the local officials, the reason is not far to seek.

Tragic as is the story of the famine, the sequel so far as it relates to the boat-denial policy is interesting. The famine and the Muslim League's responsibility in relation to it made the position of the Ministry precarious. Many members of the League Party were hard put to it to face their constituencies. The League Ministry realised that something had to be done. An amount of six crores of rupees was provided for the construction of boats. The scheme was wonderful. A provision was made for 10,000 boats, each with a loading capacity from 100 to 1,000 maunds. There was provision also for a few 2,000-maunds boats. Fishing boats or ferry boats had no place in the scheme. The excuse was that big boats were necessary for the purpose of the Civil Supplies Department for the distribution of food. It was a false excuse as at that time contractors for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

big boats were complaining that their boats were lying idle.

What was the fate of the six crore-rupee scheme? The amount was divided into two equal shares. Three crores were placed at the disposal of Minister Sahabuddin, brother of the Chief Minister Sir Nazimuddin. The responsibility of distributing contracts on behalf of Sahabuddin's Department was undertaken by Mr. Satish Mitter, the faithful servant of the League. The balance was made over to the charge of Major-General Wakely, the then head of the Civil Supplies Department. An average of rupees six thousand was earmarked for big boats and Rs. 23,000 was assigned for each of the bigger boats. Who got the contracts? Not the small carpenters but men who had never in their lives done any work in the line. A Marwari Rai Bahadur secured some ten items of contracts in different names. Satish Mitter and Minister Sahabuddin are the only persons who can explain the reason for taking out the contracts in different names, it is not for others to understand. Large sums were advanced to them. Many members of the League Party in the Legislature headed by Khwaja Sahabuddin's own brother-in-law Mr. Salim got contracts as prizes, others also got them, the only persons who did not get any contract were those whose profession was boat-building. The Ministry stood in need of their support. Thus the hope that there would be some compensation for the survivors of the professional boat constructors was completely defeated.

The loot. for it was nothing else, did not end here. The contract was that the boats would be of at least two-year old *sal* wood but when the construction began the authorities permitted wood of much inferior fibre to be used as material. The excuse was that the construction had become urgent. The contract, however, was not modified in any case. Not only this, the size of the boats was reduced. A pretty large number of these boats are to be seen on the *Dhapa* canal near Calcutta. We are told that their maintenance is costing the Government a lakh of rupees per month. So rotten is their build that there are no purchasers for these boats nor are there candidates to take some of them on hire. It is said that these boats are altogether useless for any purpose. The Government of India are reported to have deputed Brigadier Ames some time back to inspect the boats and he has submitted his report. Will the Government publish that report?

Sind Leader Criticises League Election Policy

Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and a member of the Working Committee and Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League, has tendered his resignation from the All-India Committees of the League and in a statement has denounced the Fascist tactics of the League High Command. He makes the open accusation that the "entire progressive element in the Sind Provincial League has been eleminated from the list of candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board for the Sind Assembly." He has accused Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Chairman, Central Parliamentary Board, with violation of promise and with having monopolised the Board for the preservation of the League Leaders' own vested interests.

Outlining the actual differences, Mr. Syed says:

(1) In determining the course of conduct, we are required to subordinate the good of the people of Sind to the undefined and constantly fluctuating requirements of the League High Command's all-India policy, which is now being influenced and controlled by Muslim leaders in Muslim minority provinces. While claiming to liberate us from Hindu domination, these friends are bringing us under their own dominance; and in order to maintain their own leadership at the Centre, they are encouraging reactionary forces in the province.

(2) No efforts are made to purify the organization and deliver it from the forces of corruption and bribery which have marred the good name of the province. On the contrary, no opportunity is lost to push the reactionary elements to the forefront and all our attempts to serve the masses are ruthlessly frustrated. In order, however, to distract the attention of our people from these failings, they have recourse to the easier method of singing hymns of hatred against the Hindu community. This scheme of activity has only rendered us totally useless for the service of the Muslim masses.

(3) With the view of safeguarding the interests of the privileged classes those in authority in the organization are, moreover, anxious to ensure that provincial legislatures are so composed as to make certain the return of reactionaries to the constituent Assembly—those who would perpetuate the dominance of vested interests.

One of the main grievances of Mr. Jinnah against the parliamentary methods of the Congress had been that its Central Parliamentary Board exercised control over provincial ministries and interfered in provincial matters when any of them were considered to be in conflict with all-India interests. During the Congress regime, such interferences had not been many. Mr. Jinnah's followers are now making the same grievance against him with the difference that the Congress High Command was never accused of having done anything except in the interest of the nation, while the League High Command is charged with having employed Fascist methods for the furtherance of their vested interests. Mr. Syed says, "In the name of Muslim solidarity we are called upon to swallow everything that is calculated to ensure perpetual power for the vested interests. If some one raises the fundamental issues and demands that even at this stage it is essential and incumbent to decide and define who the beneficiaries under Pakistan would be, he is most effectively silenced as an enemy of Islam."

Mr. Syed utters a bitter truth when he says that the High Command's attitude towards the Sind Provincial Muslim Leauge or the Muslim minority provinces is more or less the same. It is to patronise the vested interests, to strengthen their iron hold over the Muslim masses, to support title-holders, office-hunters, self-seekers and persecutors of the poor and poverty-stricken Muslims. This attitude of the League Leaders have been fully demonstrated in Bengal during the famine year when a League Ministry coined money on the corpses of the Muslims. Mr. Syed has expressed his determination to put an end to this policy and the forces that are at its back. He is certain of his ultimate success, whatever temporary setbacks and obstacles he may have to encounter. Time is certainly needed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to defeat the League-British coalition, but there is no doubt that forces of progress will ultimately be victorious over the forces of reaction.

League Stabbing Islam at the Back

Allama Mashriqui has issued the following statement from Lahore on December 9. We quote it in full as published in the *National Call* of Delhi :

> Events of the past three months have laid bare the fact that satanic forces let loose by those in power are coming to grips with godly powers in the present elections. A body of tried, trusted and titled individuals who established British power in India from the days of the Mutiny and who stabbed at the back of Islam have come forward under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and under the garb of Islam to stifle the growth of Muslim aspirations for the freedom of India and kill the entity of hundred millions of Mussulmans. Recent events of rank hooliganism with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq in Bengal and Mr. Rashidi in Sind conclusively prove that Mr. Jinnah's announcement that he desired to fight the elections constitutionally was deliberate humbug. As a matter of fact, Mr. Jinnah has been ordered by his masters to wean away the Mussulmans of India from the idea of freedom at the point of lathi, and in this way bring about the utter defeat of Congress and other freedom-loving organisations.
>
> It is well-known that Mr. Jinnah charged the Mussulmans Rs. 10,000 plus Rs. 1,000 munshiana for one appearance for a few minutes in Court in the well-known Ilmuddin case and extorted the deficit of Rs. 250 by means of a legal notice. In the Shahidgunj case he showed a clean play of heels. Such a leader is now thrust upon the Mussulmans by the power that be and the idea is to crush the Mussulmans politically for all time.
>
> The most recent offer of Mr. Jinnah to me is that he is ready to join hands with me provided the matter of the Khaksar Constitution is not brought under discussion. It is a most ridiculous offer, but meaningful in the sense that the Muslim League is out to exploit the Mussulmans for the sake of the British unconditionally. I am ready to join hands with Mr. Jinnah only on the condition of free and unadulterated stand for the freedom of India, and on his readiness to sacrifice all he has got, even his life, if freedom is not obtainable by gift. I can promise satisfactory settlement with the Hindus side by side with the attainment of freedom and Mr. Jinnah can exact any fine from me if a settlement is not obtained. Mussulmans of India may get overpowered by his hooligan methods to secure seats for the Muslim League in the coming assemblies, but I warn him that there is a coming storm that he may not be able to face altogether.

The force of Mashriqui's arguments cannot be passed over in silence. The success of the League at the Central Assembly elections does not, of itself, prove that League represents the entire body of Mussalmans. It only proves that at a higher suffrage consisting of actual and potential profiteers and job hunters, Mr. Jinnah's influence is great. The open activities of the Khaksars and the Nationalist Muslims prove that in spite of their defeat at the Central Elections, they are a force to reckon with. The Lucknow correspondent of the *Leader* has exposed the methods of League propaganda in the U.P. through which Mr. Jinnah succeeded. Methods followed in the Frontier Province has already been dealt with. The correspondent writes :

> Now that the Central Assembly elections are over, it would be interesting to investigate how the Muslim League swept the polls.
>
> While the Nationalist Muslims *held a large number of meetings* to explain their stand and to examine the implications of Pakistan, the Leaguers resorted to a whispering campaign. The arguments advanced by Jamiat leaders *against Pakistan* in *crowded meetings* of Muslims, were too weighty to be refuted by the Leaguers. So they *did not answer them in open air meetings,* but chose the alternative of explaining their case to each voter.
>
> With a list of voters in their hands drawn mohalla-wise, they went from house to house. It was whispered personally into the ears of each voter that the Muslim League's mission was to save the Mussalmans from Hindu tyranny which would be at its worst after the British had walked out of India. Hindus were described as atrocious towards the Muslims and examples were manufactured to carry conviction to Muslim voters. The League was represented as the saviour of the Mussalmans in 'the hard times ahead'. Those who spoke against Pakistan were dubbed as paid agents of Hindus, and in this way a sort of strong prejudice was created against them.
>
> In this whispering campaign the election manifesto of the Congress too was described as a Hindu affair. It was said that the Congress was anxious to abolish zamindari only because it sought to finish the Muslim Rajas, Nawabs and landlords who were the only protection for the poor Muslim community.
>
> Thus communal venom was poured into the ears of voters, and their feelings were aroused in favour of the League. Needless to say that all this travelling and running about needed money and it was made available to the propaganda agents in plenty.
>
> The Muslim taluqdars and zamindars look upon the League as the saviour of their class and would willingly invest in the League's election fund if that helped them to retain their present position in rural economy. Surprisingly enough even some Hindu zamindars of the Mahasabha school with 'Akhand Hindustan' on their lips agree with the way the Muslim zamindars are helping their cause.

Too much is being made of the 100 per cent success of the Muslim League at the Central Assembly elections on the issue of Pakistan. The inconvenient fact is very conveniently forgotten that barely one per cent of the population has been sounded, even if Pakistan is conceded as the issue of the election. Only 2 per cent of the population are voters for the Central Legislature and the number of Muslim voters are much less than one per cent.

Another inconvenient fact that needs mention is that the Muslim League has not issued any election manifesto setting forth its objective and outlining its programme. The only manifesto that has so far been issued clearly defining the objective and the programme comes from the Congress.

Mullas and Money Mobilised Against Congress

The Lahore correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* has given an account of how Mullas, money and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

official antagonism have been mobilised against the Congress by the Muslim League. The correspondent gives a good account of the methods of League propaganda in the Frontier Province. It had been stated that the League did not set up any official candidate in that province because it enjoyed a joint electorate, The League shuns joint electorates wherever they may be found. For the Frontier, however, separate or joint electorates mean little difference from the League standpoints. This province enjoys a 92 per cent of Muslim population. Joint or separate, whatever might be the electorate, the Muslim candidate returned here will be nothing else than the representative of the Muslim population.

The correspondent writes that Mr. Jinnah utilised his visit to the Frontier Province to contact the Pir of Mauki Sharif who, according to the *Dawn,* prayed for the success of Mr. Jinnah's mission. The Pathans are intensely religious. It is on this sensitive chord of their being that the Mullas, some of whom have dignified themselves into Pirs and Faqirs, have played against the Congress which is represented as anti-Muslim (not anti-Muslim League) organisation. The overwhelming majority of votes secured by the Congress candidate, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, fully proves that all these League propaganda have failed to take root on the Pathan soil.

The correspondent gives an account of Mr. Jinnah's candidates and supporters which deserve notice. This proves that the League methods of propaganda and the character of the League supporters are almost the same all over the province. Only a separate electorate among an unlettered and politically backward population can maintain these persons in power. In the Frontier, the landed aristocracy called the Khans, who have been enormously enriched by the war boom in agricultural prices and the contractors who have made immense fortunes have placed their financial resources at the disposal of the Muslim League. They figure prominently on the list of Mr. Jinnah's candidates for the Frontier Assembly. Exactly similar is the case in other provinces as well where the war contractors and war profiteers are the main prop of the League. It was given out in the Muslim daily *Navajug* (Calcutta) that the houses of two of the main props of the Bengal Muslim League, ex-Ministers Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Khawaja Sahabuddin had been searched by the police.

The reason why the Khanate of the Frontier and the wealthy contractors and black-marketeers have chosen to join the Muslim League is the same everywhere. They believe that they can continue to be loyal to the British if they have an effective voice in the Muslim League. They have found to their benefit that such loyalty pays, not unoften very heavily. The success of the League in the Central Assembly elections through a middle class and wealthy electorate shows how deep this greed has gone.

The Frontier is a province where non-Muslims do not constitute more than eight per cent of the population. Naturally the services are mainly manned by Muslims. They had a good time during the short-lived regime of the Muslim League headed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. The charges of corruption against a number of them were never challenged or answered. The officials, or a large number of them, dislike Khan Sahib for being a rude and honest man. They have, therefore, thrown in the weight of their influence on the side of the Muslim League.

The greatest handicap of the Frontier Congress is that it has no money to spend on elections. It is merely banking on the superiority of its programme and its record of service and sacrifice. The methods of League canvassing have been illustrated by the correspondent. He says that the League technique of canvassing public support is to send an agent to a village with half a dozen sheep and many maunds of good quality rice and to invite peasants to a *polau* feast. The entertainment is intended to end in a mass prayer for the success of a particular candidate. In this fashion considerable sums of money are being spent by the League.

The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent, summing up, writes :

> Curiously enough the 'Pushtu'-speaking districts which may be called a Pathanistan are more in sympathy with the Congress than the districts adjoining the Punjab where even the language of the people is Punjabi spoken with a different accent. The Punjabi-speaking districts are League-minded. Their politics bear a family resemblance to the politics of men like Sir Firoze Khan Noon. Indeed the reaction on these people of Sir Firoze's resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council was salutary for the Muslim League. They began to say: *"If Noon can join the Muslim League it must be backed by the British".*

British Goods Advertised at Indian Tax-payers' Cost

The special representative of the *National Call* at New Delhi has given an account of how at the expense of the Indian taxpayer colourful publicity is being given to the British firms in and outside India. This is being done through pamphlets prepared under the joint auspices of the Department of Food and the Department of Labour of the Government of India. A pamphlet entitled *Feeding the Worker* is prepared on excellent art paper so scarce in the country and withheld from the press and the public to enable government experts to play havoc with it in publishing British goods and firms.

Mr. Kirby, the Rationing Expert of the Government of India who has suspended his lecture tour on the benefits of rationing, brings out a series of well-got-up pamphlets on nutrition, etc., which contain facts and things known to children of elementary intelligence and knowledge and thereby earns over three thousand rupees a month. These British "experts" whose services are "lent" to us by the "benign" British Government eat Indian salt and advertise British goods.

The following portion of the report is interesting :

> In *Feeding the Worker,* on page 33 of the December issue is published under attractive headline, 'Canteen Equipment'—Buyers' Guide—Overseas Manufacturer is given a long list of British firms—as if overseas only British manufactures exist—where one can have complete equipment, water boilers and tea urns, dishwashers, refrigerators, cutting, slicing, peeling machines, services trolleys, cash register and ticket machines, food products, tables and chairs, cooking and warming apparatus, water softeners and overalls. Why should Mr. Kirby advertise the British firms in India at the expense

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the Indian taxpayer and give them hints about buying tables and chairs from Britain is understandable. As someone said, "What is the earthly use of having India under your heels if you do not get thousands from it and carry on a campaign of 'Buy British'." A footnote says, the list is supplied by Industrial Welfare Society—London and names and addresses of Firms (misspelt and giving another instance of official efficiency at high cost level) in India representing any of the British firms are being obtained and will be included in a subsequent issue—thus ensuring double dose of publicity for British firms.

This same trick of publicising British products at the cost of the Indian tax-payers has continued for all these years. In the name of price control, British goods and their brands have been lavishly advertised in newspapers at public cost. For months together we failed to discover the name of a single Indian product in the continuous flow of advertisements of "controlled" goods in newspapers. Some member of the Central Legislature will do well to ask the Government of India to state how much public money they have spent in this sort of open and covert publicity of commodities manufactured in Britain and by British firms in India working under the cloak of (India) Limiteds.

The M. P. Delegation

The *Roy's Weekly* of New Delhi has discussed the coming M. P. Delegation to India. We are in full accord with the views expressed by Wayfarer in its columns. He says that Lord Wavell has been reporting every third day to London. He is also presumed to be in daily telephonic communication with No. 10, Downing Street, even as Lord Linlithgow did daily at midnight during the Cripps visit. Apparently Mr. Attlee is not able to satisfy Parliament on the Indian issue. There are too many interpellations shot out during question time in the Commons which are not liked by the Treasury Benches. Hence a decision to send a delegation of M.P.'s to India.

Newspapers in India have given too much prominence to this discussion in the Commons about this delegation. The facts that emerged from it are all of the negative variety. It will *not* now be sponsored by the Empire Parliamentary Association, but represent Parliament itself. It will *not* be something like a Royal Commission. It will *not* be charged with making any official inquiry. It will *not* make any formal report. Its visit will not be much more than a fortnight. On the positive side there is only this much news that the delegation on return will be agreeable to meet the representatives of the British Government, to discuss their impressions, views and opinions. They are being sent, but not without a purpose.

Seventeen years ago when the Simon Commission came, even the Moderates joined hands with non-co-operating Congressmen and there was a complete boycott. That impressed the commissioners. They reported as they had to do. Three years ago, Sir Stafford Cripps came, sensed and abruptly flew back to tell the Britishers, "There is no real passion for freedom. In any case Indians would not join hands with any Japanese sponsored Indian National Army."

Today British M.Ps. are coming equally to sense, sound and later informally to report. The *Roy's Weekly* has termed them as "Informal Simon Commission with the methods of Cripps." The concluding remarks of Wayfarer given below deserve special attention:

> We should be on our guard. If any one of them wants to discuss any internal politics like Socialism, Communism, Pakistan, Sikhistan, Anglo-Indianistan, etc., every son and daughter of India should frankly tell them, *We do not discuss Indian politics with foreigners.* There is nothing new in this piece of advice. M. Clemenceau told Mr. Churchill in Paris when the latter went to sense and sound the French leader: "Excuse me, I do not discuss French politics with foreigners." This is recorded by Mr. Churchill himself.
>
> But the Indian characteristic is so different. We are so volatile. Any foreigner is only to ask a simple question. Out comes the Indian mind and heart from A to Z. We have not developed the quality of reticence. If any word is to be uttered, it must be *Freedom.* If any argument is advanced, *Freedom* must be reinforced. To this effect, every Congress leader and sub-leader might be given a directive. At a conference table, even a third-rate Britisher is superior to the first-rate Indian. Let us not, therefore, gush out before the M.P.'s who will be in our midst next month.

Mineral Resources of India

A strong plea for the nationalisation of the vast mineral resources of India was made by Dr. Cyril Fox in an interview to the *Associated Press of India.* In his opinion the development of mineral resources could be entrusted to a private enterprise under Government control. Dr. Fox made ten other basic suggestions, first, that the aim in exploitation must be to turn out processed product as far as possible and secondly that a number of first class Research stations should be opened throughout India with a strong Government backing, whose job should be to strive new ground by constantly investigating new processes.

Dr. Fox admitted that India has the world's largest resources of iron ore both quantitatively and qualitatively and yet India's annual steel production stands at only one million tons as compared to the much higher figure for Belgium whose iron ore resources are only a fraction of those in India. India's coal resources are sufficient to warrant an ultimate annual production of ten million tons of steel. Even without making any fresh demand on our coal reserve, Dr. Fox says that we could reach a five-million-ton figure for steel production, simply by conserving coking coal.

Of non-ferrous metals special mention should be made of copper, lead and zinc. The working of these metals has, it has been openly alleged, been kept in suspense in the interest of British concerns working on the same line in Burma. Indian capital has not been shy to flow into these channels but its course has been blocked or diverted through racial favouritism. The grant of prospecting licenses and mining leases have been open to strong public criticism.

Dr. Fox made a very important announcement regarding radio-active elements found in India. Bihar has resources of uranium. Uranium is the main ingredient for the manufacture of atomic bombs.

Regarding coal, Dr. Fox says that India has vast resources of it but our coking coal resources are limited. He expressed the view that unless immediate measures are taken to conserve coking coal, India may have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

none left after 45 years. Wastage of coal through unplanned and unscientific raising has long been a grievance. But this industry being in British hands, nothing has so far been done to protect Indian national interests which might conflict with British vested rights. A suggestion for internal gasification of coal, as the U.S.S.R. has done, was made but it fell on deaf ears.

Dr. Fox has suggested nationalisation of India's mineral resources. We agree. But at the same time we want to point out that this nationalisation should be made only when a truly National Government is established at the Centre. Before that nationalisation would mean only an additional accession of strength for the British capital.

Expansion of the Calcutta University Controller's Office

Closely following the appointment of an Additional Controller of Examinations by the Calcutta University, a circular letter to all the Heads of Affiliated Colleges has been issued which seeks to shift on the College Principals a fair slice of work hitherto done by the Controller. We have seen the circular letter. We consider the instructions contained in it as unjust demands on the slender resources of the Colleges which have to eke out a precarious existence through private aid and tuition fees. We are not prepared to believe that the University offices are under-staffed. If it is the desire of the University to make expansion at the top and retrenchments at the bottom, they should in all fairness extend financial assistance to the Colleges in respect of the extra work demanded from them.

Land Settlement in Kenya and Its Effect on Indians

Indians in Kenya are vitally affected by the comprehensive proposals for land utilisation and land settlement in the colony covering all races. The proposals have been published in a Government paper at Nairobi a summary of which appears in the *Leader*. Declaring that the problems are not only fundamentally important but desperately urgent, the paper states that a bill will be introduced by the Government in the Legislative Council as soon as possible. The bill will make provision for the establishment of a statutory central settlement board with functions of advising government on policy and on schemes for settlement or re-settlement of all races on land in Kenya. Subsidiary boards will be set up to deal with Indian, African, Arab and European settlement.

An Indian and Arab Settlement Board will be created under an Indian Chairman to enquire into the demand among Indians for agricultural land and to examine certain areas that may be suitable. The duties of the Board will be as follows :

First, report on the activities and economic position of Indian farmers in those areas at present occupied by Indian agriculturists.

Secondly, discover what demand exists among local Indians and Arabs for opportunities to take up an agricultural career and particularly to ascertain the demand among locally born Indian and Arab youths.

Thirdly, suggest to Government what land in those areas of the colony which are open to occupation by persons of all races, it would be suitable for Indian and Arab settlement in order that the Government may appoint technical officers to examine and report on this land.

Fourthly, when Government has received reports from its technical officers and has made available suitable area or areas for Indian and Arab settlement, to devise schemes including financial recommendations for beneficial occupation of land by Indian and Arab farmers.

Fifthly, administer under the direction of the proposed central settlement board such financial provisions as may be approved and arrange the training of prospective farmers.

The Pegging Acts have succeeded in driving Indians out of the good localities of the urban areas reserving them for the White people. Attempts are now being made to oust them from good agricultural land that they might have been enjoying. It is no use pleading to the Government of India for the protection of the rights of the Indians abroad. We look forward to the day when a truly National Indian Government will stretch out its firm hand to redress all encroachments made on the rights of Indians overseas.

Verdict on the Hallett Administration

Sir Maurice Hallett has ceased to be the Governor of the United Provinces. On the day of his retirement, December 6, the *Leader* featured the verdicts of the provincial leaders on the Hallett Administration, which are worth recording. In a short article, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote :

> The last five or six years in India have been extraordinary years in many ways. There was the war, of course, and continuous conflict and nationalist upheaval and its suppression.
>
> During these years we have had what might be called the culmination of authoritarian rule by the permanent services in India.
>
> War and other events facilitated this development and we had the curious spectacle of, on the one hand, India being on the verge of freedom, and at the same time having a government which was and is the complete denial of freedom, such as even India has not had for a long time past.
>
> Perhaps a crisis brings these extremes together and all half-way houses are swept away. In this period of undiluted authoritarianism the old members of the Indian Civil Service have not only reverted to their old traditions but improved upon them.
>
> In India certain personalities stand out, as emblems of this authoritarianism and Sir Maurice Hallett is one of them. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has become the symbol in Indian eyes of the worst type of British Imperialism and colonialism. He declared that every one who was not with his Government was to be treated as an enemy. He announced his determination to crush and kill the Congress and the nationalist movement. He did his best but, as he himself must realize now, he was up against a rock which could not be shattered. For, Indian nationalism and desire for freedom are too big and powerful to be crushed by anybody. Sir Maurice Hallett thus becomes the symbol of the failure of British rule in India and of the complete futility of that rule today.

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, has characterised Sir Maurice Hallett as "a most reactionary Governor and a heartless individual" and has pointed that his place in history is by the side of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the Punjab notoriety. He also charges him with unconstitutional practices and discourtesy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. K. N. Katju charges Sir Maurice Hallett with "shooting and looting". He writes :

> Any one having the remotest connection with the Congress was arrested and detained and all these prisoners and detenus were classified under his orders as 'Q' class prisoners. 'Q', I presume, stood for 'Quit India'. Deliberate efforts were made to wreck these men in mind and body. The prisons may not have been called concentration camps, but virtually they were concentration camps.
>
> While India's war-effort was being boosted to the outside world as wonderful, the national leaders were being treated as worse than prisoners of war, completely segregated and cut off from all outside contact. What was done to suppress the national uprising in 1942 is common knowledge. Nothing was left undone. Indiscriminate shooting, looting of houses, cruel collective fines, summary trials which were no trials but mockeries of trials, in effect drum-head court martials—all these took place. The people seemed crushed and beaten. Civil liberties had already ceased to exist. The entire press was further absolutely gagged. Nothing could be published relating to the movement and along with all this came the era of food famines and scarcity of consumer goods of all varieties with the resultant controls of every kind and description.

Babu Sampurnananda, Ex-Minister of Education, U.P., charges the Hallett regime with shamelessly attempting to demoralise the youth. He writes :

> Not only have students been kept in prison for long periods but they have been subjected to lathi charge and gun-shot. They have been cruelly interned, not allowed to rejoin, asked to comply with humiliating conditions. Some are still in prison. A Government which claims to be able to rule efficiently over fifty million inhabitants of this province has confessed its inability to arrange for detainees appearing at departmental and university examinations. Mean vindictiveness is the only expression which can describe the attitude of the Government towards the students. That it has been equally vindictive wherever it has been able to pounce upon a teacher engaged in anything that might be called a patriotic act goes without saying. Teachers and students have been encouraged to act as spies and heads of institutions and inspecting officers to act as hangmen. This shameless attempt to demoralise the character of youth, this effort to corrupt the atmosphere of educational institutions, is the strongest indictment of Hallet rule. The recent performance of the police at Lucknow is a pointer that Hallet has not mended his ways yet.

Hallett has gone, but the Civil Service whose correct manifestation he was, still remains. It still drags on its precarious existence. Nothing but a complete elimination of British rule in India can liquidate this ruling corporation which passes under the name of the "Indian Civil Service."

Lift for Firoz Khan Noon's Stooge

India Today, published monthly by the India League of America from New York, is responsible for the following news :

> Sir Firoz Khan Noon's stooge, Khurshid Ahmad Khan, who earned notoriety by trying to create a disturbance at a Press Conference held by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in San Francisco, has been rewarded for his anti-Indian activities. Mr. Khan has been appointed as an Assistant Director of Civil Supplies in Delhi.
>
> Sir Firoz Khan Noon was one of the British appointed delegates to the San Francisco Conference and it was generally known that he instigated Mr. Khan.
>
> Mr. Khan's appointment to such a responsible post has caused a good deal of surprise. He is stated to have superseded several senior officials in the Department.

We on this side of the Suez Canal have not been surprised at this appointment. This is not an exception but a typical method of recognising and rewarding anti-national activities of slavish Indians.

U. S. Balance Sheet in Race Relations

A little coloured girl, asked to name a fitting punishment for Hitler, said, "Paint him black and make him live in America." With all their talk of democracy in human relations many Americans forget both morals and ethics in their behaviour towards the Negroes. This clash between American creed and American practice has been brought to light by Mr. Edwin R. Embree, the noted American expert on Racial Relations, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He writes that the Negroes want to fight for democracy but they see the issues quite as plainly in America as abroad. They are no longer satisfied with the epitaph suggested by one coloured soldier, "Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the glory of a white man." Negroes want democracy at home right now. Many thoughtful Americans agree and are working with a zeal not shown since the movement which abolished slavery.

Other Americans are equally perturbed for opposite reasons. Fighting for the *status quo*, they are determined that the Negro shall "stay in his place." Here is the current balance sheet in race relations as submitted by Edwin R. Embree :

> The most spectacular signs of the rising tide of intolerance are outbreaks against various minority groups : anti-Semitic attacks in New York, Boston, Chicago, the zootsuit clash with Mexicans in Los Angeles ; manhandling of Japanese-Americans. But the chief victims were Negroes : riots in Detroit, Beaumont, and Mobile ; outbreaks in Newark and Dayton ; violence on all kinds of public carriers throughout the South.
>
> In many cities Negroes were mauled by the police and stoned by 'neighbours' for moving into new districts. A Negro in Mississippi was tortured and murdered by white men because he refused to sell his farm to one of them.
>
> Housing, always inadequate in black ghettos, has become intolerable with the new crowding. A million Negroes have migrated from the rural South since 1940, some of them to Southern cities but most to already congested centres in the North and West. In Chicago, with 350,000 Negroes, areas of the South Side Black Belt have 55,000 to 90,000 inhabitants per square mile herded into houses abandoned by their former owners, with poor sanitation and scant facilities for recreation. School buildings are so congested that many Negro children have to get their education in half-day shifts. With restrictive covenants and other quasi-legal devices keeping Negroes from any other quarters, landlords pile up the rents and let the buildings run down.
>
> Funds available for housing for Negro defence workers in more than 25 Northern cities could not be used for over a year because of objection from white residents. In Detroit, where the 150,000 Negroes of the 1940 census have increased by 10 per cent every year during the war years, coloured tenants could move into public housing built expressly for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them only after crashing a picket line of white rioters. In Baltimore, where the numbers have jumped from 165,000 in 1940 to over 200,000 in 1944, an angry citizenry has refused to let Negroes move out of the established ghettos or have public housing.

Employment of Negroes in America

Embree has discussed at some length the problem of Negro employment in America. Negro employment has been a constant fight. In spite of the President's orders and the vigilance of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, employers were slow to hire coloured workers.

Upgrading of Negro workers has brought on hate strikes and riots in dozens of centres, notably in Philadelphia, where the whole city's transportation were tied up for six days because eight Negroes were given jobs as motor men on trolleys; and at the Wright Aeronautical Plant in Lockland, Ohio, when 12,000 workers walked out because seven Negroes were transferred to a "white" department.

Minority groups themselves have not been guiltless. Catholics and Jews have often discriminated against Negroes.

The police and the courts have not always shown fairplay or justice. In riots Negroes have been arrested and punished in far greater numbers than white offenders. Police brutality against Negroes, even when they are in uniform, has become an open scandal. In Southern Courts, judges often treat coloured defendants with disdain or amusement, refuse to accept Negro testimony against white and tend to assume a Negro guilty until he is proved innocent. Juvenile delinquency has become alarming. White and Negro gangs have clashed on streets and public carriers in many cities.

In connection with the suppression and distortion of news about Negroes, Embree writes :

> In the news there has been suppression and distortion : the pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind", an authentic, scientific statement, was banned by the USO and the Army. "Strange Fruit" the powerful novel by William Smith, was censored in Boston as "obscene"; Gene Talmadge featured his (losing) campaign for Governor of Georgia by bonfires burning copies of "Brown America"; the USO press agent suppressed a photograph of Mrs. Roosevelt with the very dark Mrs. Bethune as "controversial."

Treatment of Negroes in America

Embree has described the galling insults and uncertainties that individual Negroes face every day, never knowing when they may be admitted or thrown out at a theatre, a restaurant, a hotel, a bathing beach. In Washington, a Negro who had lost a leg in Italy was refused service in Thompson's restaurant, two blocks from the White House. Negro troops in Paso, Texas, were refused food in a station dining room where they could see German prisoners of war seated and receiving courteous service.

Dealing with the employment of Negro soldiers in war service, Embree writes :

> Resented most of all is discrimination in the armed forces. Negroes—and millions of other people the world over—simply cannot understand a war for democracy fought by an army organised on segregation and prejudice. *Time* states that 70 per cent of Negro troops have been used for labour rather than combat. The training school for Negro pilots had to be built by private funds, and in spite of brilliant records abroad, Negroes are still little used in any of the air services.
>
> On leave, coloured soldiers and sailors have been herded into restricted areas for their play, even in the combat zones of England they were Jim Crowed in the Red Cross recreation centres and insulted and sometimes beaten by their American fellows.
>
> An Englishwoman whose village had quartered chiefly coloured troops said, "Oh, we all like the Americans, but those white folks from the States are terrible."
>
> Most shocking is the lethargy of the United States Army in allowing civilians to mob and sometimes murder soldiers in uniform if the soldiers have dark skins. Three soldiers from Camp Van Dorn, Mississippi, were killed, one by the sheriff of Center ville and two by white civilians after one of the soldiers answered "Yes" instead of "Yes, sir". Private Raymond McMurray was shot in a general roundup of "suspects" near Birmingham, Alabama. A soldier in Charleston, South Carolina, beaten and threatened with death by two civilian policemen, shouted,
>
> *"Hell, shoot me ! It's "your" country I'm supposed to die for, anyway."*

The last war has, in many ways, been significant for the Negroes. It has given them opportunities they have never had, but at the same, it has sharpened their sense of the clash between American creed and American practice. The Balance Sheet in race relations has been presented. Coloured peoples all the world over will watch how it is honoured.

Bertrand Russell Visualises Third World War

Bertrand Russell visualises the outbreak of a third World War and says that a war between America and Russia might well last for thirty years, and end, not in victory for either, but in the extinction of civilised ways of life. All large towns in Great Britain would be wiped out by atomic bombs at an early stage. Russell writes :

> The present difficulties arise through Russian imperialism. I know that many people deny altogether that the Soviet Government is imperialistic. They say that imperialism is an outcome of private capitalism, and since private capitalism has been abolished in Russia, there cannot be imperialism in that country. This argument is scholastic and a priori, the facts refute it. Russia has annexed Eastern Poland and the Baltic Provinces, has established subservient Governments in Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania, and is demanding Port Arthur and a half share of the Chinese Eastern Railway. If this is not imperialism, what is it ?
>
> This is not the end of Russia's ambitions. Ancient designs against Turkey and Persia are being revived. There are reasons for suspicion as to Russian intentions in Eastern Germany.
>
> Russia's immense military strength, as revealed by the war is held in check for the moment by the atomic bomb, but before long Russia, no doubt, will have as good (or bad) a bomb as that of the Americans, and as soon as this has happened it will be possible to have a really serious war. Such madness must be prevented if possible, but it is not easy to see how.

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Russell on Policy of Appeasement

Discussing the policy of appeasement, Russell says :

> I do not think peace can be permanently preserved by a policy of appeasement such as we pursued toward Germany until after Munich. Such a policy encourages continually greater demands on the other side until a point is reached where further yielding is thought rightly or wrongly, to be impossible ; then war results in circumstances made more unfavourable by previous concessions. In the case of Russia, this point would be reached, at latest, when attempts were made to establish a Communist Government in France by unconstitutional means. What is wanted is not vague appeasement but a clear policy publicly proclaimed, making clear in advance what issues we consider vital.
>
> We should, I think, concede a free hand to Russia in Eastern Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey), on the ground that in that region we cannot effectively intervene : but in return we should have an acknowledgement of our interest in the Mediterranean. To this degree, spheres of influence, though undesirable, seem impossible to avoid. But our main policy should be guided by motives of principle, not of national power.

Russell on British Democratic Leadership

Pinning high hopes on the possibility of a British Democratic Leadership in post-war Europe, Russell says :

> The advent to power of the Labour Party in Great Britain has given hope throughout Europe to those Socialists who have remained faithful to democracy. In almost every country of the Continent there are strong Left-wing movements which hitherto have had to look to Russia for support. Our policy should be not to support the Left where it is in a minority but to secure democracy wherever Anglo-American influence is sufficiently strong, and to accept whatever Government, whether of the Right or of the Left, may result from free elections.
>
> The first step should be to see that this policy is genuinely applied in Greece, where the Conservatives left us an evil legacy. I do not know what is possible in regard to Spain, but whatever can legitimately be done should be done to hasten the fall of Franco. We should make it clear, if possible in conjunction with America, that we should not be tolerant of unconstitutional attempts to substitute dictatorships for democracies in countries where a democratic Government had been established.
>
> All this, however, should not be attempted within the Russian sphere. Any concessions to America and Britain in Poland, Bulgaria, or Rumania are likely to prove illusory and to generate more irritation than they are worth.
>
> The present British Government can, and I hope, will, acquire great moral prestige by abandoning certain imperialist claims. *In regard to India, dramatic and unequivocal pronouncements should be made embodying what is in fact our policy, but stating it in a manner to appeal to the imagination.* Hong Kong should be restored to China by the peace treaty.

Russell considers these things as essentially necessary if Britain aspires to the moral leadership of socialist Europe. By this means, Britain can build up a Western European bloc which, while by no means hostile to Russia, will also be not subservient and not susceptible to political penetration by Communist totalitarianism. In this way an equilibrium may be established which, though at first precarious, may gradually become more stable as war passions cool and common sense revives.

Russell emphatically says that what is evil in the Soviet system is very largely the outcome of the fear generated by Western hostile intervention after the last war. If this fear is allayed a willingness of co-operation with the West may be gradually strengthened in Russia and the present difficulty may steadily grow less.

According to Russell, another world war is not improbable but he says that it can be avoided by a combination of firmness, patience and forbearance on the part of the Western Powers, together with a vigorous assertion of the ideals of democratic socialism.

The British Labour Government's policy towards India and the subject peoples of South-East Asia, however, does not inspire much confidence in their capability to lead Europe and the world out of the present turmoil. Instead, they seem to be steadily and quickly drifting towards a third world war, more devastating and catastrophic than the one which has just come to an end.

Kalinath Ray

Death occurred in Calcutta of Sj. Kalinath Ray, Editor-in-Chief of the *Tribune* of Lahore. Sj. Ray was associated with the *Tribune* for nearly three decades and the progress that the *Tribune* has made and the prominent position it has come to occupy in Indian journalism during this period was mostly due to him. In announcing his death the *Tribune* makes feeling references to his services to the Punjab and writes, "Though a Bengalee by birth, he made the Punjab his home ; and understood its problems very intimately. He served the Punjab with untiring devotion and today when he is no more his services to the province will be gratefully remembered by all Punjabees irrespective of caste and creed."

Sj. Ray took his schooling in journalism while serving in the *Bengalee,* under Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Sir Surendranath was famous for his florid, gusty and gushing style. The disciple possessed a temperament different from that of the *guru.* He learned the devastating method of demolishing the strongholds of obscurantism and reactionaryism through the force of logic. His motto was, "Strong words are no substitutes for strong arguments." He could not be at ease with himself unless he had poured out all the arguments in his possession and had buried his opponents' thesis under them. His method of work had been a combination of caution and precision. His honesty of conscience and intellectual illumination were reflected on it. Although he was not an extremist, he always refused to sacrifice the right patriotic impulse at the altar of moderation. He never feared to incur the wrath of Sir Michael O'Dwyer during the Martial Law days. *Blazing Indiscretion, The Vicious Circle, Out-Heroding Herod,* etc., were some of his memorable articles written in those days. The Punjab Government did not spare him, they sent him to prison for two years. Sj. Ray never wrote with a pen dipped in poison, but when it collided with a flinty regime it emitted sparks.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POST-WAR ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN INDIA

By P. C. JAIN, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.) London,
University of Allahabad

As Government of India's war expenditure ceases and the wartime demand for Indian goods slackens the existing conditions of industrial and agricultural 'boom' in India will give place to economic depression, widespread unemployment, and fall in people's purchasing power. This change-over will not take place all at once and its impact on some industries will be harder than on others. But there is no doubt that the chaos will be worse if conditions are allowed to drift by themselves and the situation gets out of hand. It is true that even an all-out effort by the Government of India will not be able to save the Indian economic system from this depression, but a timely and systematic effort can very considerably reduce the intensity and tempo of this catastrophe. For this purpose it is necessary for the Government of India to adopt a vigorous programme of post-war development.

Deflationary Process

Between 1938-39 and 1944-45 the Central and Provincial Governments in India spent a huge sum of Rs. 3910·77 crores out of which Rs. 1346·71 crores were spent on defence and Rs. 1393·88 crores on behalf of the British Government. The Central and Provincial Budgets for 1945-46 provide for an expenditure of Rs. 1215·93 crores as against only Rs. 160·91 crores actually spent in 1938-39. These phenomenal figures show that the Government of India cannot afford to spend such huge amounts in the future and this would set in motion a powerful deflationary process. The prices of agricultural commodities, consumers' goods, and raw materials will fall. This would reduce the money income of producers and wage-earners. The Government, however, can and should make this process gradual by reducing its expenditure in easy stages so that industry will have time to adjust itself to the changed conditions. Moreover, sooner or later the military demand for goods will be replaced by increased civilian demand. The Government of India can hasten this process by enforcing schemes of post-war economic and industrial development, which are already under consideration of the Central and Provincial Governments, without further loss of time. These schemes will increase people's purchasing power or, looking at it differently, will prevent as much fall in their money income as would otherwise take place. This combined with Government measures to remove all wartime restrictions on civilian expenditure, and a reduction in the crushing burden of taxation which has very seriously reduced people's capacity to spend, will bring enough purchasing power into the market. These efforts cannot save the Indian economy from post-war depression, which in any case is inevitable, but they will surely shorten the deflationary period and will reduce its evil consequences.

Unemployment Problem

Another aspect of the problem is that in transition from war to peace many persons will be thrown out of employment. In 1944 the large-scale factories employed 2·4 million workers, the armed forces had a strength of 2·5 million, and small-scale and cottage industries had provided work to over 15 million workers. It is expected that the cessation of wartime activity in large-scale industries will make nearly half a million persons idle. The railways, Government offices, and similar other establishments will throw between one-quarter and one-third of a million persons out of employment. It has been announced that 850,000 men will be demobilised from the fighting forces within the next eight months and, although the future stages have not yet been revealed, it is expected that an equal number will have to meet the same fate subsequently. The military provided direct employment to about one million persons in building and maintenance work and indirect employment to between five and seven million persons in small-scale and cottage industries for the production of goods required by the defence forces. These persons will now be thrown out of work. In this way in all nearly 10¼ million persons will be thrown out of employment and, though all will not become unemployed at once, new employment will have to be found for them by the end of the transition period, which might extend from three to five years.

The Government of India and the different provincial Governments have as yet done nothing to solve this difficult problem. A number of Regional Directorates of Resettlement and Employment with employment exchanges have been set up all over the country. A number of Information Bureaus have also been opened to give guidance and information to demobilised soldiers. This organisation will register the requirements of Government departments, industry, and other private employers and would assist the unemployed persons in getting the available jobs. But at best this organisation can make adjustments between supply and demand of labour more smooth. In no case can it provide fresh avenues of employment which alone can be useful in solving the unemployment problem. It is necessary to create fresh sources of employment in order to improve the net situation. The Regional Directorates of Resettlement and Employment can do nothing of the kind.

Public Works Programme

New employment can be provided by a systematic plan of public works development. The different provincial Governments have prepared schemes of post-war reconstruction which are capable of providing employment to demobilised soldiers and others made idle by the end of war. But the chief defect of all these schemes is that they are not yet ready while demobilisation has already begun. If and when these schemes come into operation, it might be too late and the little relief which they would give might then prove ineffective. The Government of India has recently announced that, subject to a maximum of Rs. 50 crores, it would contribute 25 per cent of provincial expenditure on works of unproductive nature undertaken by the provincial Government to relieve unemployment in the transitional period. Such schemes will prove futile though they would cost the tax-payer much money. A better alternative would be to put long period provin-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are not yet complete. As these plans unfold themselves necessary changes can be made in the details. This would make it possible to utilise the tax-payers' money in the best possible way while providing new avenues of employment to demobilised soldiers and others out of work. Similarly, the central schemes of railway, road, and building construction should be introduced as quickly as possible. It is unlikely that these plans would provide employment to more than a small proportion of the unemployed but whatever relief they give is worth having.

Tariff Protection

The Government plans of post-war reconstruction will have to be supplemented by efforts to encourage and develop India's large and small scale industries. For this purpose it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy of tariff protection, in the absence of which many new industries which came into existence during the war are likely to be ruined. These industries have not yet been able to consolidate their position and would not be able to stand the onslaught of cut-throat competition from imported goods. It is only with the help of a liberal tariff protection that they might be able to bridge the difficult transitional period. The Government of India has recently appointed an interim Tariff Board for a period of two years in the first instance. This Board will examine the case of Indian industries which were started or expanded during the war period. The cases of certain chemical, metal, and rubber industries have already been referred to the Board. The Tariff Board will also examine the claims of bichromates, steel pipes and tubes (up to a nominal bore of 4 inches), aluminium, calcium carbide, calcium chloride, and starch manufacturing industries which were started directly on the basis of Government encouragement and were given an assurance of protection against unfair competition in the post-war period. According to the terms of reference, the Board will examine the case of each industry as it thinks fit and will report whether the industry satisfies the following conditions :

"(1) That it is established and conducted on sound business lines ; and

"(2) (*a*) that, having regard to the natural or economic advantages enjoyed by the industry and the actual or probable costs, it is likely within a reasonable time to develop sufficiently to be able to carry on successfully without protection or State assistance ; or (*b*) that it is an industry to which it is desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance and that the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community is not excessive. Where a claim to protection or assistance is found to be established, *i.e.*, if condition (1) and condition (2) (*a*) or (*b*) are satisfied, the Board will recommend : (I) whether, at what rate, and in respect of what articles, or class or description of articles, a protective duty should be imposed; (II) what additional or alternative measures should be taken to protect or assist the industry ; and (III) for what period, not exceeding three years, the tariff or other measures recommended should remain in force."

These conditions are more liberal and comprehensive than those of 'discriminating protection' recommended by the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1922 and used as the basis of Tariff Board enquiries ever since. But the conditions now laid down by the Government are necessarily vague and whether they would give adequate protection to Indian industries or not will depend upon the interpretation which the interim Tariff Board places upon them. But if the Tariff Board does the work in right spirit and the Government of India does not sabotage its recommendations by prevarification or by dilatory tactics the proposed conditions are capable of safeguarding the interests of Indian industry. This would make it possible to expand industrial employment in India in the transitional period and after.

Tax Concessions

Apart from tariff protection, the Government should make it possible for industries to spend money on scientific research, renovation of machinery, and improvement in methods of production. For this purpose suitable changes will have to be made in the existing tax system. The excess profits tax will have to be withdrawn with immediate effect, greater depreciation allowances granted on new machinery, and expenditure of money on technical research will have to be exempted from taxation. These measures will help in the reorganisation of Indian industry and in reducing the costs of production. This would increase the competitive power of Indian industry and would enable it to expand and provide employment to some of the persons made idle by the end of war.

Efforts should also be made to encourage and develop small-scale and cottage industries and, as they provide employment to a large number of persons per unit of capital invested, the potential capacity of these industries for solving the unemployment problem is much greater than that of large-scale enterprise. They take less time to start and organise than large-scale industries and this relative advantage has recently increased because of difficulties in importing the required amount of machinery and technical equipment for large-scale factories. If Government plans of industrial development give small-scale and cottage industries their due place, unemployment in the transitional period will be reduced, the income of the cultivators will be supplemented, and it would be possible to secure a more balanced industrial development of the country.

Indian Cultivators

The cultivators will probably be the worst sufferers in the forthcoming depression. The prices of agricultural commodities will fall as normal conditions return and the fall in agricultural prices in India will be faster and greater than the fall in prices of industrial goods or agricultural prices in most other countries of the world. The prices and costs in India, due to uncontrolled inflation during the last six years, increased many times more than in the U.K., U.S.A., and other western countries and the balance will inevitably be restored as, with the return of normal conditions, the internationally traded commodities begin to flow freely.

It has been wrongly suggested in some quarters that in order to safeguard the interests of the cultivators the Government should fix agricultural prices at existing, or slightly lower, levels. This would be possible if the Government were to buy the entire produce of all the major agricultural commodities, such as wheat, raw cotton, oilseeds, and raw jute at fixed prices and sell it in the market at the prevailing prices. In order to make this practicable the Government will also have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to assume control over production so that only a 'normal' quantity may be produced. Such a policy, however, would lead to at least two serious difficulties. The financial loss inflicted on the Government by these operations might be unduly heavy and it is extremely doubtful whether the Indian economic system, after six years of grinding taxation, would be able to bear the strain of such huge expenditure of money as this policy involves. Moreover, India is not and cannot afford to be a self-sufficient economy. We depend on imports for machinery, technical skill, certain scarce chemicals and raw materials and in order to pay for these it is necessary to export Indian raw materials and manufactured goods. Exports provide demand for surplus raw materials which cannot be utilised in India. But these exports would not be possible if prices in India are maintained at artificially high levels, out of touch with international price-levels.

The danger of falling prices is that thereby the cultivators' money income is reduced. But it is possible to keep up the cultivators' money income even with falling agricultural prices if the yield (per acre) of agricultural crops is increased, crop planning is introduced so that there might not be overproduction or short supply of essential raw materials and foodstuffs, and the cultivators' money income is supplemented by cottage and small-scale industries. These would reduce the evil effects of post-war depression on the Indian cultivators. These methods have the advantage of increasing the cultivators' money income without increasing their costs of living, thereby safeguarding the *real* income.

———:O:———

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Special Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations, College of the City of New York

I am writing this Open Letter to the Government of India, to draw the attention of the authorities, specially those Indian statesmen and educators who are associated with the Government of India with the express purpose of serving India, by raising national efficiency of the people by spreading proper kind of education, that the recent well-intentioned policy of sending thousands of Indian students to Great Britain, the United States and other countries for advanced studies as adopted by the Government of India* is at best inadequate and wasteful.

According to the information available from the abovementioned official document, the programme has been summed up as follows :

> "With a view to increasing the supply of properly trained technical personnel who are likely to be required in connection with the various plans for post-war developments, the Government of India have decided, pending the extension of facilities for advanced technical instruction in India, to make arrangements immediately—
>
> "to send abroad a certain number of students, at Government expense, for advanced courses in technical and scientific subjects directly related to the probable post-war needs; and
>
> "to establish a properly equipped organization in this country and also in the United Kingdom and the United States of America for providing advice and guidance and also assistance in regard to admission to courses of studies etc., for those students who may desire to proceed overseas for study at their own expense or who may be sent for this purpose by firms and private bodies. It is hoped that, if war conditions permit, it will be possible to make arrangements for 1,000 such students this year."

Regarding *Stipends, Travelling Expenses,* and *Equipment Allowance* for these students, the following provisions have been made :

> "The value of the stipend will be fixed in the light of ascertained requirements in different countries (the average value in the U. K. will be about £300 per annum), but will be sufficient to cover all the normal maintenance expenses which a student is likely to incur, including expenses during vacations. The stipend will be payable from the date of a student's arrival in the country where he is to receive instruction up to the date of his departure from that country on the return journey, and it will be paid in advance in quarterly or monthly instalments. Any tuition fees or other charges in connection with the course of study will be paid by the Government of India.
>
> "Students will be allowed a II Class fare or, where there is no II Class, the fare next below I Class from their normal place of residence to their place of instruction and back, together with a sum of £5, or its equivalent in Indian or other currency, to cover incidental journey expenses each way. The sum of £5 will not be paid to those who are in the Government employ and in receipt of their pay during the voyage.
>
> "Each selected student will be given before his departure from India an equipment allowance of Rs. 500 to enable him to provide himself with suitable clothes and other necessary articles as he is likely to need on the journey or immediately on his arrival in the country to which he is being sent."

It is indicated that students will on the average receive the stipends for two years. All selected students will be required to enter into a bond, or undertaking to serve the Government of India, on their return after the completion of their course of instruction, for a period of five years, if required to do so in a gazetted post, or to take up for a similar period other comparable employment, if so directed by the Government of India.

II

It is my opinion that living expenses, travelling expenses, college tuitions, etc., for each student annually will be at least £500. Therefore, for the first batch of

* See the booklet entitled *Information for Indians Desiring to Proceed Overseas for Advanced Studies*, 1945, published by Department of Education, Health and Land.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

one thousand students to be sent to foreign countries for advanced studies will cost at least £500,000 or seventy-five lakhs of rupees a year and £1,000,000 or one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees for two years. The net result of this expenditure will be, training some government officials and not strengthening Indian educational system which will provide the required facilities for raising national efficiency. But if this one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees were capitalised and invested in improving Indian educational institutions and also hiring the very best type of foreign professors, if need be, then thousands of Indians of all classes would be able to secure higher education annually and there would be permanent facilities for research and scientific work, as being carried on in Great Britain, the United States and other lands.

The craze for sending Indian students to foreign countries is the reflex of the job-hunting psychology that was created through Indian Civil Service Examination which used to be held in England. The idea that is dominating Indian mind is that to get the best even in the field of education, Indians must go to foreign lands. They do not think in terms of creating facilities in India for the highest type of scientific education and also hiring the best brains of the world, in connection with Indian universities for a number of years to train a large number of young scientists.

III

Sending thousands of Indian students in foreign lands so that they will get better government jobs after their return to India is not the best way to raise the standard of Indian national efficiency. Indians should at least take into consideration the experience of other nations which in recent years have risen from backwardness to the position of foremost scientific nations.

In Asia Japan was the first country to realise the necessity to acquire all that is best in the West and utilise them to strengthen the nation. The Japanese Government sent first-rate scholars to foreign lands with the express purpose that they would learn their subjects of study in such a fashion that they will be able to teach those subjects in Japanese institutions. These pioneer students had to prepare text-books for their subjects in Japanese language. Then the Japanese Government employed American, German, French, British and other experts and educators to serve the Japanese nations in various capacities. For instance, to train the Japanese army on the basis of German efficiency, the Japanese did not send thousands of Japanese annually to Germany, but they invited German military men, generals of the highest type to organise their army and the staff college and sent a certain number of the very best type of Japanese military officers to study in staff colleges in other lands. Japanese universities employed foreign professors who worked with and under Japanese educators and developed the very best type of universities and technological institutions. Japanese industrialists as well as the Government employed a large number of foreign experts to teach the Japanese technicians in Japan. They adopted this method because this was the cheapest and the best method of creating in Japan such institutions as will meet Japan's national needs.

In India many educators and statesmen point out the enormous progress that has been made by the Russian people in the field of education and scientific and technical development. In fact, it is the opinion in America that today Soviet Russia and the United States of America are the two countries where the greatest efforts are being made for scientific and technical progress. How did Soviet Russia achieve this success? Not by sending thousands of Russian students to British and American universities; but by bringing into Russia some of the best technical and scientific men to serve Soviet Russian educational and technical institutions and enterprises and also by providing means to develop facilities for scientific and industrial researches of all kinds by promising Russian scholars. Why does not the Government of India apply the lessons learnt from Russian achievement in developing Indian institutions by Indian scientists aided by the best scientists and experts of the world employed in Indian institutions?

Turkey is possibly the most progressive of Asian countries, next to Japan. It may interest the Government of India and Indian statesmen that the Turkish Republic to strengthen its national life, has been increasing the efficiency of Turkish universities and establishing new institutions. I happen to know that when Hitler began to drive out Jewish and liberal professors from German universities, during the year 1934-35, (if I am not mistaken), the Turkish Government employed some fifty German professors of great distinction to teach in various Turkish institutions of higher education. They were to teach at least for five years and by that time they were to teach through the medium of Turkish language. The Turkish Government has recently employed an American as adviser to the Ministry of Education.

When the United States Government remitted the Boxer Indemnity money to educate Chinese scholars to raise Chinese national efficiency, for the first few years a large number of Chinese students were brought to the United States. But later on, a large part of the fund was used to establish a University near Peking which has trained thousands of Chinese scholars who have become the backbone of the Chinese Nationalist Movement.

In India, the late Jamshedji Tata, one of the greatest Indian patriots, did his best to establish an Indian Institute of Science which would provide facilities for training Indian scientists and technicians. It is the fault of the administrators of the institution that it has not developed into an institution of the type of Massachussets Institute of Technology. The late Revered Rash Behari Ghosh and Tarak Nath Palit gave a few lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University and this sum properly utilised by late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, gave substance to the Science College of the Calcutta University and this Science College with the superhuman efforts of the pioneers of the type of Sir P. C. Ray, Sir J. C. Bose and others have produced a large number of scientists in India.

Following these examples, the Government of India should aid in equipping the existing Indian universities and technological institutions with the most up-to-date laboratories. India should retire the third-rate Indian professors from Indian Universities and Graduate Schools and employ the very best talents of the world Indians and foreigners, so that they will be able to make the best of the knowledge in various scientific fields available in India. This will be most effective and less wasteful; and will afford equal opportunity to Indians of all classes to acquire knowledge.

Lest I be misunderstood, I wish to make it clear that I am not opposed to Indian scholars going

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

76410
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foreign lands. In fact to break up India's cultural isolation and to make the Indian scientists and educators conscious of the actual position of backwardness of India, it is imperative that the best of Indian educators should go to foreign lands, not for flying trips as they do now-a-days, but for study-trips : so that they will get new inspiration and new efficiency to raise Indian institutions to the level of the best ones in the world.

Regarding the employment of the best type of scientists and experts from foreign lands in India, Indians have some objections. I was told that Indians feel that they should have the best positions and thus foreigners should not be employed. This is a short-sighted policy in practical fields. It may interest Indian educators and statesmen that the United States, the most progressive of all countries of the world, in the field of technical education, during the recent years have employed the very best of European professors in various educational institutions and government research projects, including the study of Atomic bombs. Today the United States government have brought from Germany a large number of German scientists for special scientific studies. Similarly German scientists are being used for special work by Soviet Russia and Great Britain. I am not suggesting that foreign educators should be given preference as used to be the case when third-rate British educators were given higher positions in Indian Educational Service while the best of Indian talents were made their subordinates. What I am suggesting is this : By employing the best type of foreign scientists in Indian universities, Indians give opportunity to a larger number of students to learn certain subjects with the least possible expense.

The only way and the cheapest way by which Indian national efficiency can be attained is to raise the efficiency of the teaching staffs of Indian institutions and also to have the required equipments for the highest type of research in India. A few crores of rupees spent for these purposes will be the best type of *National Investment* which will pay the highest type of dividend for India.

———:O:———

DRINK CONTROL IN GREAT BRITAIN

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

The Temperance Movement in Great Britain which has gone from strength to strength has been conducting an unremitting campaign against the drink evil so that today the damage resulting from the use of alcohol has come to be a recognised fact almost universally. Realising that the introduction of Prohibition in their country presents very great difficulties on account of reasons which need not be mentioned here, the governing classes have tried to meet the situation by imposing the highest possible taxes on alcoholic beverages consistent with discouragement of their illicit manufacture and sale.

While, as an Indian, I am not entitled to criticise the wisdom of the British technique which may be summed up as one ensuring maximum revenue with minimum consumption, on which plea Prohibition has been gradually withdrawn by the British administration in all those provinces in which it had been introduced by Congress ministries, I feel that I am perfectly within my rights if I draw the attention of my readers to the failure of this policy in Great Britain so far at least as the demoralising aspects of the liquor traffic are concerned.

As I have dealt elsewhere, in a general way, with the intimate connection between drinking and deterioration in physical and intellectual efficiency, economic wastage, prostitution, social diseases, etc., I do not propose to say anything further on these aspects of the problem so far as Great Britain is concerned. I shall confine myself to reports of police cases published in British periodicals for the latter part of 1939 and the earlier months of 1940, so that I may show my readers the tragical results of indulgence in alcohol in a land which claims that it has kept the use of intoxicants within reasonable limits and, at the same time, benefited public finances.

It would fill me with great regret if anything I have said here has the effect of suggesting, even remotely, that I have the slightest desire to belittle the British nation if only for the reason that I yield to none in my admiration for the Briton for standing up to Germany single-handed after the defeat of France and before the entry of the U.S.S.R., and the United States into the war. I feel and feel very strongly that the almost desperate struggle against overwhelming odds could have been carried on with still greater resourcefulness and efficiency if Great Britain had been a totally "dry" country.

And what I regard as most disappointing in the situation is that even the very modest suggestions put forward by the British Temperance Movement, reference to which is made below, were not found acceptable at a time when Great Britain was almost daily expecting a sea-borne invasion by her apparently victorious enemy—clearest evidence, in my view, of the wide prevalence of the drinking habit and the lack of a sufficiently strong public opinion assigning the first place to national well-being. And the thought comes to me that when the Briton criticises Indian communalism for its selfishness, he should not allow himself to forget the equally reprehensible absence of that spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of many of his countrymen which made them unwilling to give up the use of liquor at a time when it was their obvious duty to subordinate their personal enjoyment to the larger interests of the nation as a whole.

Overcrowding in Public Houses

I shall begin with the following extract from a London daily which gives a picture from real life very clearly revealing the demoralisation that attended the traffic in drink in pre-war England. It is quoted on page 257 of *The School of Health* by Dr. A. B. Olsen, M.D., and M. E. Olsen, M.A.:

"A public house, used principally by dockers, was watched one Saturday night for an hour and a half. The watchers saw during that time 795 persons

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

enter its doors. Of these 209 were men, 380 women, 83 youths and girls, and 123 very young children and babies in arms. Seven perambulators were taken in, some of which had in them two children. Outside there was scarcely an uneventful moment. Three women were turned out and five men. There were one very bad fight and six disturbances. Three girls about seventeen came out quite drunk. Twenty-four men, including a postman in livery, and nineteen women left the house helplessly drunk. Two of the women had babies in their arms. At 10-50 the house had to be closed, with the exception of one small door, on account of a frightful row. A policeman had to stay outside after that until closing time."

It does not appear from the above extract that any one among those who came out drunk or was turned out from the public house or any one involved in the 'bad fight', 'the frightful row' and the 'six disturbances' which may be regarded as brawls in the descending order of seriousness, was arrested, proof of the disinclination of the police to interfere unless absolutely necessary. This view is supported by the following extract from a letter which appeared on the 7th June, 1939, in the *Birmingham Post* under the signature of the Rev. C. H. Williams, Bishop Ryder Vicarage, 40, Old Cross Street, Birmingham :

"Those charged represent only those incapable or disorderly, and countless numbers are taken home drunk in cars or by 'friends' or manage to reel home safely."

The above has been quoted to prove two things. The first of these, as stated repeatedly, is that each and every one of the cases mentioned below can be easily paralleled so that they may be regarded as representative ones and the second that even if I had at my disposal the space required to give an account of each instance reported in the papers for the period to which I have confined myself, the picture thus presented would fail to reflect the true situation so far as the extent of drunkenness is concerned.

It is common knowledge that as soon as the recent war broke out, tens of thousands of adults left public houses at least slightly the worse for liquor. This not only increased greatly the danger of accident but, in the event of an air-raid, such persons were only too likely to be not only a menace to themselves but to the whole community. An editorial in the *Evening Standard*, dated the 7th September, 1939, put the whole matter in a nutshell when it observed :

"There is one manifestation of war conditions, which we cannot altogether applaud. As you push towards the counter in the public house, you cannot fail to notice that there is a boom in drink. Perhaps it is only natural. Public amusements are suddenly cut down to nil. Each man wants to talk to his neighbour, yet we should watch this new tendency. . . . We certainly want no one staggering out into the dark streets risking their own necks and endangering others !"

How necessary the warning was may be easily realised by the following two cases selected out of hundreds. On the 15th September, 1939, the *Kentish Mercury* reported that Frederick Reilly, aged 39, of Endwell-road, Brockley, was found lying on the pavement with his legs in the roadway. He was taken into custody by Police Sergeant Sherman, at Loampit-vale, Lewisham, at midnight and charged with being drunk and incapable. Reilly who pleaded that he had lost his gas-mask and £3 was fined 5s. by the Magistrate.

On the 9th December, 1939, the *Evening Standard* reported that Robert Mark Abrams, aged 59, of 8, Gasting-place, Finsbury, pleaded guilty at Old-street Police Court to having been drunk at Nile-street, Shoreditch. He had been arrested by Police Constable McIvor who, giving evidence, stated that Abrams had been found lying on the road in the black-out and that he had failed to notice him till he had been told by a passer-by who, it was suggested, was also under the influence of liquor. The following observation of the Magistrate as reported in the above paper is worth pondering over giving as it does some idea of the frequency with which such cases occurred :

"It's a marvel that these people don't get run over. To my personal knowledge only from cases brought before me, police officers have saved ten peoples' lives in this way since the black-out began."

That all drunk and incapable persons lying on the road do not always escape so easily as Messrs. Reilly and Abrams will be shown presently. To continue the story, about five months after the warning administered by the *Evening Standard,* the Staff Reporter of the *Daily Express* writing from Bristol on the 16th February, 1940, stated as the result of his own observations that

"Some of the public houses have become so popular that it is impossible to get inside the doors in the evenings."

This gentleman also drew attention to the risks incidental to the overcrowding in public houses but the warnings thus administered were not heeded even when A.R.P., and the black-out became the normal life of Great Britain the result being an immense increase in the number of road casualties.

Alcohol and Road Casualties

To come to details, here are only four instances where death followed as the result of intoxication of drivers of motor cars. They are selected out of hundreds of similar cases reported in British papers. The first of these reported in the *Alliance News* for December, 1939, proves how sensible is the advice given to its members by the Automobile Club of Southern California, "If you must drink, don't drive. If you must drive, don't drink." And it is noteworthy that Mr. Justice Macnaghten who tried the case at York Assizes on the 9th November, 1939, took the same view.

"Stanhope Charles Hutchinson (aged 47), of Norton, Malton, employed as a traveller by Charles Rose and Co., Ltd., brewers, was found guilty of the manslaughter of Mrs. Kathleen Grayson, who was crushed by his car when it collided with a wall at the end of the lane leading from the Rosedale-Pickering Road to her home at Dykes Farm, Hartoft, on 20th June, 1939. It was alleged that Hutchinson was under the influence of drink.

"Hutchinson said he had a glass of beer in Pickering, two glasses of sherry at Newton-on-Rawcliffe, one baby bottle of ale at Pickering, a sandwich at Lastingham, two glasses of beer at Rosedale. This was between 11 a.m. and 3-45 p.m. The drink did not affect him, and was no more than he usually took on a business round.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"John Edward Eastwood, Director and Secretary of Charles Rose and Co., Ltd., said they allowed Hutchinson to drink at the houses at which he called ; they did not place any limitation on the number of drinks he had at each house ; they had the highest opinion of him.

"The Judge : 'The employers do not seem to be aware that if their employees go round from public-house to public house and drink at each place, they should supply them with chauffeurs who do not drink. I feel very strongly on this matter, for this is the second case in this country where a brewer's traveller has killed a person on the footpath because he was under the influence of drink.'

"Passing sentence of 18 months' imprisonment, with seven years disqualification from driving dating from release from prison, the Judge said he would have sent Hutchinson to penal servitude but for the fact that he thought blame attached to Hutchinson's employers. He hoped that if travellers were allowed to take drink at places of call, the employers would forbid them to drive and provide chauffeurs."

The second and third cases reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* were as follows. On the 7th December, 1939, Mr. Justice Oliver, at Leeds Assizes, sentenced Henry Hill, aged 40, surveyor to the Oldham District Planning Committee, to three years' penal servitude for the manslaughter of Leonard Cowen who was crushed to death between a wall and Hill's motor car on the 24th June, 1939. His driving license was suspended for seven years. Other charges against him for injuring John Alfred Whitehead, who was thrown over a wall on to a river bank, and for driving a car under the influence of drink were not proceeded with.

Edward Barr Thompson, aged 35, described as a man of independent means was charged on the 15th December, 1939, at Leeds Assizes with the manslaughter of Frank Barker, printer of Rawdon and with driving under the influence of drink on September 24th, 1939. He collided, head on, on the wrong side with Barker's car. He admitted having five pints of beer.

The last case reported in the *Alliance News* was as follows : Haydon Barrow, an officer in the Royal Army Service Corps, aged 27, appeared on the 18th December, 1939, before Mr. Justice Macnaghten at Leeds Assizes, charged with manslaughter of Victor George Atkinson, coal merchant, near Ripon on the 9th August, 1939. The accused who had had some drink at a Harrogate hotel, was driving on his wrong side when he ran down and killed the coal merchant motor-cycling on his correct side. The officer claimed that he was leading a convoy, which was non-existent, and imagined it was his corporal with whom he had had a collision.

In the first two cases, we find middle-aged and, presumably, respectable men occupying responsible positions, in the third, a gentleman of independent means and, in the last, a responsible King's officer causing death to sober people going about their business. It is not unreasonable to take for granted that, normally, such people are what may be called alert and cautious drivers. These incidents are more than sufficient to prove the correctness of the opinion expressed by Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Associaton*, that

"Just a drink or two and the safe driver is turned into a reckless traffic menace."

Here are two other instances, also taken from the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, where people, under the influence of drink, were knocked down and injured fatally by motorists also equally intoxicated and who failed in their very clear duty of rendering them assistance. Such moral turpitude in a country like England where the sense of duty in this particular direction is so strongly developed, is yet another proof, if proof is required, of the degrading influence of alcohol on character.

At the inquest of John Smith, aged 46, dyer's labourer at Bradford, held on the 12th December, 1939, the widow stated that her husband returned home from an inn on December 2nd injured. He could not say how he had fallen, but thought he had been knocked down by a motor-car. He had had some drink.

It was reported on the 18th December, 1939, in the above-mentioned paper that James Ward, aged 59, tram driver, was knocked down and fatally injured by a van in the black-out on December 12th. He had just left the Desmond Club, Hull. A bottle of whisky was found broken in his jacket pocket.

Here is still another incident reported on the 20th September, 1939, in the *Times* which proves how people under the influence of drink lost their lives though the motor vehicle responsible for their death was driven by a perfectly sober man. A glance through British periodicals will convince any one that this is a representative case and that it is quite easy to parallel it. *The Times* reported as follows :

"A verdict of 'Accidental Death' was returned at the inquest on September 19th, (1939), on the bodies of four soldiers who were killed on Saturday night. Another soldier, in evidence, told how he and the other soldiers visited an inn, leaving about 10 o'clock. None of them was drunk, but they were just merry and in a singing mood. As it was doubtful whether they would be returning, they sang 'Auld Lang Syne' outside the public house once or twice. The party was breaking up when Simpson, one of the men killed, suggested singing a hymn. Then some one suggested that they should make it realistic and sit in the middle of the road, which the four of them did. The black-out that night was exceptionally good, and while they sat on the white line, the witness and another soldier were on the pavement.

"'I saw two lights coming around the bend in the road, and I shouted to the men in the road to get up, but before I knew what had happened, the bus struck them.'

"The bus was definitely under control and its speed was about 20 to 25 miles an hour."

That quite a large proportion of road accidents where the fault lies either with the driver or the person involved or with both is really due to drinking was made clear in the course of a discussion on "Alcohol and Road Accidents in the Black-out" held on the 14th February, 1940, at the rooms of the Medical Society of London. As reported in the *Christian World*, dated the 29th February, 1940, in the course of this discussion, Mr. W. McAdam Eccles, M.S., F.R.C.S., stated that in Sweden, Norway, and Germany, the blood alcohol content test had established that at least 40 per cent of persons involved in road accidents are "under the influence of alcohol", and that if this percentage is correct for all countries, 3,250 deaths in Great Britain in 1939, "were closely associated with alcohol."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After quoting statistics which are too long to be given here, this learned medical man also proved that the experience of four weeks' closing of licensed premises (selling liquor) in the city of Glasgow at 8 p.m. instead of 10 p.m. revealed such a decrease of arrests for drunkenness and of the number injured or killed on the roads as to suggest that a return to the later hour, as demanded by representatives of the liquor traffic, would imply that in one full year, Glasgow would have 5,161 unnecessary arrests for drunkenness, 104 people unnecessarily killed and 2,262 people unnecessarily injured.

Mr. Eccles suggested the following remedies, reduction in the number of hours during which alcoholic liquor could be sold in licensed shops, voluntary abstinence "for the duration" of all motor drivers and voluntary determination of all, including pedestrians, not to drink during black-out hours when the largest number of accidents occur. The prohibitionist, however, would suggest the much more efficient remedy of complete stoppage of the traffic in liquor, a remedy which most probably was not advocated by Mr. Eccles who knew that it would not find acceptance from his countrymen who were prepared to permit unnecessary arrests, injuries, and even deaths rather than forego the enjoyment derived from drinking.

Alcohol and Irresponsibility in Private Life

The incidents narrated below prove how correct is the view that drinking is the direct cause of a sense of irresponsibility detrimental to both personal and public interests and how they are inevitable in a country like Britain where there is no Prohibition. The first two paragraphs quoted from the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Temperance Union show how alcoholism leads, in at least certain cases, to the neglect of children by presumably responsible persons who had undertaken to look after them and even by mothers.

> "Several cases have been reported of people drawing the allowance for the children, spending it in drink and neglecting their charges. A man and his wife who took four evacuees, went to the public house until closing time, when they staggered home drunk. The children who had been locked out were met by a policeman who took them to make other arrangements for them . . .
>
> "A country vicar had 12 evacuees, children and mothers, billeted on him. The mothers when having tea produced bottles containing rum. After tea, they adjourned to the village inn until closing time."

The utter negligence in regard to taking adequate precautions for ensuring the safety of children in circumstances where this is the clear duty of adults in charge of them was clearly shown in the following case reported in the *Birmingham Mail* on the 26th March, 1940.

> "A remarkable story of a motorist's 50 m.p.h. dash in the black-out with a four-year-old child in the car, culminating in a collision with another car was told to the Birmingham Magistrates on March 26th, when John Henry Garbett, junior (aged 32), of 30, Beeches Road, Perry Barr, was sentenced to two months' hard labour for being drunk in charge of a car in the Walsall Road, Perry Barr, at 10-20 p.m. yesterday.
>
> "His father, John Henry Garbett (aged 56), who was in the car with him was fined £11 for being drunk in charge of a child.
>
> "Mr. E. Hooton (prosecuting) described it as a very wicked case of a motorist being under the influence of drink, particularly since it was during the black-out.
>
> "There was a collision near the canal bridge on the Walsall Road, after which the accused's father got out of the car and staggered about the road with a four-year-old child in his arms.
>
> "Sentencing the younger Garbett, the chairman (Alderman H. E. Goodby) said: 'We should be shrinking in our duty if we did not take a very serious view of your conduct'."

The Yorkshire Evening Post reported on the 28th December, 1939, that the police found Edward Cramshaw, aged 62, lying on the pavement in Dewsbury with an infant aged 18 months in his arms. "I had had only three gills of beer", he pleaded before the court.

I can quote many authenticated instances but shall content myself with referring to one more reported on the 3rd November, 1938, in the *Christian World*:

> "A Birmingham salesman fined for being under the influence of drink was alleged to be 'indifferent and very callous about the matter' when his wife fell out of the car he was driving."

Alcohol and Dereliction of Public Duty

That the sense of irresponsibility created by drink is not confined to private life where it is injurious to individuals but also leads to dereliction of duty in matters of very serious moment becomes clear from the following among numerous other authenticated cases. *The Sunday Express* reported on the 17th September 1939, that

> "William Beynon, thirty-four, of Tendes-street, Walworth, S.E., and Thomas Debuinn, twenty-three, of Orient-street, Kennington, S.E., both air raid wardens, were accused at Tower Bridge Police Court on September 16th of being drunk and disorderly.
>
> "They and others it was stated, who were shouting and swearing in a cafe, were all turned out and the two were arrested when they refused to go away.
>
> "Mr. W. H. S. Oulton, the Magistrate: 'It is a shocking thing that men who hold such position should get drunk at a time like this. You will both pay 15s. costs, and the charge will be dismissed'."

In its issue dated the 3rd January, 1940, the *Star* of London reported as follows:

> "An air-raid warden, Robert Leishman, aged 4[illegible] of Old Kent Road, Camberwell, was fined 10s. at Tower Bridge Court on January 3rd, for being drunk and disorderly.
>
> "The driver of a police car said that Leishman suddenly stopped in front of his car, and said, 'Why don't you blow your horn?'
>
> "It was noticed that he was drunk, and he was arrested.
>
> "Mr. Campion (the Magistrate): 'Fancy you an air-raid warden, going about at night drunk?'
>
> "Leishman: 'I was not on duty. I am on three days' leave.'
>
> "Mr. Campion commented, 'That does not matter. An air-raid warden should not be a man who takes too much to drink at any time'."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The excuse put forward by the above individual that he had indulged in drink when on leave was not, however, applicable to the following cases reported in the *Christian World* in its issue dated the 4th January, 1940 :

"During the last few days an Air-Raid Warden, two women Ambulance drivers, a Borough Chief Air-Raid Warden and his Assistant have been charged in London with drunkenness. All the offences took place during the black-out. The drink habit is becoming an increasing menace to national safety."

The Yorkshire Evening Post reported on the 18th December, 1939, that Captain Ernest C. Smith, Chief A.R.P. Controller together with a prominent Company Director whose name will be found there and who is not utterly unknown in India was fined at Hendon for being drunk and disorderly.

But the following case reported on the 1st January, 1940, by the *Evening Standard* appears at least to one, an old-fashioned Indian, still more disgusting.

"Patricia Wilde, 45, the L.C.C. ambulance driver who was fined £2 at Lambeth on Saturday, December 30th, for being drunk, was before the same court on January 1st, this time for being drunk and disorderly at 12-15 a.m. in Gurney-street, Walworth.

"On Saturday, when she admitted upwards of 20 convictions for drunkenness, Wilde wore beach pyjamas in court. Today she was wearing loose navy-blue trousers.

"Police witnesses said she roused the neighbourhood by continually banging on the door of the house in which she used to live. She had to be removed in a police van.

"Mr. Bertrand Watson directed her to find two sureties in £10 for her good behaviour for a year or go to prison for 2 months."

What surprises me, as it must surprise all Indians, is that a person with such a record should have been given employment as an ambulance driver who, presumably, should be one possessing, if not some amount of kindliness, at least reliability, the absence of which would expose the patient to risks which certainly do not enter into any one's calculation when a sick person is sent to hospital for treatment. Those uncharitably inclined might go even so far as to insinuate that indulgence in alcohol has grown so common in Great Britain that the authorities are forced to employ even people of the above type because it is only too likely that those who might be substituted for them would behave in very much the same fashion!

Alcohol and Crime

The following incident reported on the 11th January, 1940, in the *Daily Telegraph* which, fortunately, did not have any outward results, clearly indicates how even middle-aged, educated, and fairly well-to-do individuals occupying responsible positions are not, when under the influence of drink, above behaving like hooligans. Bernard Brown, aged 41, of Park Mount, Harpenden, Hertfordshire, a works-manager, while intoxicated steered his car into a ditch. The people who went to his assistance were threatened with a loaded automatic he was carrying. Flourishing it above his head, he said, "Clear off or I will shoot the whole lot of you full of holes." He denied that he was drunk and pleaded that being engaged in war work, he was entitled to be armed. Apparently the Magistrate did not believe him for he was fined £25 for having charge of a car when under the influence of drink and £2 for possessing a loaded automatic pistol when drunk.

Deterioration of character under the influence of drink is illustrated by the following instances reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*. According to it, William J. Upson, aged 24, was sent to prison for two months and disqualified for one year. The police stopped the car as it was being driven in a zig-zag manner. The car had been taken without the owner's permission. Upson was accompanied by a 21-year-old soldier and two girls who had treated them to beer.

Frank Caldecott, a soldier, was fined £3-12-0 and disqualified for one year on the 18th December, 1939, for taking, while under the influence of drink, a car without the owner's permission.

Still another case indicative of the demoralising influence of drink, was that of an Air-Raid Warden who was sent up for trial for looting beer from a public house during an air-raid warning !

The *Alliance News*, the organ of the Temperance Movement in Britain, reported that Jack Humphreys, an 18-year-old soldier, was committed at Leeds to stand his trial for the murder of his aunt on the 26th November, 1939, while in a state of intoxication.

As the result of a quarrel over a card game at Batley Working Men's Club on the 17th November, 1939, Ernest Broadhead was charged on the 2nd December, 1939, with stabbing Charles Grace with a clasp knife and inflicting a wound 2½ inches deep. Both were intoxicated.

Habituating Children to Drink

Here is extract from the *News Chronicle*, dated on 19th November, 1938, to prove the existence of the custom, prevalent among some British parents, of giving liquor to their children thus preparing them to become full-fledged drunkards in later life.

"Because his five-year-old son insisted on having 'something like everybody else', Harry Carlisle Hammond, licensee of the White Swan, Ash, near Dartford (Kent), gave him a shandygaff (a mixture, according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, of gin and beer).

"Admitting at Dartford police court on November 18th, that he gave the boy intoxicating liquor, Hammond was fined £1 on each of two summonses.

"Evidence was given that Hammond was seen to give the child beer.

"Mr. Harold Tuffee (defending) said, Hammond gave his son a small glass of ginger beer 'with enough mild beer in it to colour it.'

"Mr. Tuffee said a great number of people thought a little beer was good for children. He described the boy as 'the apple of his father's eye'. A letter from a doctor referred to Mr. and Mrs. Hammond as model parents."

It is not suggested that the children of tender age to whom alcoholic beverages are given by their parents become drunk in the technical sense of the term, but there is no disputing the fact that craving for liquor is imparted to them by this objectionable practice.

The following extracts from the *Workers' Onward*, the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Temperance Union, are the clearest possible evidence

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that there are large numbers of parents in Britain who, as late as December, 1939, when these incidents were reported, were in the habit of giving beer which contains 5 to 8 per cent alcohol to their children and that while they did not become drunk in the technical sense of the word, the craving for liquor was thus undoubtedly implanted in them.

"From one northern district, scores of people report that children openly ask for a drink of beer or stout which they say they have been used to having. Many children have told their hosts and hostesses that they have been used to waiting outside public houses until closing time.

"In a southern county, reports were presented to a meeting of the local Education Committee showing widespread requests for beer from children billeted in the area. The reports, say the press, produced much surprise.

"In another district, one (a schoolmaster) who has not taken any previous interest in the alcohol question, said 'Our district is seething with indignation at the number of children who clamour for drinks of beer and evidently were accustomed to have it at home. This experience makes me furiously to think.'

"In a midland district where eleven youngsters aged from 9 to 12 were billeted, five of the children when offered cocoa or milk for supper declared 'they always had beer' and one of them who had some money by him said if the hosts didn't give him some, he would buy a bottle himself. Great consternation has been caused in the villages and small towns of our district, among drinkers and non-drinkers alike, by the requests of children for beer at night-time."

Juvenile Drunkards

When the taste for liquor is created among children in the above manner, it is only natural for some at least among them, to get out of hand and to indulge in excessive drinking as soon as they feel that they are old enough to act in defiance of their parents' wishes whom we must hold responsible for their degradation. The following extract from the *Daily Express*, dated the 28th October, 1938, bears out the correctness of the opinion expressed above.

"A twelve-year-old girl, beyond her parents' control, had to be carried home from school drunk, said the head teacher of the girls' school at Londonderry Police Court on October 27th."

The Nottingham Guardian reported a similar incident on the 2nd March, 1940, where the girl concerned was older. When Indians read of such events, what surprises them is the utter callousness of the mother who, it seems to them, must be regarded as being utterly indifferent to the very grave consequences which might follow when a young girl finds herself in the circumstances narrated below.

"A Saturday night escapade of an Eastwood hosiery hand, a 16-year-old girl, who was found drunk in Parliament Street was described at the Nottingham Juvenile Court on March 1st.

"When asked whether she pleaded guilty or not guilty she replied, ''s true.'

"Miss Moseley, probation officer, said she had heard many complaints about the girl going out with her mother to public houses. The girl told her she had 2s. 6d. a week pocket money. On being told that 2s. 6d. would not get her drunk, the girl answered that the boy friends she mixed with, and also soldiers, gave her drink.

"Inspector Devey said that on February 24th at 9-30 p.m., the fire brigade received a call for an ambulance to go to Parliament Street, and there found the girl unconscious on the pavement. At the General Hospital she was certified to be suffering from alcohol. As she gave her age as 17, she was locked up for the night, but when the question of bail arose, her proper age was discovered and she was then sent home.

"The Magistrates, complying with a strong plea on the part of the mother not to send the girl to an approved school, placed her on probation for two years."

That uneducated working class girls are not the only young females who, at least occasionally, invite very serious risks through intoxication is abundantly evident from the following incident narrated in the course of an article captioned "Thank You, I'd Rather Not Drink" by Mr. Arthur Lockwood, Secretary of the Leicester Temperance Society, which appeared in the *Illustrated Leicester Chronicle* on the 25th February, 1939. The only explanation for occurrences of the type mentioned below seems to be that either parents and guardians of the young girls concerned are unable to control them or that they have little inclination to take effective steps to put a stop to such behaviour. Mr. Lockwood wrote :

"At lunch recently in one of the city's popular restaurants, I sat opposite two girls who described conditions and experiences at a dance which both had attended in the former evening. The younger of them confided to the other, 'When I'd had a couple of ports, I felt 'lighted up'. I didn't feel a bit shy.'

"But later in their conversation, the older of the two said she was worried because she did not remember going home or who accompanied her."

Without even remotely suggesting that most girls who attended such entertainments take so much liquor as to have no recollection whatsoever of what had happened later on, I feel compelled to point out that Mr. Lockwood, holding the position he does, deemed it necessary to refer to the matter most probably because incidents like the above are fairly common.

The above incidents are paralleled by another reported in the *Birmingham Post* dated the 21st March 1940.

"At Birmingham Juvenile Court, on March 20th, a fifteen-year-old boy was charged with being drunk and disorderly.

"Police-constable Leyden said that on Friday evening he saw the boy in Summer Row. He was swearing and reeling about, and he was drunk. The boy was taken to the police station, and there he drew a sabre from a scabbard and attempted to strike a witness. He was searched and a 'life-saver' (defined in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* as a 'short stick with heavily loaded end') was found in his possession, together with two bottles of beer. The boy admitted being drunk, but said he was not disorderly. He had obtained the drink at a public bar.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"In fining the boy £2, the Chairman (Mr. H. H. Howard) said the Magistrates were ashamed of him."

I shall conclude my discussion of this particular aspect of Britain's drink problem with the following extract from the *Times,* dated the 22nd May, 1939, just to prove the depths to which, at least now and then, English youths descend under the influence of liquor.

"A boy of 16 who stabbed a girl of 16 in the back with a penknife was put on probation for 12 months at Liverpool Juvenile Court on May 1st on a charge of felonious wounding. A condition was that he touched no intoxicating liquor during that time, and he was also ordered to pay 30s. compensation. Mr. W. Culshaw for prosecution, said, 'Attacks with knives are becoming far too prevalent in Liverpool. In this case I suggest that it was an entirely unprovoked attack. The attacker was a boy who on his own admission had drunk 7½ pints of beer the same evening.' The boy, in evidence, said that the first blow was an accident ; the others were deliberate. He had been drinking intoxicants since last Christmas and added 'I average about five pints a week.' The Chairman (Mr. A. N. Denara): 'You are only 16, yet you come to this court and boast of being drunk'."

The police take into custody only those who become incapable or disorderly under the influence of liquor and though a majority of juvenile drinkers escape arrest because public house-keepers in their own interests supply liquor in limited quantities to young people mainly to avoid cancellation of their licenses, still the number arrested and proceeded against is mounting, a fact noticed and commented on by leaders of the Temperance Movement in Britain. Thus the Chairman of the Birmingham Temperance organisation writing to the *Birmingham Post* on the 5th June, 1939, observed that more than a third of the number charged were, in his experience, comparatively young.

I am not in a position to offer documentary evidence that this high percentage of juvenile drunkards is to be found all over Great Britain but there does not seem much doubt that inebriety is menacingly on the increase among the young people of that country as also that it is mainly accounted for by the disgraceful practice of their elders of accustoming them to the use of liquor from a tender age.

Drinking in Educational Institutions and Its Consequences

The reprehensible habit of giving beer which, in spite of its alcohol content, is regarded, of course wrongly, as innocuous is not confined to comparatively uneducated people. On the 15th November, 1938, one Mr. Alexander Ross Wallace, Headmaster of a West of England school, the name of which was not revealed at any stage of the proceedings noted below, wrote a letter to the *Daily Herald* quoted in the *Alliance News* for January, 1939, from which the following extract is made :

"Beer ? why shouldn't the boys have beer ? It's a very good drink. I have it myself every afternoon. It used to be an old custom at the school. I revived it three years ago. The senior boys at School House have a glass for lunch every day. I lunch with them at the high table. I drink my beer from a pewter tankard. In most of the other houses, the senior boys have beer for lunch too. There would be about 50 to 60 senior boys at the school who have beer for lunch. And why not ? If they don't like it, they have water. But that is not a great number."

One of the ex-pupils of this gentleman, nineteen-year-old Frederick Clifford Victor Martin, then a freshman on Pembroke College, Cambridge, was charged with kicking a policeman on Guy Fawkes' night. In explanation of his conduct, he told the Magistrate that he had had a glass or two of beer. Mr. Wallace travelled up to Cambridge to help him in getting off. When Mr. C. R. Parker, the prosecuting solicitor, asked him, "Did he drink at school ?", the Headmaster's reply was "I provided it, Sir." He, however, withheld the name of the school which was, according to the newspaper reporting the trial, "handed on a piece of paper to the Magistrate and not revealed to the public."

Personally speaking I see but little difference between the behaviour of the boy who stabbed his girl friend and the Cambridge freshman who kicked a police man except for the fact that the less violent character of the attack made by the latter was due to the influence of birth in a more prosperous, cultured, and educated family and the advantages derived from it.

It may be that Britons would not attach much importance to an incident of this type, but we, in India, have other and quite different views as regards the manner in which teachers should discharge their responsibilities towards their pupils and however old-fashioned they may be, we prefer them and regard with the gravest disapproval an attitude such as the one described above. And we are surprised that with full knowledge of such facts, there are to be found presumably well-to-do, cultured, and educated parents in Britain who send their sons to institutions where facilities for drinking are provided. The only explanation seems to be either that the youths carry there the custom prevailing in their own homes or that their guardians do not view indulgence in liquor by even immature persons in the same light as we do.

It has been suggested, perhaps not quite wrongly, that the unpleasant experience referred to just now is not the only one as also that it is not confined to Cambridge. Realising that intemperance among undergraduates is likely to increase unless those among them who drink are provided, with facilities for the purpose under proper conditions, the Vice-Chancellor of the Manchester University opened a club in connection with the University Union. The following extract from the Manchester University Union Handbook (1939) should prove interesting to my readers.

"The Lounge Bar, which has been installed in the old Silence Room on the first floor of the Union, was opened on October 17th, 1938, the intention being to provide for those members who are desirous of obtaining alcoholic refreshments in an environment more suitable to the undergraduate than is afforded by the average public house.

"The Bar is in the capable charge of 'Vincent' and his assistant 'Charlie', and is managed by a Sub-Committee of the Union. Draught and bottled beer, stout, cider, wines and minerals are available for consumption at club prices, spirits being sold only on special occasions. Sandwiches, cold pies, sausage rolls, and bread and cheese can also be obtained, and *the satisfactory and steady support*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that has been given to this latest Union venture is adequate proof that the demand for such a Bar was eminently justified. (Italics mine).

"The Bar is open for business from 11-30 a.m. to 3 p.m. and from 5-30 p.m. to 10-30 p.m. each week day but is closed on Sunday. All drinks must be consumed on the Lounge Bar premises, there being no service from the Bar to any other Union rooms. Darts and dominoes are provided free, but gambling is strictly prohibited.

"Members may introduce visitors to the Bar, subject to the usual restrictions ; and it is hoped that this room will continue to develop as a centre at which past and present members and their friends may meet for recreation and reminiscence in their less busy hours."

The comment of the Organising Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, the largest and the strongest of the temperance organisations in Britain, is as follows:

"If this is the standard of University education, the future of the graduates is not a very inspiring one."

As one who has been connected with education for over 40 years, I not only fully endorse the opinion expressed but also feel gratified that we have not, in spite of our admiration of the many and valuable achievements of Western Universities, followed in the footsteps of the Manchester University and trust that, on this matter at least, we shall continue to stick to our old policy.

Officers are generally drawn from members of those classes which are sufficiently well-off to send their sons to public schools and universities where the expenses for educating them are high or fairly high. The opportunities for taking alcoholic beverages afforded in some of these educational institutions tend to create such a craving that they not only persist in the habit after finishing their education, but also break the law of the land either to indulge in liquor themselves or to make it easy for their friends and acquaintances to do so. The following two extracts from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and which may be easily paralleled by similar other cases, prove the correctness of the above views.

"On December 4th, 1939, officers and members of the British Legion Club, Mirfield, were fined for selling and consuming liquor out of hours.

"On December 14th, 1939, officers and members of Shearbridge Conservative Club, Bradford, suffered fines totalling £29 for similar offences."

That some among the clergy, all highly educated and cultured men, do not refuse to have any truck with the Liquor Trade is proved by the following incident reported on the 11th November, 1939, in the *Daily Mail*. It is probable that the lenient attitude of some among those who might be presumed to set their faces against the traffic in alcohol is due to the circumstances under which they are brought up and educated. In the case given below, the gentleman concerned appears, in addition, to have been inspired by his sympathy for a widow who apparently decided to earn her living by making it possible for the married among her patrons to make the lives of their wives and children miserable.

"The Rev. B. C. Foulger, dressed in cassock and stole, blessed the Horse and Groom, a new inn at Blackbourton (Oxfordshire), a few minutes before opening time yesterday, and then led the villagers to the bar for a drink.

"Thirty parishioners and the church-warden of Blackbourton were present with their vicar at the service which was held in the saloon bar.

"All drinks were on the vicar, who after paying the bill took part in a game of darts.

"Mr. Foulger's wife told a *Daily Mail* reporter 'The publican, a widow, Mrs. Emily Farmer, asked my husband to take the service, and he agreed at once. You see, he believes that a good publican and a properly run pub can do as much good in a village as a priest.'

"He (Mr. Foulger) was granted special leave to take the service in the Horse and Groom."

Drinking Among Members of Parliament

That drinking even to excess is not regarded by all Britons with the abhorrence it would provoke in India becomes evident from the following extract from an article which appeared on the 3rd April, 1940, in the *Daily Sketch* of London under the caption "Hats and Flowers." The writer, Mr. Beverley Nichols, author of some charming books, like *Cry Havoc* and *The Fool Hath Said* in which he has ventured, not always with marked success, into the realms of moral and spiritual philosophy, and of the much talked of *Verdict on India* said :

"Sometimes I am tempted to believe that if the Cabinet could be made roaring drunk once a month there might be a little more inspiration in the conduct of public affairs. The country might get a few shocks as a result of measures passed during the period of hilarity, but would that matter ?"

I am not in a position to state whether members of the Cabinet, no matter what their political complexion, go about their work in a far from sober condition but I find that when in the war of 1914-18 our King-Emperor announced that liquor would be banished from his table for the duration of the war and when the House of Commons and the House of Lords were invited to follow the praiseworthy example set by the Royal House, this request, after some discussion, was rejected, proof of their independence as well as of their inability to dispense with liquid refreshments. The same failure in leadership, I understand, was displayed by the two Houses of Parliament during the war which has just concluded for their liquor bars were not closed though requests to that end were made by many leaders of the British Temperance Movement. While it is not suggested that there is more drinking than is proper among the members, the evidence which is being placed before the reader makes it clear that inebriety is not uncommon at least among some members of the Parliament.

Dr. Alfred Salter, a former Labour Member of the House of Commons, who was a teetotaller accused other members of his party of "soaking themselves until they were stupid." He also claimed, according to an editorial which appeared in the *Statesman* of Calcutta dated the 17th September, 1945, that,

"He had seen many members of Parliament drunk in the House and held that no party was exempt from the failing."

An explanation for this may be that these people found the long hours of parliamentary debate so uninteresting that they flew to alcohol as a means of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

relieving the tedium. This plea, however, cannot be urged in the case noted below where an aged member of the House of Commons was taken into custody by the police for, in technical language, being found "drunk and incapable" in the public streets, and discharged by the trying Magistrate as a first offender. The case was reported in the following terms in the *News Chronicle* on the 12th October, 1939 :

"Mr. Thomas Henderson, M.P., aged 72, of Croxted Road, West Dulwich, was charged at Lambeth on October 11th, (1939), with having been drunk and incapable.

"When asked to plead, Mr. Henderson replied : 'I was not drunk. I was disorderly, all right.'

"There was no charge of disorderliness.

"Special-Constable Bennett stated that soon after 1 a.m. yesterday he saw Mr. Henderson walking along Norwood Road waving a bottle of whisky. Mr. Henderson said he had 'nowhere in particular to go,' and that he 'did not know his address.'

"He was taken into custody, and on the way to the station fell twice. On the second occasion he (the officer) signalled to a motorist, who helped to put Mr. Henderson into the car.

"In the witness-box Mr. Henderson said he had been to an old friend—a doctor. All he had to drink was one glass and a half of whisky, with water.

"Mr. Watson (the Magistrate) : 'I am satisfied that you have been properly charged. But as you have arrived at the age of 72 without previous trouble, you are discharged under the Probation of Offenders Act'."

A Suggestion

The failure of the British Government to take any drastic steps to combat the drink menace leading to incidents of the types mentioned above seems inexplicable when we remember the statement, based on actual experience extending to hundreds of cases in different parts of Great Britain, of that very distinguished leader of the Peace Crusade, the late Dick Sheppard who said, that there was

"Hardly a family in the country without either at the centre or the circumference one member ruined by drink."

Premier Lloyd George at the time of the war of 1914-18, also said,

"We are fighting Germany, Austria, and Drink, and so far as I can see, the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink . . . Drink is doing more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together."

All that the British Temperance Movement demanded consisted in restrictions in drinking hours and on publicity aimed at stimulating the sale of liquor, compulsory abstinence in national interests on the part of air pilots, motor drivers, etc., and the prevention of waste of foodstuffs through the control and regulation of such among them as are used in the manufacture of liquor leading naturally to a gradual diminution in the amount available for consumption. But these very modest measures which, it was suggested, would be operative for the duration of the war, did not find acceptance.

For generations we have been listening to and often trying to follow the advice given to us, no doubt with the best of intentions, by Britons, official and non-official. These have rarely failed to point out sometimes in such a manner as to cause little or no offence and on others, bluntly, our innumerable faults and failings, national and individual. It is also admitted that, generally speaking, we do deserve the condemnation underlying the advice, often given unasked. May an Indian, an admirer of the wonderful achievements of Britain in literature, philosophy, art, and pure and applied science, venture to suggest and that in all humility that if the cases reported above have any lesson for the Briton, it is that the policy of trying to diminish the evil results of the use of alcohol through various devices aimed at reducing its consumption has achieved such a poor measure of success that it is preferable that, for once, and by way of change, he should give at least a chance to a more drastic measure which we tried to implement and that with some amount of success so long as we were in control of the experiment.

If incidents like those documented above are common occurrences in a country where Christianity has been preached and practised over a thousand years, where it has produced its great leaders, exponents, and martyrs, where even today there are millions who freely, sometimes even excessively, give out of their means for its propagation, and from which non-Christian countries are supplied with self-sacrificing evangelists, teachers, and medical men in their thousands, where there is cent per cent literacy, and, lastly, where the Temperance Movement has been most efficiently organised, and has been conducting an unremitting campaign against the use of alcohol for nearly three-quarters of a century, then Great Britain, which has hitherto stood for moderation through the control of liquor, provides the strongest possible argument in favour of the compulsory imposition of Prohibition and is the country par excellence where it is bound to succeed.

Above all, it is not for Britons in India with such a record behind them so far as their countrymen are concerned, to condemn the large-scale effort to remove the drink and drug evil from our motherland the Congress Ministries had initiated.

According to the New York *Times*, dated April 2, 1937, Mahatma Gandhi is said to have told Lord Lothian in the course of a conversation with him :

"You English committed one supreme crime against my people. For one hundred years you have done everything for us; you have given us no responsibility for our own government, nor enabled us to learn by making mistakes."

Is it not a tragedy that when, under Provincial Autonomy, some measure of responsibility did come to us and when, as one of its results, Prohibition was imposed in a majority of the British Indian provinces at the instance of overwhelmingly large majorities of the elected representatives of the people, it should, under various pretexts, have been gradually withdrawn in the Section 93 provinces governed by aliens who take little interest in, and have rarely felt much solicitude about the success of this great social experiment which neither they nor their predecessors had sufficient courage to initiate or to carry through ? The old psychology of looking after us persists. We are, however, waiting for the time when we shall be free to do what seems good in our eyes so far as our own affairs are concerned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SHIPPING—PAST AND PRESENT

By Prof. SHRI NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A., B.Com.

India for centuries had been a world-famous sea-faring nation. She ruled the waves. Her ships sailed across the seven seas. In her golden and glorious past she was as great and flourishing in shipping as in several other diverse spheres of human activity. The brave sons of the soil—the merchant princes—travelled and traded with distant lands such as Egypt, Babylon and China; colonised and civilised far-off countries like Java, Sumatra, Philippines and South America[1] and fought naval and land battles triumphantly against the strange and hostile peoples. When the rest of the world, barring China and Egypt, was slumbering in barbarity enveloped by all-round darkness and backwardness, India could take legitimate pride in her democratic governments and Panchayat Rajya, and her benevolent and spiritually towering monarchs encouraged both internal and external trade thereby adding immensely to the material prosperity of the masses. They also sent missionaries to the neighbouring countries to propagate true religion of truth and non-violence, to enlighten them and to bring them out of the slough of despondency. All these feats of valour and organisation could not have been possible without the aid of a stupendous fleet of merchantmen and men-of-war.

In his *Glimpses of World History* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru aptly remarks :

> "I have told you already of the great trade which South India had from the remotest times with the West. It's not surprising, therefore, to find that from early times ship-building existed in India and people crossed the seas in search of trade or may be adventure. Vijaya is supposed to have gone from India and conquered Ceylon about the time Gautama the Buddha lived here. The little crossing from South India to Ceylon was of course no great feat. But we have plenty of evidence of ship-building and people going across the seas from the many Indian ports which dotted the coast line from Bengal to Gujarat. Chanakya the Great, Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, tells us something about the navy in his *Arthashastra*. Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at Chandragupta's Court also mentions it. Thus it appears that even at the beginning of the Mauryan period ship-building was a flourishing industry in India."[2]

The following are a few more facts proving this claim, if a proof were required:

After Alexander's invasion of India in 325 B.C. a large part of his vast army returned homewards from the Punjab *via* the Indus and the Persian Gulf. For the purpose of this famous voyage a stupendous fleet of 2,000 vessels was formed. This river fleet continued to expand during the succeeding centuries. In the reign of Akbar 40,000 vessels were engaged in the commerce of the Indus alone.[3]

In oceanic traffic and ship-building India was second to none. When Vasco da Gama first reached India in 1498, he found some local seamen on the west coast of India who knew more about navigation than he did. When he tried to impress them with his navigational instruments, they instantly produced their own, which he found to be similar but much superior to his own instruments. Moreover, such was the abundance as well as durability of raw materials for ship-building in India that the Sultan of Turkey found it cheaper to have his own vessels built in Dacca rather than at Alexandria.

From 1714 to 1749 Kanhoji Angre, admiral of the Maratha fleet with his sixty vessels gave a gallant fight to the East India Company's marine often working in combination with the Dutch and the Portuguese. Even as late as in 1800 the Governor-General said :

> "The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India, strong enough to carry cargoes to England. The teak-wood vessels of Bombay are greatly superior to the oaken walls of old England."[4]

In the year 1800 A.D., Jamshedji Wadia built *Cornwallis* with fifty guns on it. The quality of Bombay-built ships was so good that the British admiralty ordered the construction of more vessels in Bombay. Between 1810 and 1821, thirteen vessels were built for them of which the largest was the *Ganges* of 2,289 tons. The steamers and sailing ships constructed at Bombay were the most serviceable of any in the possession of the East India Company, while the steamships built or purchased in England were generally a failure. Up to the year of Grace 1850, India was well advanced in shipping and ship-building as is conclusively proved by the above instances. But later on Indians gradually and slowly but steadily lost this position due to a variety of causes, the more important of which are given below.

After the War of Independence of 1857, miscalled Mutiny, the East India Company was abolished and along with that the Indian Navy. That brought about the end of Indian ship-building. British interests put all sorts of hindrances in various manners to ruin it so that they may get a free field without any competition from Indians. The British shipping arose on the ruins of Indian shipping. The political slavery of India is the main cause of the decay of this prosperous key industry. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi :

> "The cottage industry of India had to perish in order that Lancashire might flourish. The Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish. In a word, we were suppressed in order to enable the British to live on the heights of Simla."[5]

The operation of the British Navigation Acts from 1651 to 1850, the partiality in fixing export and import duties in favour of goods carried in British bottoms, the callousness and jealousy of British Shipping Companies that resorted to rate-wars and deferred rebate system and even combined with and helped the Japanese and the German Companies to throttle Indian ventures ; the injustice of the British Insurance Companies in fixing the premiums, the hostility of the

1 Chamanlal : *Hindu America.*
2 Letter No. 36. P. 99.
3 *Ain-i-Akbari.*
4 Digby : *Prosperous India*, pp. 85-6.
5 *Young India*, 26th March, 1931.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foreign banks in the form of not allowing credit on the goods carried in Indian ships, the introduction of iron-built vessels with mechanized sea transport and the rapid improvement in naval architecture due to scientific and engineering progress consequent upon Industrial Revolution in the West, were further causes that hastened the rapid decay, almost the precipitous fall of this once flourishing and glorious national industry. Some of the interested Western writers give too much importance to the scientific backwardness of India which prevented her from replacing wood by iron and sails by steam. But the naked and unpleasant truth remains that this scientific black-out was purposely fostered and systematically pursued as a fixed policy of the vested interests in England for their own imperialistic aggrandizement, and with a view to making her wholly dependent on the mother country for all her industrial and transport needs. Thanks to the unholy persistence of the British in this direction, India was transformed, within a century, from an industrial nation catering to the wants of world markets into an agricultural country producing raw materials and food stuffs only for the supply to her political masters. Thus a great and ancient nation was doubly enslaved by the followers of Christ !

The Present Position

The present position of Indian shipping is most deplorable. In 1940, out of the total world tonnage of 80 millions India possessed only one lakh sixty-three thousand tons or barely ·24 per cent of the world tonnage. Look at it ! Twenty per cent of the world population not possessing even one per cent of world shipping. Even the tiny countries like Chile, Latvia, Estonia, Turkey, and Portugal were and are far ahead of this sub-continent in this respect. The United Kingdom was, of course, the biggest sea-power possessing 18 million tons or 24 per cent of the total world shipping. Next came U.S.A. with 17 per cent, Japan with her 8 per cent, Norway with 7 per cent, Germany with her 6½ per cent and Italy with 5 per cent of world tonnage.

As regards the carriage of her own foreign trade 98 per cent is handled by the non-Indian Companies such as the British India Steam Navigation Co., the P. & O., and the Asiatic Steam Navigation Ltd. The remaining insignificant 2 per cent of the overseas trade is left to poor Indians who ply the ships as far as Haj at the most.

While the coastal trade of every country is reserved for her own ships, the vast Indian Coast of over 4,000 miles has been thrown open to all and sundry to drive away the infant Indian Companies. Even in coastal trade 75 per cent of the total is handled by non-Indians leaving 25 per cent only to her nationals. The total annual shipping earnings on account of Indian trade and passenger service, before the outbreak of World War II were estimated to be Rs. 57 crores of which Indian Companies got no more than 7 crores, thus draining away a huge amount of Rs. 50 crores annually from this starving country for transport alone.[6]

The advantages of possessing a strong mercantile marine are varied and many. It serves as a naval auxiliary and a second line of defence during war time. If it is indispensable during peace for civilian use, it is much more so during war for the quick haulage of munitions and the transfer of lakhs of soldiers over vast distances at a minute's notice as all of us have witnessed recently. The urgency of transport was poignantly brought home to us during the Bengal Famine. While wheat was rotting in Canada and Australia in lakhs of tons, the Bengalis were starving and dying like flies in the Calcutta streets as it could not be brought to their doors for lack of shipping space !

Shipping and ship-building opens fresh avenues of employment to the youngmen. At present the higher paid jobs are reserved for Europeans only by their own companies while the low paid drudgery is given to Indian seamen. The grievances of the deck passengers, the hardships of the Indian crew, the humiliation to which the passengers are put by the arrogant British officers, the inconvenience of the merchants and shippers in not getting space when they want it, are further reasons justifying an imperative need of a strong and up-to-date mercantile marine for India. Along with shipping go insurance and banking. All these are highly remunerative branches of business. But to-day their doors are barred and bolted against us. Let us hope the vocal and the powerful public opinion will throw open these in the near future by bringing the necessary pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant bureaucracy.

No information about the Indian shipping will be worth anything unless mention is made of the valiant Scindia Steam Navigation Co. who has been fighting single-handed against the foreign interests and the apathetic Home Government since its inception. Started in 1919 to take advantage of the boom period, it has gone through thick and thin, braved all the hazards and kept the national flag flying. To-day it has come to control more than 80 per cent of Indian tonnage with a modern ship-building yard at Vizagapatam and bids fair to make India independent in the matter of marine transport under the aegis of its patriotic and enlightened directors. On 2nd Novmber, 1945, its veteran chairman, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, made historic remarks at the 26th Annual General Meeting of the Company. He revealed :

> "It is common knowledge that every maritime country of importance, in addition to reserving the coastal trade to its own national vessels, is also anxious to carry at least 50 per cent of its overseas trade. Nothing less than that can or will satisfy India as a first step towards the expansion of her merchant navy. I hope the Shipping Policy Committee will do justice to the task and the Government of India will now rise equal to the occasion and take such steps as may ensure the early development of an Indian Merchant Navy owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country."

He complained that they lost four ships during War while under Government requisition and that the amount of compensation was also not decided yet. The Company was not allowed to carry out the repairs necessary to keep its ships in efficiency and up to proper standard during War nor were any facilities extended to build new ships while both these things were encouraged in Britain.

We are now passing from war economy to peace economy. It is a transition period which should be made as smooth as possible with the least possible dislocation and retrenchment. All the man-power and

6 Haji : *Economics of Shipping*, pp. 317-32, 375.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the material resources that were mobilised on a grand scale to win the War should now be switched on boldly to win the peace and its blessings in the form of abundance and plenty for all. This cannot be achieved without a national transport system. Let us pray that the hopes expressed by Mr. M. A. Master, the President of the Indian Merchants Chamber, on the eve of his departure to Copenhagen to participate in the Maritime Conference, and the promises given by the Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haque, the Commerce Member, to develop the merchant navy will come true and be realised in actuality in the near future.

———:O:———

THE ALL-INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE

Some Impressions

By K. S. VENKATARAMANI

Nestling in the midst of an encircling chain of low hills, well-planned Jaipur is probably the most beautiful city in India. Sir Mirza Ismail has given it many touches of beauty that give life even to mere stones when an architectural vision is applied. Recently the All-India Writers' Conference, the first of its kind, met at Jaipur. It seemed befitting in many ways that votaries of art should congregate in a place of beauty. The conference was the strenuous pioneering work of Madame Sophia Wadia.

The nightingale of India, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presided though the heat, dust and turmoil of Indian politics have hushed the authentic voice of the bird these years. Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were the outstanding figures. Sir S. Radhakrishnan with his refined, attractive intellectual face seemed ostensibly lost in philosophic calm. But he was really alive to the sound of every foot-fall. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented a real contrast to the scene of bustle and excitement in the conference. He moved like a stranger on earth as if on special duty to analyse the ills of life. Many years of hard work in the sterile field of our politics and the long terms of imprisonment have made him deeply introspective and imparted a sadness to the handsome features of his face. He never looks at people in the face even while conversing. The crowd that he attracts seems to hurt him—the crowd that shouts slogans but rarely disciplines its own life into planned action as work resulting from worship. He seemed a dreamer-thinker in action at the call of duty away from the charms and pleasures of solitude. Perhaps as an off-set to the scene, Sardar K. M. Panikkar was there, with his Trotskian beard, puffing a cigar into militant curls of smoke which seemed to say, "All life is a venture, perhaps an adventure." Last but not the least, was Mr. E. M. Forster himself. His face showed the incisive intellectual quality of the man rejoicing more in the embroidered marginalia of life. He moved about freely in the conference, especially in the by-tracks, with a sly innocence and the soft tread of assurance, like a pleasure yacht in costal waters. No wonder, all eyes masculine and feminine, were eager to catch his eye and shake his hand.

But the real charm for this somewhat effete masculine setting came from a silent group of fair listeners. Srimati Padmaja was there with her rolling eyes, a gift from her mother (Sarojini Naidu); Srimati Indira Gandhi was there with the grace and refinement and the chiselled features of the Kashmiri Brahmin, but with a certain measure of precocious seriousness, perhaps a gift from her father; Srimati Bharati Sarabhai was there whose quick steps and clear accents spoke eloquently of the early success of her first work of art, and Miss Masani was there with an upward look, not of philosophy but of a conscious intellectual family tradition. This little group, real stars, radiated warmth and presence to the whole conference and made it cheerful and gay.

Now let us come to the work of the conference. The President was not at her best except in snatches of interludes. I missed the customary literary aroma, the happy and inspired diction and the fervid eloquence embroidered with poetic fancies and flights. Nor her address gave the direction and the constructive mood to the deliberations of the conference wherein so many Indian authors met together for the first time.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered the best speech and Professor A. S. Bokhari read the best paper—he still calls himself a professor though years of Broadcasting have given his professorial face many administrative wrinkles. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's was an elusive subject, "Moral Values in Literature." But he caught it, in a true angling style, by covering it up promptly in liquid waters by a philosophically well-knit fishing basket. His eloquence was magical for it beautifully blended both substance and language with the wisest economy in selection which is at the base of all art.

The conference was a great success as a social gathering but did not realise its real purpose in any tangible measure. The causes were many. The Indo-Anglians, exotic flowers in pot, dominated the scene and the presence of Mr. K. M. Forster greatly helped the tilt in the wrong direction. The medium was English though there was an inevitability about it in that background. The agenda for the conference were fixed already like a school time-table for boys with work from 10-30 a.m. to 6 p.m. The conference itself should have been asked to prepare its own agenda. It knows its own needs better and thereby it would have gained the necessary contacts in a free and open discussion of the work before the conference. The symposium on the eighteen Indian literatures was a waste of time which bored the audience. When we meet again next year we must freely explore the ways and means by which the grand unity and prosperity of Indian authors working in the several Indian languages may be achieved.

Meanwhile, I venture to offer a few suggestions. India, true to her traditions, should offer a new type of publishing on a co-operative and not on a competitive or commercial basis. For which (1) a first class Publishing House with a directorate partly made up of authors themselves, must be established for each linguistic area. (2) Endowments which would help promising authors to lead an inter-provincial life and enrich their experience so that the fundamental unity of India may be more clearly grasped and rendered. (3) A Nobel Prize for each linguistic area.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

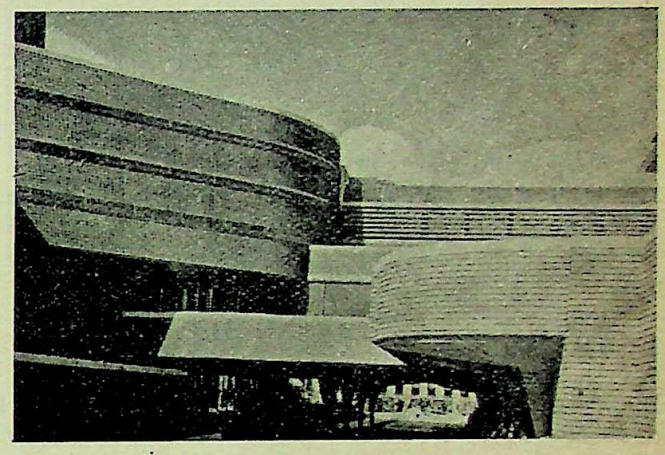
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMED U. S. ARCHITECT CONDUCTS AN EXPERIMENT IN LIVING AND TEACHING

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, the dean of modern architecture in the United States, is conducting a unique experiment in living, working and teaching. In the hills near Madison, capital of the midwestern U.S. state of Wisconsin where he was born 76 years ago, Wright natural setting of his buildings. Violently opposed to copying the architecture of earlier periods, Wright has long been an outspoken critic of many contemporary architects for refusing to strike out along new lines of design and for adhering to the use of unnecessary ornament. His use of line and material for industrial construction has been a notable feature of Wright design. It is illustrated in the Factory Administration building of the Johnson Wax Factory erected in 1938. Windowless, and of horizontal planes and curves, light enters the building through translucent glass rods set horizontally in the walls and in the roof.



Frank Lloyd Wright stands beside a scale model of museum that will house the Solomon R. Guggenheim collection of non-objective paintings



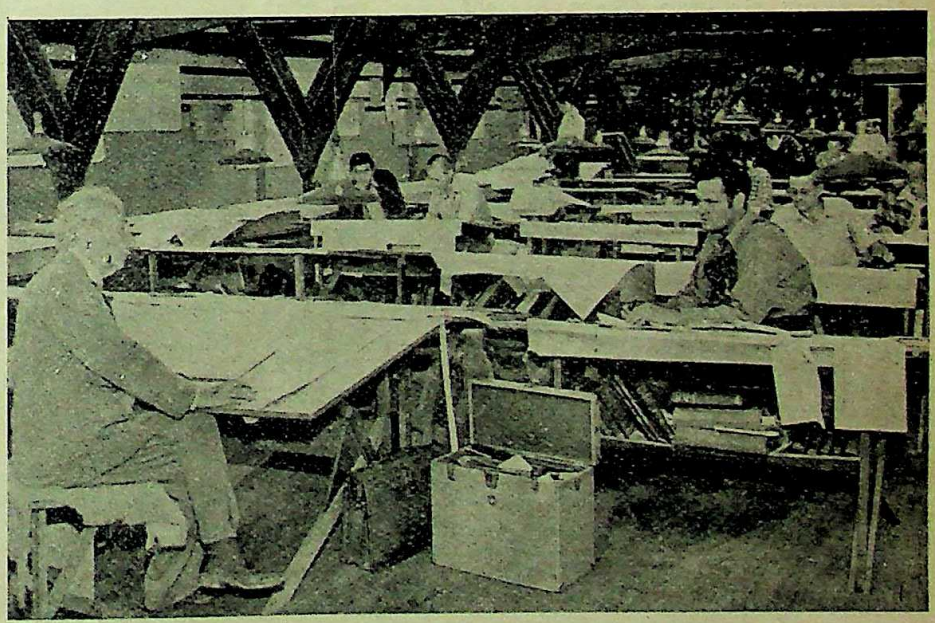
Exterior of the Wright-designed factory administration building of the Johnson Wax Factory in Wisconsin

directs a group of 40 apprentices. Their activities include the study of architecture along with the theory and practice of other related arts.

The "Taliesin Fellowship," as the group is called, is housed in the unusual and beautiful "Taliesin," named after the mythical Welsh bard. "Taliesin" includes a group of buildings constructed around the original workshop home which Wright designed and built for his own use in 1915. Among the buildings is a playhouse, which was formerly the gymnasium of a nearby Hillside School. It was converted by the apprentices into an auditorium where concerts are held and movies shown. Films on architecture and allied subjects are frequently shown as part of the curriculum. Since 1938 a new "Taliesin West" in the sunny mountain region of the southern state of Arizona has housed the school during the winter months.

In addition to their architectural studies under Frank Lloyd Wright, the apprentices learn weaving, farming and actual building techniques with collateral study in music. Each member of the fellowship pays a nominal annual tuition and is privileged to remain as long as he wishes.

Wright first gained recognition abroad for his genius in harmonizing clean, functional design with the Wright urges an economy of form with a careful

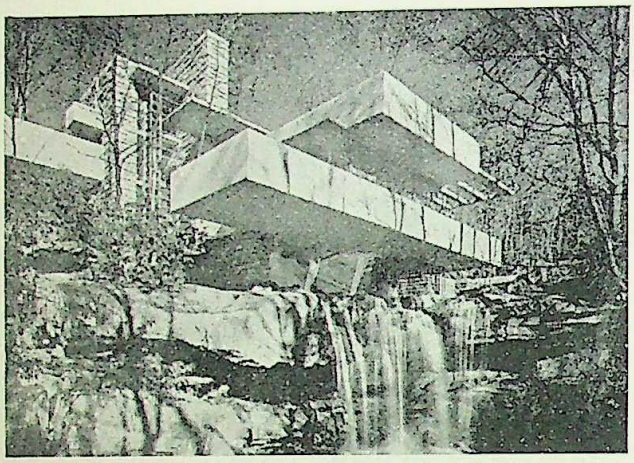


Wright discusses plans with one of his apprentices as other members of the "Taliesin Fellowship" lean over their drawing boards in the drafting room

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

use of materials and precise lines of simple, balanced repeat patterns. Functionalism is the keynote of his designs for both industrial and residential buildings. Wright believes that the materials used should be suited to the location of the building as well as to the



"Falling Water" in Pennsylvania is Wright's best known piece of architecture

personality of its tenants and also that the architect of the future must be "a more creative individual, capable of going through from start to finish with his own building as a master-builder."

Although Wright's unconventional buildings have been erected in many parts of the world, the $1,000,000 spiral-shaped museum that will house the Solomon R. Guggenheim collection of non-objective paintings will be the first Wright-designed building to be erected in New York City.

Discussing post-war homes, Wright declared that individual residences should be simpler, more durable, and of greater variety. He said that much of the furni-



Draperies, chair covers and other house furnishings for the buildings at Taliesin are made by hand on these looms

ture should be built as an integral part of the house, in materials and designs which conform to its style.

The courageous individuality of his buildings and his search for media of construction better adapted to modern living have made him one of America's foremo architects. His work and the concepts with which h



Fellows at Taliesin and members of their families practise playing music together at the Taliesin Playhouse



The interior of the windowless administration building at the Johnson Wax Factory in Wisconsin is lighted by means of translucent glass rods set horizontally in the walls and in the roof

has imbued his students point the way toward function simple beauty in the buildings they will design in t future.—*USIS.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

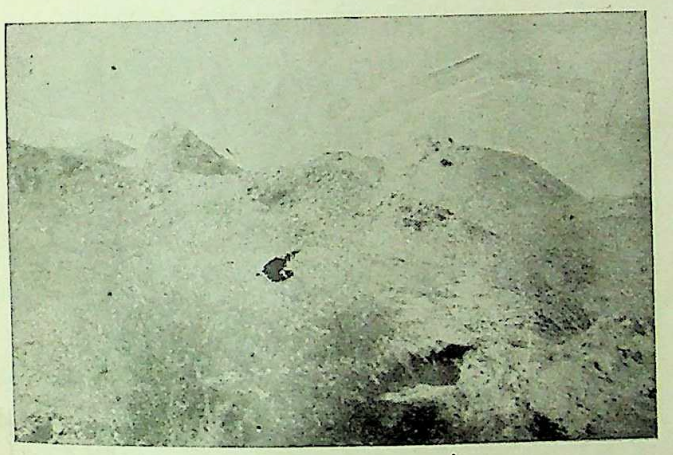
THE MARVELS OF MOHEN-JO-DARO

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Prof. K. N. VASWANI, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), F.R.E.S. (London)

"Five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind were enjoying an advanced civilization, closely akin but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt. This is what discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro now place beyond question."
—Sir John Marshall in *Mohen-Jo-Daro and Indus Civilization.*

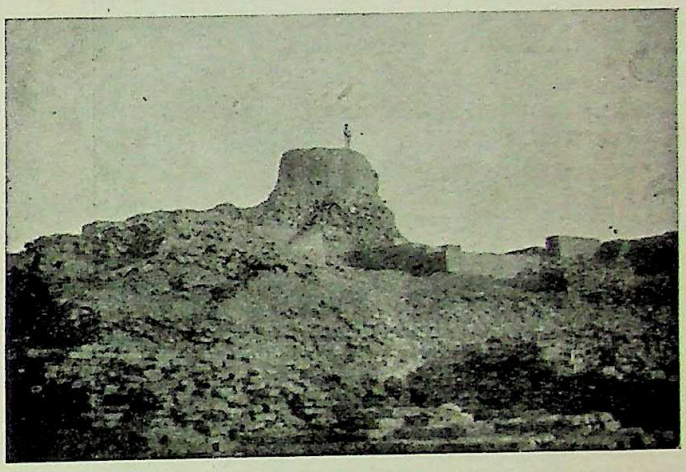
"Though much is known yet much abides"—how very true of Ancient History this is! Recent archaeological excavations at Mohen-Jo-Daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab, have brought to light an ancient civilization which the archaeologists have unhesitatingly declared to be earlier than the Aryan civilization of India. The finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro, revealing a marvellous culture, surpassing in many respects the splendour of Egypt and Mesopotamia, have revolutionised our ideas of the antiquity and origin of Indian civilization; and our Indian civilization which was formerly supposed to be only 3,500 years old—the Aryans came to India about 1,500 B.C.—is now held to be at least 5,000 years old, contemporaneous with the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Our history has thus been pushed back by no less than 1,500 years; and we are to be counted among the most ancient civilized peoples of the world.



Unexcavated mounds at Mohenjodaro

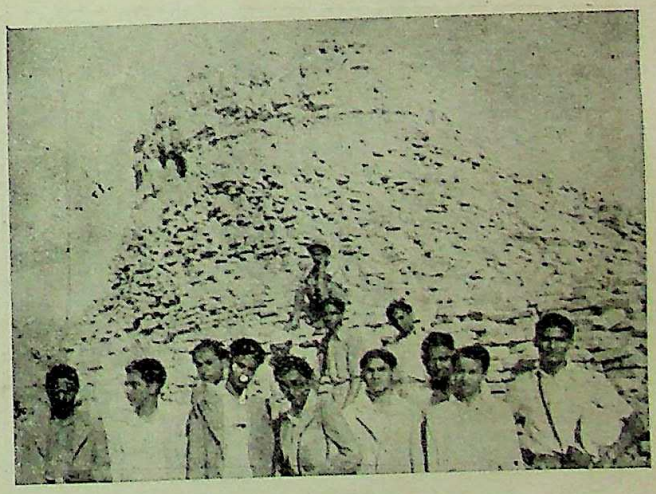
To begin the story of this ancient civilization unveiled at Harappa in the Montgomerry District of the Punjab in 1921, and at Mohen-Jo-Daro in the Larkana District of Sind in 1922, we note that this civilization is called the Indus civilization, for both Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro are found to lie in the old bed of the river Indus which has been a capricious river, having changed its course no less than 18 times. Mohen-Jo-Daro, more than Harappa, is the source of information about this ancient civilization; for while Harappa was used as a quarry for bricks during successive ages and therefore not much was left of it, such was not the fate of Mohen-Jo-Daro. Mohen-Jo-Daro, which name means mound of the killed—as in Babylonia, so here in the Indus valley, the city mounds seem to be the treasure-house of information—tells the story of a wonderful civilization. It comprises of two principal mounds, the larger 1,300 yards long and 670 yards wide and the smaller 440 yards by 330 yards. Layer after layer of buildings superimposed one over another like the nine cities of Troy—seven cities have been found here—has been unearthed; and the life of a forgotten people has been brought to light, in all its rich variety.

The city of Mohen-Jo-Daro with its broad streets, straight rows of buildings, the cross roads cutting at right angles, which can be seen even to-day, was a model of town planning. The houses were spacious and were built of bricks. They had court-yards, bath-rooms which were well-paved, staircases and upper storeys. *Each house had its own well which supplies water even today.*



Musing on the splendour that was Sind from the famous Stupa at Mohenjodaro

An elaborate system of drainage and sanitation "better than any thing that was usual in Europe till the nineteenth century"[1] existed. *The drains were all covered.* The perfect drainage system revealing co-ordination between private and public construction indicates a high class civic organisation—an enlightened municipality. Among the buildings discovered are: some pillared halls; certain remarkable buildings which some think are temples—no images have been found;



The famous Stupa at Mohenjodaro

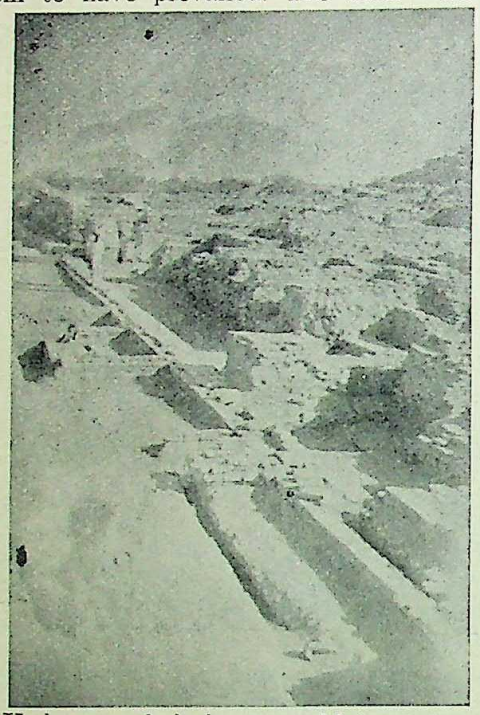
a market square with lines of shops, and a great tank which it appears served as a bathing place for the public—chambers for bathers are to be seen around it. Dr. Mackay suggests that "bathing was a ritual of the people of Mohen-Jo-Daro".[2] But this is only a surmise. Much cannot be said about the religion of the people.

1 Brailsford in an article in the *Manchester Guardian.*
2 Dr. E. Mackay in his book *The Indus Civilization.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

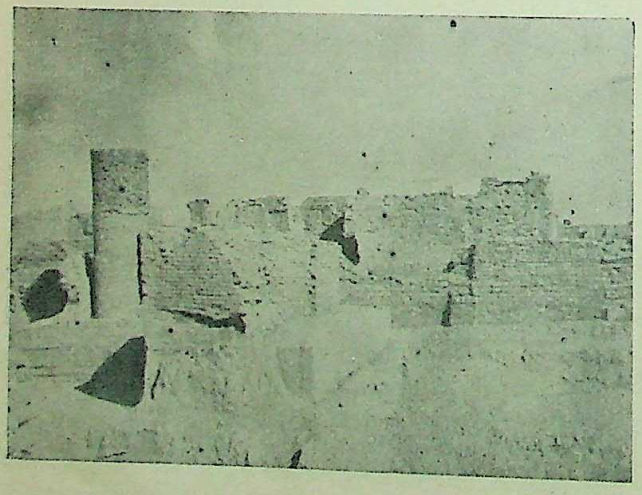
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The figures on their seals and amulets tell us something of their gods and goddesses. One seal shows a humped bull of great size, another a nude, three-headed deity with horns, in a Yoga pose—supposed to be Shiva. Tree worship, water or river worship and animal worship also seem to have prevailed. The dead were buried ;



Underground drainage at Mohenjodaro

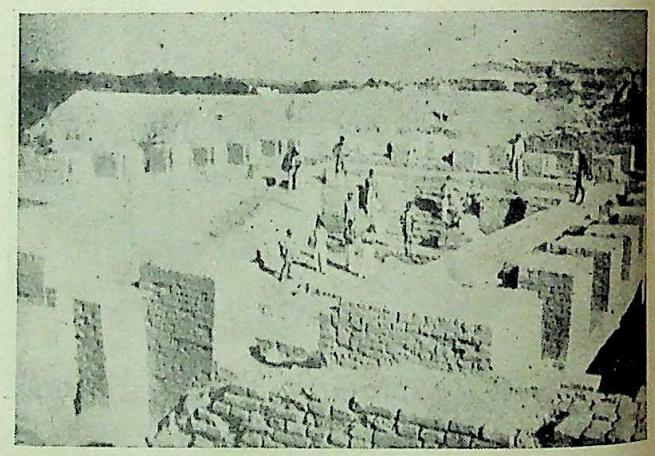
in several cases first cremated and then their ashes put in urns or jars which were buried. Some of these urns or jars and some skeletons have been found. The skeletons and measurements of doors of the houses show that the people were not tall. Men wore beards and sometimes shaved the upper lip ; razors and mirrors have been found. It is doubtful whether the Mohen-Jo-Daro people believed in a life after death.



Ruins revealing a well at Mohenjodaro

Implements and utensils were made of polished stone, copper or bronze ; gold, silver, even tin and zinc were known, but not iron. The people seem to have been devoted to peace rather than war. They had simple weapons—axes, spears, bows and arrows. Only two short swords have been found. Spinning and weaving were known and clothes of cotton, even wool, were worn. Wheat, barley and oats were grown. The cow, the buffalo and the goat were domesticated for milk and the fish formed part of food. The seals show even the tiger, the elephant and the rhinoceros but neither the camel nor the horse. The people were rich and had a high standard of living which is seen in their fine furniture and beautiful jewellery. They even used cosmetics. Gold and silver bangles, ear and nose ornaments, rings, necklaces, bracelets and precious stones of 23 varieties have been found. "The gold ornaments are so well finished and so highly polished that they might have come out of a Bond Street jeweller rather than from a prehistoric house of 5,000 years ago", writes Sir John Marshall.[3] Not many specimens of the art of the sculptor have been found but the few portraits which have been discovered and sculptures and carvings in alabaster and marble, indicate the great progress that had been achieved in this art. Female figures showing that the art of dancing was then practised, have been obtained. Glazed pottery, decorated with beautiful animal and human figures, has also been found. Pottery work was put to many uses. There were pottery drain-pipes, toys, vases, bird-cages, candle-stands and several other things.

Seals are the cream of the fascinating finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro. As many as 558 specimens have been found; some are made of copper but most are of ivory. They are of all sizes and shapes—square, cube,



The spacious public tank with rooms for bathing

cylinder, round and rectangular. Many have animal and human forms on them; and on many there are inscriptions in a pictograph. Some seals appear to have been worn as amulets. The pictographic seals prove that the people were familiar with the art of writing. It has not yet been possible to decipher this writing. But a great resemblance has been noticed between it and that on Sumerian seals. It has been suggested that the people of the Indus Valley were great traders and carried on trade with Mesopotamia both by sea and the old land route running through the Bolan Pass. The weights and measures of the Mohen-Jo-Daro people were very delicate and ran down to very small units—this supports the suggestion that they were great traders. "These Indian weights are made with greater accuracy and consistency than those of Elam and Mesopotamia", says Mr. A. S. Hammy. Gold which has been found in Mohen-Jo-Daro, is said to have come from Mysore and precious stones have been obtained which are said to have come from the Nilgiris. It thus seems clear that the Indus civilization did not flourish

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

3 Sir John Marshall in an article in the *Illustrated London News*

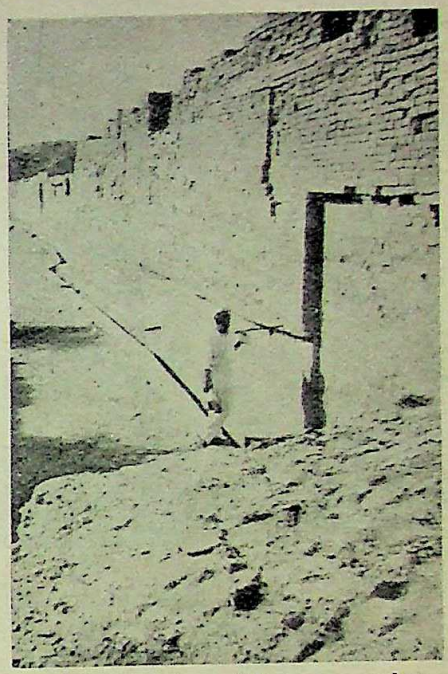
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

isolation but had close links with different parts of India and even with Western Asia.

Toys are trifling things, but the toys in Mohen-Jo-Daro, what a tremendous importance they possess! They tell us a lot about our ancestors 5,000 years ago. Wheeled carts must have been common for toy models of them have been found. They were very like the modern farm carts of Sind. Toy birds with holes in them, served as whistles for children. A toy-bull wags his head when his tail is pulled. Clay models of men and animals have also been found. The children had beautiful marbles to play with; and other people amused themselpes with board games. Numerous dice have been found.

Our attempt to reconstruct, from the marvels discovered at Mohen-Jo-Daro, a picture of the life of the Indus people 5,000 years ago, leads us to the conclusion: "That the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at Mohen-Jo-Daro, were much in advance of anything to be found at that time, in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile"—says Sir John Marshall. The same is the opinion of V. G. Childe, who writes: "Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal cutting and the grace of pottery, the Indus civilization was far ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third Millennium B.C." It gives me a great joy and a great pride to know and to feel that India has been one of the pioneers of civilization, perhaps the earliest cradle of culture and that this little province of Sind, our own Sind, was the spot where this civilization first rose, where this ancient culture first flowered; and that the remains of this ancient civilization were first discovered by an eminent Indian archaeologist, R. D. Banerji.

The discovery of the marvels of Mohen-Jo-Daro has had a miraculous effect not only on the history of India but also on that of the world. "With a single flash the civilization of Sind and the Punjab gleams before our eyes—the civilization which is the most ancient", wrote Sir John Marshall in *London Times*, and in the *Illustrated London News* of 20th September, 1924, he wrote: "At a single bound, we find that five thousand years ago, the people of Sind and the Punjab were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a



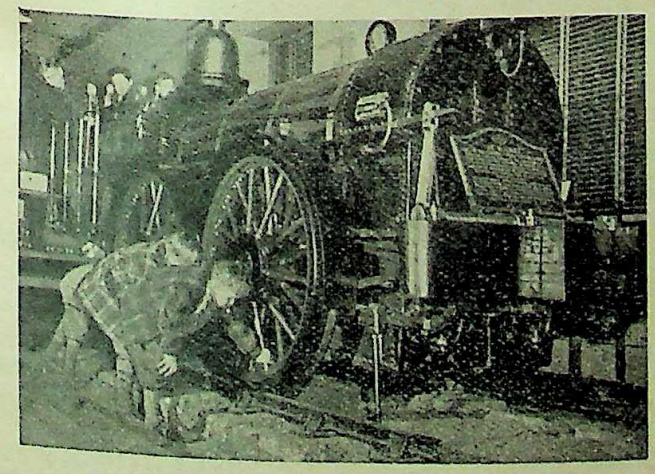
Walls showing cities one under the other

civilization with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing." It has been a momentous archaeological discovery—this, of Mohen-Jo-Daro, which has opened out a new historical vista to the world and provided a vast field of research to India's large army of history students.

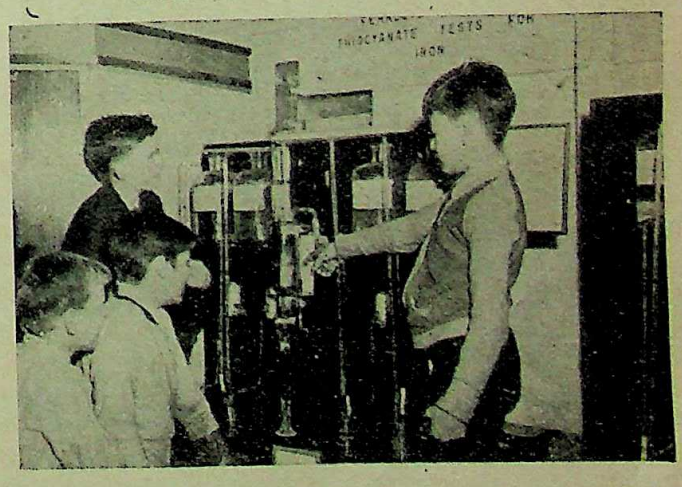
———:O:———

U. S. MUSEUM TEACHES USE AND WORKING OF MODERN MECHANISMS

The Franklin Institute in the U. S. city of Philadelphia exhibits devices that its visitors—including children—can operate. Working models of many machines teach the use and construction of modern mechanical equipment. Others explain in simple terms fundamental physical and chemical laws and principles.



A group of boys inspect the "Rocket" locomotive, built in England in 1837, and a section of the original track



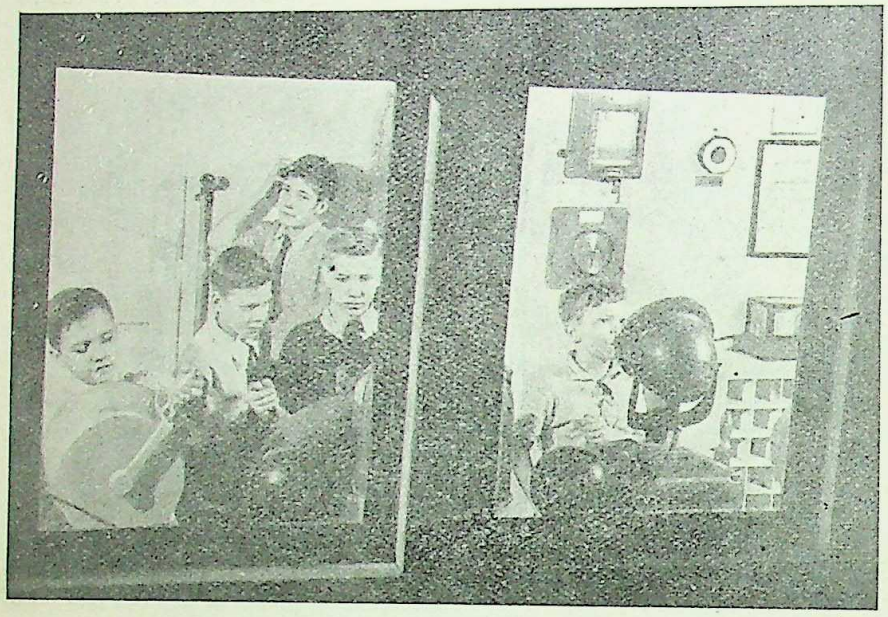
A demonstration, which visitors to the Franklin Institute can operate themselves, explains how iron is tested

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

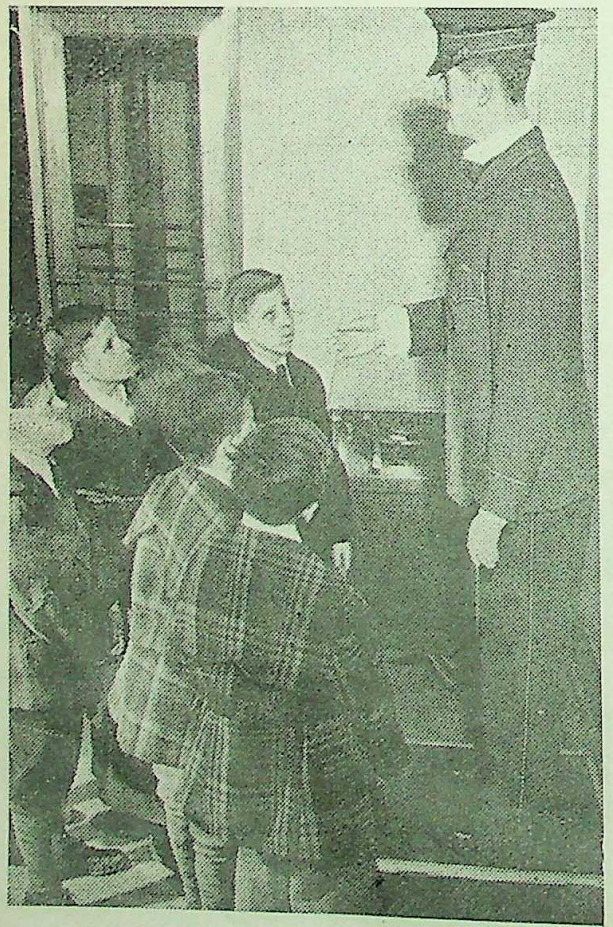
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Institute was founded in 1824 by Samuel Vaughan Merrick and a group of Philadelphia citizens, and named after the famous 18th Century American inventor and statesman, Benjamin Franklin, who was interested in educational projects.

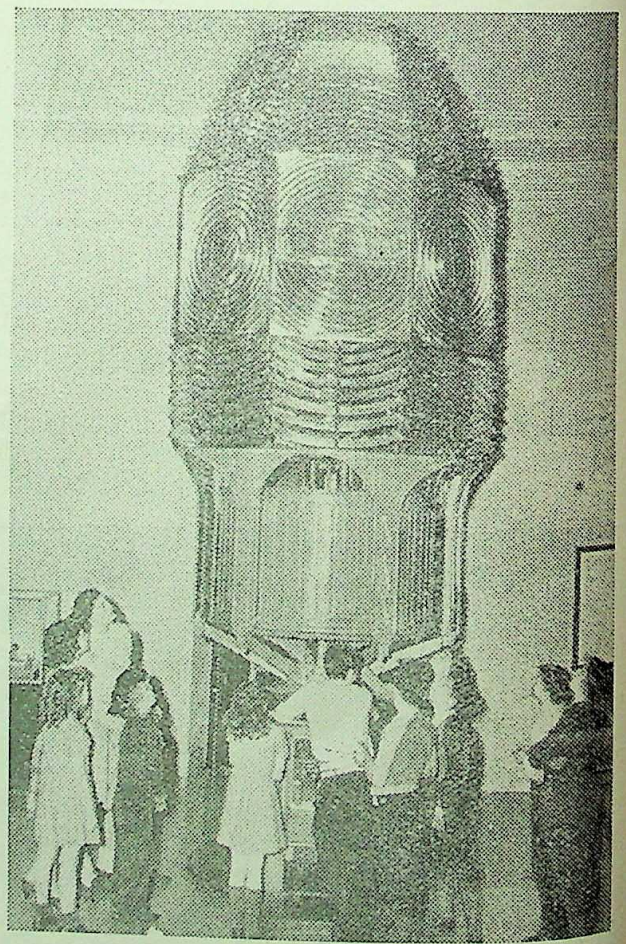
The Institute includes one of the largest U.S. scientific libraries, several research laboratories, a plantarium and many exhibits of rare historical value. Most of the exhibits, however, are demonstrations of scientific principles and the latest are no "Do Not Touch" signs on these exhibits, and children are especially delighted because they are allowed to operate and handle the equipment on view. There are no restrictions to prevent them from climbing into Link trainers, locomotive cabs, etc., and using equipment such as telephone switchboards, or the devices in a steamship's pilot house. By thoroughly examining and using these mechanisms, children effortlessly learn how to operate them as well as how they function. The accompanying photos show a group of youngsters touring the Franklin Institute and learning about the machinery in which they are most interested.—*USIS*



Youngsters handle all the mechanical devices and navigation equipment in the pilot house of the model ship set up in Franklin Institute



A group of young visitors to the Franklin Institute listen with wonder to the speech of welcome being made by the robot which moves its hand as it speaks

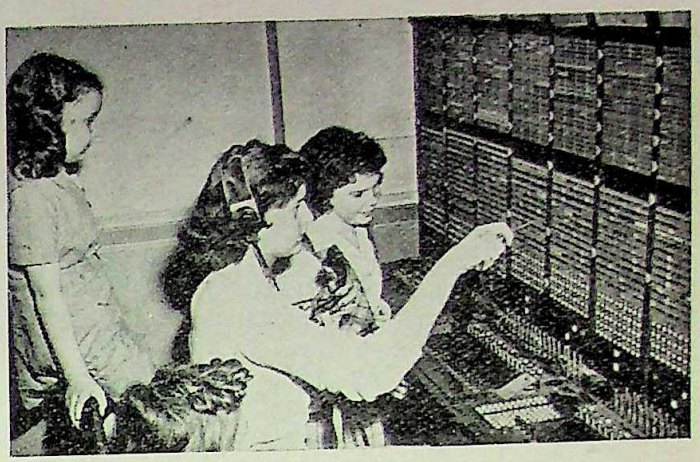


This giant lens, now on exhibit in the Franklin Institute, formerly reflected the beam of a lighthouse across the New York harbour

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Girls visiting the Franklin Institute learn about telephone switchboards by actually operating one

← A model of Link Trainer, which is used by the U.S. Army in training airplane pilots, is on display in the Franklin Institute

———:O:———

THIS FATE-FORGED BOND

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Shalt *thou* cut asunder this Fate-forged bond ?
Art thou indeed so mighty ?
Art thou so mighty ?
To break us and build, shall thy hand avail ?
Art thou indeed so haughty ?
Art thou so haughty ?
Shalt thou for ever chain us back ?
Shalt thou for ever hold us down ?
Nay, so much strength you have not ;
Nay, that chain shall not hold ;
Howsoever your edicts bind,
Even in the weak, is power.
Howsoever your greatness swells,
God over-rules.
When you have struck down our strength,
You too shall surely die—
Grown heavy and overladen, your boat shall sink.

—*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

(This song—*Bidhir bandhan katbe tumi eman saktiman*—was originally composed in 1905 in the heat of the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal. The Poet himself sang it through the streets of Calcutta, heading a huge procession. The Bengal Partition is an old story, but the Partition of India is a living issue. This song has gained an added significance in this context. It has been translated from the original Bengali by Miss Marjorie Sykes.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

THE SOUTH INDIAN

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By GURDIAL MALLIK

The South Indian is a composite personality, evolved out of the several strands of his many-sided culture. He is distinct from his brother in the North in a number of ways. But both are at the root alike, inasmuch as religion is the bedrock and basis of their life.

He is a harmonious blend of devotion and dynamic intelligence. The holiest expression of the former is to be found in his music, dance and temples, while the latter is seen in the vitality and vehemence of his argument. For, whomsoever you meet in the streets of Madras and its expansive environs has spirituality of some design or other stamped on his forehead ; and, if you happen to encounter him in a coffee-house, then you discover in him a potential pundit, philosopher, politician or poet.

In him there is the energy of Nature, in the beauty and bounty of which the South is so superbly rich. But more often than not, it finds an outlet either in the "bivouac of the brain" or in heights (not so much in the breadths) of holiness, as indicated in his angular as well as elongated caste-marks,—those credentials of his for obtaining admission for him into the presence of his particular parish-deity !

There is, thus, a kind of extremism in his character. It is born of the negative aspect of the element of the infinite in Nature and in his sectarian style of worship. This has endowed him, maybe unconsciously, with an insularity of outlook. He has developed, as a result thereof, a passionate loyalty to the traditions of his community, the tenets of his creed, and the tastes of his tongue. No wonder, then, that he believes that the birthplace of all that is best and beautiful is the South.

This extremism-*cum*-insularity has given rise to a peculiar but painful "touch-me-not-ism" in his life, love and literature, which has robbed this trinity of values of unity and universalism. He has an antidote to it in his insight in, and attachment to the arts and in his attitude of adoration to his ancestral godhead. For, the pivot and pith of these is their inherent aptitude to lead their votary from the bondage of the finite in form to the infinite in idea and impersonality.

His simplicity is proverbial. His sense of domestic economy,—touched as it is with the aesthetic,—is worthy of emulation by his fellow-countrymen in the other parts of India. His fidelity, through the ages, to that foundational institution in society,—the family,—is another aspect of his character, which also they would do well to copy. Above all, his limitless love for the mother, who transmutes the home into heaven, is something unique. Verily "paradise lies at the feet of the mother," as said, centuries ago, the Prophet of Arabia.

He has an unusual instinct, like the birds of the same feather, to flock together. They say, two is company, three is crowd. But in his case, even two is crowd though, at times, it is to be regretted that that company or crowd is exclusive.

He has a peculiar genius for handling skilfully most of the modern gadgets of science, like the typewriter, the telephone, the plane and the plummet. He is very quick to grasp the substratum or significance of anything that is new or novel, but, alas ! only in the field of mechanics, nay, also in the maze of mathematics but not in the sphere of spiritual consciousness or conduct, as it affects the age-old concept or custom. In his mind, he projects the future into the present but in his belief and behaviour he shunts back the present into the past, while in the life of the spirit, as a rule he is static.

The South Indian woman is, first and last, the mother. She is alive to the truth epitomised in the adage, "The hand that rocks the cradle, rules the world," and lives it out every moment in the home. She is a dictator, but a benevolent one, that is why she is looked upon less as such and more as a manifestation, in flesh and blood, of the World Mother. She is a custodian of hoary faith as well as of the fashions of fulfilment of that faith in the life of the family. Well, might it be said, that she is at once a nursery and a nurse,—a nursery of "worshipful" vision and values of life and a nurse of cherished, conservative sentiments and styles of self-expression.

The South Indian, men or women, in short, is in spirit a picture of the pre-Aryan or parallel-Aryan of the past.

———:O:———

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Kamala, who passed her B.A. (Hons.) Examination very creditably from the Calcutta University, has stood First in the First Class in the M.A. (Hindi) Examination this year. She has topped the list of the successful candidates who appeared for the M.A. Examination in all the Indian languages and has thus won many medals for this unique distinction. She is now working on her thesis on Premchand (an outline of which she had submitted for her M.A. Examination) for Ph.D.

Miss Kamala is a grand-daughter of the famous artist Prof. Ishwari Prasad Varma, Ex-Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, and a writer and critic of promise.



Miss Kamala

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE GITA AND WAR

By Prof. S. N. L. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A.

Since the outbreak of the war that has just ended there has been a spate of learned articles in our newspapers and our religious and philosophical periodicals on the question of the attitude of the Gita towards war. It is rather an amusing fact that the most completely dependent and unarmed nation under the sun should be the most vociferous on the question of the ethics of war. So far as India is concerned, the question for her in her present circumstances can hardly have more than a mere academic interest. Let us, however, hope that in some near or distant future, India will become the master of her own destiny and will be saddled with the onerous responsibility of maintaining her political independence in the midst of nations armed with the most monstrous weapons which scientific knowledge will place in their hands. Then, perhaps, there might not be time or inclination for any metaphysical chewing the cud, so let us have done with academic discussions now when the times are so propitious!

The discussion I am alluding to has been moving round the concepts of violence and non-violence. Some have expressed the opinion that the Gita does not regard violence in the form of participation in war as anything sinful or hateful. On the other hand, it was to induce the faint-hearted Arjun to fight heroically that the whole gospel of the Gita was propounded. Shri Krishna reprimanded Arjun in most unequivocal and forceful words for his desire to refrain from battle, even though it was a battle against his own kinsmen and revered elders. Did he not say that Arjun's desire was mean and ignoble? How could Shri Krishna have said this if he were an advocate of non-violence *per se* at all times and under all circumstances? War is a necessary evil in human society and refusal to participate in war is undiluted folly. This has been one line of interpretation of the attitude of the Gita towards war.

Others have maintained that the background of war against which the whole teaching of the Gita is set need not be seriously taken in its literal and historical meaning. The war alluded to is only an allegorical presentation of the constant fight that is going on between good and evil tendencies in human minds and Arjun the representative man is exhorted by the Divine to fight against evil. *Kurukshetra* is the battle-field of life, the scene of constant conflict between good and evil forces. The background of a battle-field is advisedly chosen because it typically symbolises life with its confusing tussle and turmoil, its unending rush and activity. The Gita being an exponent of Karma-Yoga could hardly have found a fitter background for its teachings than a battle-field. Be it remembered that all this is only allegory. Let no undue importance be attached to the opening scene of war and let not Shri Krishna's exhortation to Arjun to fight be interpreted literally as fighting in an actual warfare. Rather, let it be understood as an exhortation to combat the evil tendencies in one's own mind, and so on. The Gita stands unreservedly for non-violence.

"That the central teaching of the Gita is not *himsa* but *ahimsa*", says Gandhiji, "is amply demonstrated by the subject begun in the second chapter and summarised in the concluding (XVIII Chapter). The treatment in the other chapters also supports the position. *Himsa* is impossible without anger, without attachment, without hatred, and the Gita strives to carry us to the state beyond Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, a state that excludes anger, hatred etc. . . . Non-violent Krishna could give Arjun no other advice. But to say that the Gita teaches violence or justifies war, because advice to kill was given on a particular occasion, is as wrong as to say that *himsa* is the law of life because a certain amount of it is inevitable in daily life. To one who reads the spirit of the Gita, it teaches the secret of non-violence, the secret of realising the self through physical battle."—(*Young India*, 12-11-1925).

This has been a second line of interpretation of the attitude of the Gita towards war. Needless to say that all contemporary interpreters of the Gita along this line have been considerably influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's vigorous preaching of non-violence as the basic ideal of life which has to dominate our activity in all spheres including the political.

Some ardent devotees of Gandhiji would even go to the length of saying that Gandhiji's ideology of non-violence standing for the total outlawry of war, excels and rises superior to the teaching of the Gita. Gandhiji's teaching is said to be considerably ahead of all the moral codes of past and contemporary history. It is politely suggested that the author of the Gita, rooted as he was in the social and political ideas of his own times, could not possibly have envisaged a higher order of human civilization to come in the wake of evolution in which war would be completely abolished. Prof. D. S. Sharma is well-known for his supreme and unreserved devotion to Gandhiji and to the Gita alike. In an excellent little book entitled *Krishna and His Song*, he has a chapter on "Krishna—the Teacher of Non-violence". In this chapter Prof. Sharma has so charmingly and lucidly presented the point of view I am alluding to here that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting his words here with an apology for the lengthiness of the quotation.

"The fact is,'" writes Prof. Sharma, "that *the Gita is not concerned with the question of war as an instrument of justice among nations any more than Jesus Christ was concerned with the question of the subjection of the Jews to the Roman Empire.* The aim of all great scriptures of the world is to lift man from the animal plane to a divine plane by revealing to him the paths of ascent to a higher and higher perfection. But we have to remember two things about them. First, the scriptures of a race form a progressive revelation. The Spirit never ceases to grow. For God lives for ever and He ever manifests Himself in the lives of the saints. Therefore as we rise in the scale of spiritual values we discover higher and higher laws. And when the higher law is revealed, the lower one is abrogated. Secondly, the great scriptures of the world are not produced *in vacuo. The messengers of God come in human*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

form. They belong to a certain age, a certain society and a certain country. Therefore their spiritual message is inevitably covered with the husk of political, social and scientific ideas of their times. And it is the task of the wise man to separate the husk from the kernel. He should clearly see and frankly admit that belief in a particular political doctrine or a particular social order is the perishable part of a scripture. It is the husk that cover the living seed. Half the degradations that flourish under the name of religion are due to our frequent inability to separate what is permanent from what is temporary or accidental in our scriptures. Surely Christ's belief that evil spirits cause disease and his expectation that the world would come to an end shortly belong to the latter category. So do the battle of Kurukshetra, the Indian caste system and the Sankhya philosophy mentioned in the Gita. Moreover, how could we expect the Gita, written some centuries before the Christian era, to preach directly the abolition of war, when even twenty centuries after the beginning of that era mankind still looks upon war as a legitimate weapon and resorts to it with far fewer moral restrictions? Non-violence among nations, if made possible by international courts of arbitration, is undoubtedly as superior to war as an honourable war, a *dharma-yuddha,* described by our ancient epic poets, is superior to the modern massacres with aerial bombs, poison gases and secret mines. When the enlightened conscience of humanity comes to look upon war as a horrid business unworthy of man and perfects a machinery by which it is made impossible it will disappear like Suttee and slavery and no misreading of the scriptures can stay the progress of man." (Pp. 20-22, *Italics mine*).

The opening sentence in the above quotation forthwith calls for comments. It is not true to hold that the Gita was not concerned with the question of war as an instrument of justice. Well, *it was precisely as an instrument of justice* (not, of course justice 'among nations' but justice between two contending royal powers) that the war alluded to in the Gita was resorted to. The Gita is an integral part of the Mahabharata and it is definitely this war and no other war with the account of which the Gita begins. This war was not a war-monger's war, not a war for the mere fun of it or the sheer love of it, but avowedly a war for "justice". As is well known, it was the "injustice" of the wicked Kauravas to the noble Pandavas which necessitated the War of the Mahabharata. Christ may not have shown any concern for the subjection of the Jews to the Roman Empire, but Shri Krishna showed immense concern over the sad plight of the Pandavas at the hands of the Kauravas even as Gandhiji is immensely concerned with the subjection of India to the British Empire. The 'superior' method of settling political disputes by non-violent means is not an innovation of *our times*; Shri Krishna gave it a fair trial 'in his own day'. He did all that lay in his power to bring about a settlement without resorting to 'the horrid business of war.' He went to the court of Duryodhana and gently pleaded on behalf of the Pandavas to return to them their rightful territories or even such small part of them as would suffice for their bare maintenance. Duryodhana refused to give even a needlepoint of land without battle. Reasonable persuasion gave way before insolent might. Shri Krishna now had no other choice but to advise the declaration of war.

What really, then, is the Gita's attitude toward the question of war *qua* an act of violence? Does the Gita advocate violence or non-violence? In one sense 'neither' and in another sense 'both'. The Gita certainly does not *advocate* war for its own sake or for the love of it; nor could its spirit and teachings be said to be opposed to war on the sole ground of its being an act of violence when it is warranted by an objective situation, when it becomes a moral necessity or when it is demanded by *loka-samgraha.* The readers of the Bhagwad-Gita must recall to their minds that Shri Krishna asked Arjun to fight in the interest of *loka-samgraha* or the collective welfare of society.[1] I have often seen it argued by the advocates of non-violence that if the war of the Mahabharata vindicated anything it vindicated the utter futility of violence since the war ended with a holocaust of millions on either side and as such the victory of the Pandavas was a profitless victory. Yes, the war of the Mahabharata consumed millions, but it immortalised the ideal of the *kshatriya* hero. Men may die, but the ideal must live. To allow wrong to triumph and right to suffer is a moral failure, a breach of *loka-samgraha.* He the Lord knows the true significance of events in the cosmic drama. Shri Krishna knew about the holocaust.[2] A cosmic tragedy to the human view is a Divine laughter. The "horrid" also has a place and a significance in the cosmic drama which only the Divine dramatist rightly understands. Men march to events, machine-like as it were, by His behest.

The Gita, I venture to say, does not make a fetish of non-violence. Though *ahimsa* is mentioned in several passages as a virtue, *war as such* is nowhere condemned in the Gita. The war of the Mahabharata had the sanction and the approval of the Lord of the Gita Himself. This is far from saying that Shri Krishna was a war-monger or that he advocated war for the sake of war. Unwarranted war is, of course, condemnable; but when the situation warrants a war, how can we help it? Even a Divine Incarnation like Shri Krishna with all the soul-force and the power of love at his command could not help it.

We quite admit that the Gita lends itself to an allegorical interpretation; but we see no reason to *eschew altogether* the basic historical events that are inexpugnably associated with the Gita. After all, what is there to be ashamed of in the Bharata war? Was it not a war for a just cause? Though lending itself to an allegorical interpretation, why should it be regarded as a *mere* allegory? Why should not Shri Krishna's exhortation to Arjun to fight in an actual battle be understood in its literal sense also, in addition to whatever allegorical interpretation it may lend itself to? It can easily be shown that the Gita had no objection to war as such; it did not condemn war because it involves violence. The Gita upholds the order of Four Classes (*chatur-varnya*) which includes the fighting class of the *kshatriyas.* The Gita positively mentions 'not running away in battle'[4] as a virtue of the *kshatriya* class. By no stretch of imagination this could be a mere allegory. The Gita also proclaims in no uncertain terms that *each of the four classes can attain*

1 *Chikirsur lokasamgraham.*
2 *Mayaivete nihata poorvameva.*
3 *Bhramayan sarvabhutani yantrarudhani mayaya.*
4 *Yuddhe chapyapalayanam.*

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri
CC-0. Shri Ram Sharma Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

siddhi by performing its own alloted duties in a spirit of worship of the Divine.[5] The Kshatriya's fighting in a battle is as much a means to Perfection as a Brahmin's practice of non-violence. The Gita insists on each class sticking steadfastly to its own *swadharma* and not switch off into the railroad of the *swadharma* of another class :

> "Better is one's own *swadharma* though evil (to all outward appearance) than the *swadharma* of another. *He who doeth work in keeping with his own nature incurreth no sin.* One should not give up, O son of Kunti, a work congruous with one's own dispositional make-up, even though there be a blemish in it. All actions (for the matter of that) are covered up with blemishes even as fire is always covered up with smoke".—(*Gita,* XVIII, 47-48).

The truth is that the Gita does not place the same ideal before everybody. It is impossible, in the very nature of things, that non-violence in its chemical purity can be practised by all and sundry. The Gita is the exponent of an ideal relative to a man's dispositional make-up. According to men's diversity of dispositional make-up, the Gita broadly distinguishes four fundamental types in human society, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra. Quality of character and the aptitude for a specific vocation determine, to which of these four classes a particular individual belongs.[6] This is not a hierarchical classification, placing one higher than the other, though this has been the usual misunderstanding which is responsible for much of our present-day social iniquities. It is a universal principle of classification applicable to any human society whatsoever. This diversity of types is a fact to reckon with. The Gita recognises it as a constant and inexpugnable feature of human society, an essential item in the Divine planning of creation.[7]

From all this, the attitude of the Gita towards the question of war seems pretty clear. It does not seem tenable to regard the Gita as the exponent of the single and sole ideal of non-violence under all circumstances as some present-day interpreters of the Gita make it out to be. Nor is the Gita a war-monger's gospel preaching war for the sheer love of it or for territorial aggrandisement or for snatching other people's independence and things like that sort. But when war becomes a necessity, nay, a paramount duty in the cause of justice, refusal to participate in war on the sole ground that it involves violence which is sinful would, according to the spirit of the Gita, be a species of *karma-sanyasa* which is reprehensible. The true meaning of *sanyasa* according to the Gita is not the giving up of action in its outward form, but giving up of the attachment to its consequences. The uniqueness of the Gita amongst the world's scriptures lies precisely in this that it alone shows us the path of how we can adjust ourselves to outward situations by which we are inescapably confronted and which *prima facie* present a moral problem to us, without any moral or spiritual loss to ourselves. The Gita teaches us how we can remain spiritually unscathed even when participating in the bloodiest war. It is the unparalleled merit of the Gita that it alone of all scriptures in the world holds the light unto our feet during our passage through life's frightful and intricate passes. The Gita teaches us not to be swinging in moral seesaws when the situation demands a plunge into action. In the concluding part of the chapter from which I have quoted above, Prof. Sharma has pertinently drawn our attention to four passages in the Gita (II. 38, III. 30, VIII. 7 and XVIII. 17) where Arjun is specifically asked to fight and the Lord imposes such conditions on him as he should fight treating pain and pleasure, victory and gain alike; he should fight without the sense of egoism and surrendering all works to God etc. These conditions, says Prof. Sharma, are such as to make Arjun's action 'practically non-violent'. Let me quote him again :

> "From all this we see that Krishna, far from advocating violence, thoroughly undermines the position of violence, takes away the substance and retains only the outer shell. That was all probably he could do in his day. If his conditions are satisfied, there can be no violence at all . . . All that Mahatma Gandhi is doing today is to push the *Gita* to its logical conclusion, to make us take the last step and throw away even the shell and thus embrace non-violence in both form and substance. His Satyagraha is therefore only a fulfilment of the *Gita.*"

Yes ! Krishna asked Arjun to fight with his whole attitude internally changed ; but that is the attitude he asks us to take in *all* the activities of life.

> "Perform all your actions poised in Yoga[8] and renouncing attachment to their consequences, O Dhananjaya ! Be even-tempered in success and failure ; it is this evenness of temper which is spoken of as Yoga."—(Gita, II-48).

This is the universal quintessential principle of Krishna's philosophy of action which He brings to bear on fighting also in the passages quoted by Prof. Sharma where he is asking Arjun specifically to fight. Yes, if the fighter fights in the spirit of Yoga as taught in the Gita his violence has no demerit attached to it and becomes as good as non-violence if one wants to put it that way. But to kill in the spirit of Yoga is one thing ; and to totally refrain from killing is another thing altogether. I do not see the propriety of calling the latter step "a logical conclusion" of the former. *Shri Krishna definitely advised Arjun to take the former step in preference to the latter and this settles the controversy about the attitude of the Gita towards the question of war qua an act of violence.* The Gandhian ideology of non-violence is a clear *break* from the Gita ideology of Yogic violence if I may be permitted to put it so. The Gandhian technique is something new, *sui generis.* A full discussion about it is not germane to my present article which has been concerned only with the Gita's attitude towards war and with Gandhiji only in so far as he has interpreted the Gita to suit his ideology of non-violence.

Let me in the end come to the much talked-of question of the total abolition of war in the world. Pray, who is it who talks *most* about it ? Need I say that ? Have the belligerent nations, victors or vanquished in World War II, despaired of war, despite the horrors and miseries that have attended it ? Has Russia despaired of war ? Did not Stalin order his scientists immediately after the completion of the war to prepare atom bombs within six months ? Have not the Five

5 *Swakarmana tamabhyarchya.*
6 *Guna-karma-vibhagashah.*
7 *Chaturvarnyam maya sristam.*
8 *Yogasthah kuru karmani.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nations been clamouring to share the secret of the atom bomb ? Which way is the wind blowing ? After the first experiment with the atom bomb the world seemed to have felt alarmed and it was hoped for some time that the emergence of the atom bomb would end war for all time to come. But what now ? 'International control over the use of atom bomb'—this is the best we can hope for and this would be in the best interests of the belligerent nations themselves. Is the world moving even an inch towards 'embracing non-violence in both form and substance ?' What is India to do in such a world ? The question is pertinent, not so much for the India of today but for the *free* India of tomorrow. Will the *free* India of tomorrow equip herself with an arm and a navy and all other requirements of a moder warfare and be prepared for *all* eventualities, or, wi she *choose* to remain non-violent, come what may ? W owe it to posterity to give a clear and decisive answ to this question, an answer which will not let it falt in its hour of need. For my own part I believe that t Gita gives us that decisive answer. Hearken, ye all ! t the last words of the Gita :

"Where there is Krishna, Great amongst t Yogins, and where there is Arjun, great amongst t warriors, there assuredly, methinks, is prosperi victory and happiness."

——:O:——

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE INDIAN STATES

By Prof. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.,

Hony. Director, The Rajendra Institute of Economic Research, Balangir and Member, The Patna State Legislative Assembly

While the problem of the economic and political transition in India is a serious one deserving all our careful attention, I am afraid that the problem of the Indian States is not receiving due attention of the press and people of British India. As must be expected in a country struggling for independence, the political problem of the States is getting more attention than the economic problem of the millions of the people of the Indian States whose standard of life is much lower than that of the people of British India which is low by itself.

There is a lot of prejudice in British India against the Native States. While some of it is justified, a lot is due to ignorance and tradition. Indian States are not receiving due publicity in British India which is due, of course, to their own fault.

The object of the present writer is neither to praise the Native States nor to condemn them, but only to point out some of the salient features of the problem of transition in the Indian States that require careful consideration by all the statesmen in India.

Unfortunately the people of British India do not take into consideration that the whole of India including the Indian States should swim or sink together. British India cannot expect to plan and advance leaving Indian India behind. It applies both to the economic field as well as to the political.

As far as the economic problem is concerned, there are three good reasons why British India and Indian India should co-operate with each other.

History may divide India into two or three Indias, but geography cannot. One has only to look at the map of India to convince himself how impossible it is to make a real distinction between the two Indias as two administrative units. Indian States, big and small, number about six hundred, and look as if they are sprinkled on the map of India. It is inconceivable to Balkanise India without disastrous consequences.

British India is more populated than Indian India. According to the Census of 1941, the density of population in British India is about 340 people per square mile while that of Indian India is about 130 per square mile, making it about 248 people per square mile for the whole of India. Actually in some places in British India the density is more than 500 per square mile—i North Bihar in some places it is even 900—while in t Indian States in some places it is even less than o hundred. An equitable redistribution of the populatio is essential for the uniform exploitation of the natur resources of India and for settling the landless peop of India on new land ; and for this purpose clos co-operation with the Indian States which can absor the surplus population of British India is quite essenti

In India today we are contemplating many multi purpose River Projects on the T.V.A. lines. We a contemplating many Hydro-electric Projects on a gri system throughout India. We are also scheming for regional distribution of industries and complete centr control. All these would be futile and impossibl without complete co-operation of British and Indi Indias. Again the Indian States when compared wi British India abound in cultivable waste and fores which must be useful to the whole country. There a many mineral deposits in the Native States that awa the British Indian talent and capital for maximu exploitation. Indeed without the lands, forests, a mineral resources of the Native States, India's pla would be very incomplete if not impossible.

British India must pave the way so that Indi India may come into the fold. For clearing the way it the imperative duty of the people concerned to ful understand the problem of the Indian States and t viewpoint of the Princes and the people of the State A correct analysis of the forces at present operating the States as understood by the present writer presented here for public discussion. In doing so t writer desires to make it quite clear that the vie expressed here are his own and not necessarily t views of the State in which he has the honour to serve

The Economic Problem

Both in the economic field and in the politic field, the Princes are very eager to keep pace with th rest of India. This is borne out by the various utteranc of the leading Princes and the post-war plans of so of the States. Indeed some of the States have even go beyond what the Advisers' regimes have planned f the provinces. But the States, a large majority of the

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have a number of difficulties which they are facing in formulating their plans and trying to execute them.

The Indian States, specially the small States, have a number of special difficulties which the large States and Provinces are not, happily, having. The people of the States are largely uneducated and illiterate. They are poor and they possess medieval outlook. Most of the Rulers of the small States have not even realised the necessity for planning, while the rest of India is feverishly talking about it. This is proving a great handicap to the States themselves.

But even in the case of those States which have realised the importance and urgency of post-war planning—I can mention a good number of States which have gone ahead with their plans, *viz.*, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Jaipur, Rajkot, Patna, Seraikella, Kalahandi and a number of others—there are many knotty problems which they are not able to solve all by themselves, and which require a sympathetic and careful consideration from all corners interested in the welfare of India as a whole.

The first difficulty is the question of personnel. It is not a fact realised by many that the present staff available in many of the small States is not quite fit to formulate all the post-war schemes. Some of the Princes within my own knowledge who are very keen on getting the best plans for their States find no personnel competent to undertake the task. Sometimes they depend upon outside experts. But many times these 'experts' prove to be bogus people and the Rulers get disillusioned and discouraged.

The second difficulty connected with personnel is to get people to execute their plans. They require many technical people—Hydro-electric experts, engineers, surveyors, doctors, teachers and a host of others —who cannot be had. Hitherto they used to get the required personnel, whose number was never very large, from British India. But now that recruiting source is exhausted, and even if a few people are available they are found generally to be incompetent and expensive. Good and competent people who are welcome into the States are reluctant to enter into State service when Provincial service is easily available for them. Actually during the recent years a number of people serving in the States have left for service in British India for both War and private service and it is very doubtful if they come back ; and the exodus still continues. Some of the big States are going to solve this problem by starting technical colleges within their own boundaries but the small States cannot do that due, both to their indifference to the problem and to financial implications. The small States must depend upon the British Indian universities and colleges to give some accommodation but they get no good response from these quarters as British India itself is hard-pressed for technical people. It is a real and difficult problem which requires the immediate attention of all, as otherwise the post-war schemes of these States will be lagging behind for want of personnel.

Another practical difficulty experienced by those that are engaged in the task of planning for the States is the vagueness of the policy and plans of the Government of India. It is not the proper place for examining that aspect here in detail, but this much can easily be said without any fear of contradiction that the Provinces and the Centre have so far prepared a number of schemes but not a comprehensive plan—anything like the Five-Year Plan of Russia. The States are expected to co-operate with the Government and co-ordinate their schemes with those of the Government of India. How this could be done in the absence of a clear enunciation of the definite policy, objective and targets of the Government in such matters as, say, tariffs protection, demobilisation and employment, sterling balances and the future value of the rupee, delocalisation and dispersal of industry including regional planning, etc.? The Indian States that are well-up with their reconstruction schemes find it difficult to give the final touches to the blue-prints of their plans.

The greatest stumbling block, however, to the launching of big schemes by the States is the question of finance. Even originally, taking it from any point of view, Indian States are poorer than British India, in spite of the fabulous wealth that is supposed to be hoarded by the Princes. The Nizam may be the richest man in the world, but,—if statistics are taken, it will be found—his subjects are poorer than British Indian subjects of even the poorest of Indian provinces. The income of a State, of course, is no index of the prosperity of the people, but it is certainly an indication of the taxable capacity of the State and its capacity to launch on with big schemes involving crores of rupees. With the exception of some of the big and prosperous States like Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad and others, the income of the other States is very small when compared with their areas and naturally their revenue surpluses have been very little to build up any cash reserves for post-war reconstruction.

The war has magnified this difference between the riches of British India and that of the Indian States. The reasons are not far to seek. Much of the created money has been spent by the Government in British India and on British Indians. Though there are a few State Banks recently started, the majority of Banks in India are in the British territory and they have obtained all the deposits of the public. Though due to the disparity in income-tax and other attractions, there has been of late a movement of Industries into the States, still the bulk of the factories including the war-time factories are in British India. It has been recently revealed that though a large portion of the capital in India is subscribed by the subjects of Indian States, only three per cent of the total investment of India in industries is in the Indian States; and even this small amount is exclusively claimed by the progressive States like Mysore, Travancore, etc. Thus most of the service-holders and wage-earning class in India are in British India.

Most of the people of India and all the people of the States do not seem to realise the significance of the fact that, with a few exceptions like Hyderabad, all the States have a common legal tender money with the rest of India and that it is issued and controlled by British India and in the interests of British India. It is absurd to talk of the States pursuing a different policy from British India in economic matters as long as they cannot control the legal tender money and the credit structure. A common legal tender much worse than a common standard has got a unifying effect much to the disadvantage of all the parties. Asking the States to pursue their economic policy in India at present is like tying all the horses by a common rope and asking them to run each in its own direction and its own speed. I cannot develop the thesis here but those that are interested in the welfare of India, and specially the Indian States, would do well to pursue the matter

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

still further and point out the disadvantages to the States. Suffice it is here to state that the States without any control over the legal tender and credit cannot launch on any independent or bold plans ahead of British India. They have to follow it.

The States' Claim for Help from the Centre

In order to overcome this financial handicap the States, specially the small ones look to the Centre for help in financial matters as well as in technical advice. It must be realised in British India that only a substantial financial contribution from the Centre alone can permit the States to think of launching on any post-war scheme worth its name. Otherwise British India has to go on advancing leaving Indian India behind which is advantageous to neither party.

Recently the Government of India announced that they expect that in the coming five post-war years, an approximate amount of one thousand crores would be available as contribution from the Centre to finance the post-war schemes of the provinces. It was expected and fondly hoped by the States that they also would get a fair share in that grant from the Centre. But nothing has come out yet and a recent message from Karachi published in some of the dailies stated that the States do not get any share in that grant. I hope it is not true but if it is then many of the States would feel disappointed and discouraged.

It might seem fantastic to many in British India and surprising to many in Indian India that the States forming a separate bloc altogether from the Indian Provinces and talking about their treaty rights and sanads should claim a share in the grant of the Central Government to its provinces which is almost like a domestic affair. But really the States have a claim.

The claim of the States to the help from the Central finances is based on three important grounds. First is based on the ground that it is imperative on the part of all concerned to see that the States progress at the same rate as the rest of India, and this cannot be achieved without a solid contribution from the Centre. No doubt the Centre has made some vague promises to meet a portion of the expenditure on national highways to be constructed by the States and the Centre will bear all the expenditure for the construction of the railways that pass through the Indian States. But these will benefit the people of the States only in a very indirect way. What the people of the States want today are internal communications, irrigation and industries; they want food, clothing and education. None of the small States is really in a position to meet all this expenditure with the revenues of the State or the savings of the people. If British India wants that one-third of India should not go starving, it should be ready to come to the aid of the States at his opportune moment. Any such help will have a tremendous psychological effect at this moment when the future of unified India is hanging in the balance. It will also have a beneficial economic effect as the people of the Indian States, if their purchasing power is increased by the post-war reconstruction schemes, will provide easy markets for the goods of British India.

The second is based on the ground that the States have played an important and equal part in waging the war and have completely identified themselves with British India in this respect without imposing any conditions whatsoever. They have contributed all the advantages derived by British India on account of the war—whatever might be the indirect advantages British India derived. Otherwise they could have insisted that a part of the war contracts should be given to the people of the States, a good number of the wartime industries should be located in Indian India etc. I do not mean to suggest that such things have not been done, but such conditions were not imposed by the States at all, and, if only they had insisted, they could have easily obtained many advantages. On the other hand, the people of the States have suffered many of the privations along with the people of British India and the rest of the world that the war has imposed. Indian India worked wholeheartedly for the success of the Allies at a rapid rate not minding the depreciation and exhaustion of their natural resources. They have to face today the same problems as the British Indian provinces—the problems of reconstruction, demobilisation, employment, and rehabilitation. If for these purposes the Centre is making a grant to the provinces on the ground that the provinces had to undergo much privation during the war, on the same grounds it must make a contribution to the States also who have the same claims. Financial experts may quarrel with me and say that the Indian States, that form a separate entity from British India cannot have a claim to the finances of another political entity. I do not agree with them and I will come to that point presently, but it must be stated here that the surpluses from which the Centre is going to make the grant are the result of the conditions created by the war and during the war the Indian States have played an equal part and completely identified themselves with British India for all purposes ; and hence the central surpluses are as much a result of the actions and privations on the part of the Indian States as on the part of the provinces and therefore they have an equal claim with the provinces for grants from the surpluses accrued as a consequence of the war.

The third point is based entirely on the strict principles of federal finance. It is not true to contend that the States form a polity entity entirely separate from the British Indian Government. The Indian States' sovereignty has been limited in a number of economic and financial matters. The most important of them are the Customs, Central Banking, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways. These are the important items which directly concern the States. Indirectly there are a number of other items that benefit the British Indian revenues on account of the subordination of the Irdian States to British India in economic matters. Customs are an important item in the revenues of the Centre and the States can claim a part of it. So also the Reserve Bank is making considerable profits and the Reserve Bank is the common authority for the issue of currency and the control of credit for the whole of India including Indian India and there is no justifiable reason why the net profits of the Reserve Bank should go entirely to the Central Revenues and not a share is distributed to the Indian States. In the case of the Post Office the same reasons apply. Of course, in the case of the Railways it may be claimed that they are commercial institutions run entirely on commercial lines and for which the entire capital has been invested by the Central Government. This is a plea enough for the nineteenth century. But in the twentieth century when the State is beginning to undertake boldly all industrial enterprises, the difference between a commer-

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cial enterprise and a noncommercial enterprise vanishes into the thin air. It is undeniable that the Centre is making profits on their monopoly of the railways and a portion of the railway lines go through the States and a number of passengers are from the States. Therefore the States have a claim to a portion of the net profits, however small they may be. This claim will have a greater significance when in the post-war era more railway lines will be opened in the Indian States and they will be asked to co-ordinate their road policy with the railways.

Against these items it may be claimed that British India alone is bearing all the Defence expenditure and as the army of India is offering equal protection to the Indian States there is every ground for asking the States to bear a part of the Defence expenditure of British India. It is a very knotty question though at first sight it appears quite reasonable. In order to understand it completely, we have to go into the historical background and examine the question in the light of the various treaties, etc., as some of the Indian States may claim with justification that they ceded certain territories in the historic past to the East Indian Company in lieu of their contribution for the maintenance of the Central army. Again some of the States may say that they are maintaining some armies of their own in their States and that some other States are paying tributes. Moreover, the question, for whom the army is being maintained in India, may arise. If British India says that the army is being maintained in India for Imperial purposes and therefore Britain should bear a large part of the expenditure, as it has been claimed a number of times by British Indian politicians, then there is absolutely no justification why any contribution should be expected from the Indian States. As I said above, the problem is a very knotty one and requires a lot of research and argument before any definite conclusion could be arrived at. But even supposing that the Defence expenditure should be shared by the Indian States on a population *cum* area basis, still if they are given share in the revenues cited above they still can claim a net share of the Central revenues.

I have not taken any brief for the Indian States and I belong to British India myself. My only object is to present to the public discussion the various forces at work for arriving at reasonable conclusions after a dispassionate understanding. It is for the Chamber of Princes to undertake this task after carrying on research and put forth their claims on the lines indicated above. I have already suggested to the Chamber of Princes to institute a Post-War Reconstruction Institute with an economic research branch attached to it to carry on research and advise the States on various economic matters and reconstruction schemes and it is now for the Chamber to take action. But any dispassionate view taken on these matters will lead us to the conclusion that the Centre should make a decent contribution to the States, specially the small States, both as a matter of goodwill and on moral and financial grounds and insist that the States should earmark that money on certain definite post-war schemes. The States are poor and they cannot undertake all the post-war schemes, however much they are eager to push on and it is not without hope that the people of the States look to British India for co-operation and help.

The Centre can also help the States in other ways. After making a grant of, say, about five hundred crores, the Central Government can help the States by making a loan of another five hundred crores of rupees at a nominal rate of interest. The small States in this respect have a special difficulty for borrowing. They have no internal resources and the internal money market is almost empty for any borrowing. Their external credit is very low and it is very doubtful if they can command any loans at all at a reasonable rate of interest, and certainly they cannot pay a high rate. Again many of the Princes that are at present in charge of the destinies or the fate of millions of their subjects and the many ministers that constitute their advisers are not capable of appreciating the wisdom of borrowing for carrying on any public works policy. The best way out of this difficulty would be for the Government of India to thrust some loans on the States, specially the small ones, and earmark that amount for some definite purposes, such as irrigation or communications. Again out of the one thousand crores so given as grants and loans to the States, every State should be entitled to a minimum of fifty lakhs and a maximum of three crores so that no State might complain that its claims have been ignored.

The Central Government may easily meet this expenditure in a number of ways, from their revenues, from their borrowings, from their loans, from the printing press or from the sterling balances. I have specially refrained from mentioning anything about the sterling balances for which also the States can have a claim. Nobody knows when and how they would be repaid and to whom exactly they belong. Technically they belong to the Reserve Bank but really they belong to the people of India that have claim on the Government of India for the money they have lent. But it is not difficult for the Government of India to make a contribution from the sterling balances and also to earmark a special part of that for the imports of the States industrial machinery. I need not discuss here how this could be done. I can only say that it requires only a technical adjustment.

Yet another way in which the Centre can help these States is by making available to the State the services of the various experts serving with the Government of India and the provinces. One such hint of a promise was made by the member in charge as far as the hydel schemes are concerned. While this remains till today only a paper promise, there are so many matters on which the Centre can help. There is no reason why the services of the Director of Agriculture, of Veterinary Services, of Industries, etc., of the Provinces be not made available to the neighbouring small States, if and when required without much expense to the State concerned.

What is required is a new and broad outlook and then all these technical difficulties would disappear. When America could inaugurate the Lend-Lease policy to help the Allies to defeat a common enemy, and when the same country should think of helping England now by a gift and a loan, and when India itself should think of joining the U.N.R.R.A. making a big subscription, there is no reason why British India should not come to the aid of the States by a grant and a loan as suggested in this essay. As I said above, this is a psychological moment and any good turn made to the States today will rebound to the credit of British India and Mother India with hundredfold vigour later on.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DELUSION OF PAKISTANISM

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

The failure of the Simla Conference and the fact of even the Labour Government still holding fast to the Cripps' Scheme paving the way of Pakistan through minority veto, tend to deepen the doubt that Pakistan may now be sought to be brought down from the sphere of blackmail to actual reality as with Burma before. The Burma ground was prepared in the same way with similar communal animosity, communal riots and election on separation issue, the premier declaring in 1932 that

> "His Majesty's Government consider that the decision might be taken after an election at which the broad issue had been placed before the electorate . . . and if an Indian federation is established it cannot be on the basis that members can leave it as and when they choose."

For the obvious reason Burma separation was effected despite an adverse vote of the Burma electorate to the disillusionment of the deluded (not the conscious command performancewallas) that separation hastened no liberation but snapped chances of joint fight for it, Mr. Aung San again now urging for an Asiatic Potsdam to baffle the common tutelage. Similar attempts may be now made about Pakistan which is thriving on alien incentive of *divide et impera* and the League lure of sucking Hindusthan white as only partly done in Bengal resulting in the starvation of 30 lakhs of people, mostly Muslim. But many a bar, legal, moral and economic, cries out 'Tarry a little Jew'. If in spite of all this Pakistan is effected, the fire of friction thereof will consume the edifice soon. India cannot be vivisected against the opposition of over three hundred millions of Indians.

The term Pakistan was originally formed with the initial words of the Muslim majority tracts of the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. But later the Muslim League decided that it would see that

> "Geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions, which should be so constituted with territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the north-west and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

According to this, the Muslim majority districts of East Bengal and Sylhet, Western Punjab and Sind would be independent states, the Frontier Province as a non-slavish unit preferring the Indian Federation. (But the hoax is that the same Muslim League has opposed a Zionist State in Palestine.)

The two-nation theory recently manufactured to justify this separation on the principle of "self-determination" of the old League of Nations is based on pure fiction. If Mohamedanism in China, Russia and Indonesia, etc., have not made Muslims thereof separate nations, it cannot make so in India unless a new Mohammedanism is meant. Muslims here are an organic part of the Indian Nation. How much akin are an Indian Hindu and a Muslim compared against Hindu Chinese and a Muslim Arab ! Mr. Stalin in his *Marxism and the National and Colonial Questions* says

> "A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

Even absence of one of these four factors was considered by him insufficient for forming a nation. According to this standard of Stalin also (Communists to mark) Pakistan is untenable, for in language, territory and economic life Indian Muslims (mostly renegade Hindus) are not different from Hindus, and it requires no Mandel to say that as per law of heredity (as offshoots of the same stock) they are of the same psychological make-up. They also have a common Indian culture evolved through Hindu and Muslim ideologies boiled in the cauldron of Indian environment. So the principle of "self-determination" does not apply to Indian Muslims. In fact that principle cannot be pushed too far.

Indian Muslims are at best a minority looked through a communally obsessed vision, and as such may demand minority safeguards (in the Indian Federation) as provided by the League of Nations. The Federation scheme was evolved to give considerable scope for local self-expression and the Muslim League also in 1937 demanded "establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states" perhaps just like U.S.A. But what happened between 1937 and 1940 to change that ideal into Pakistan ?

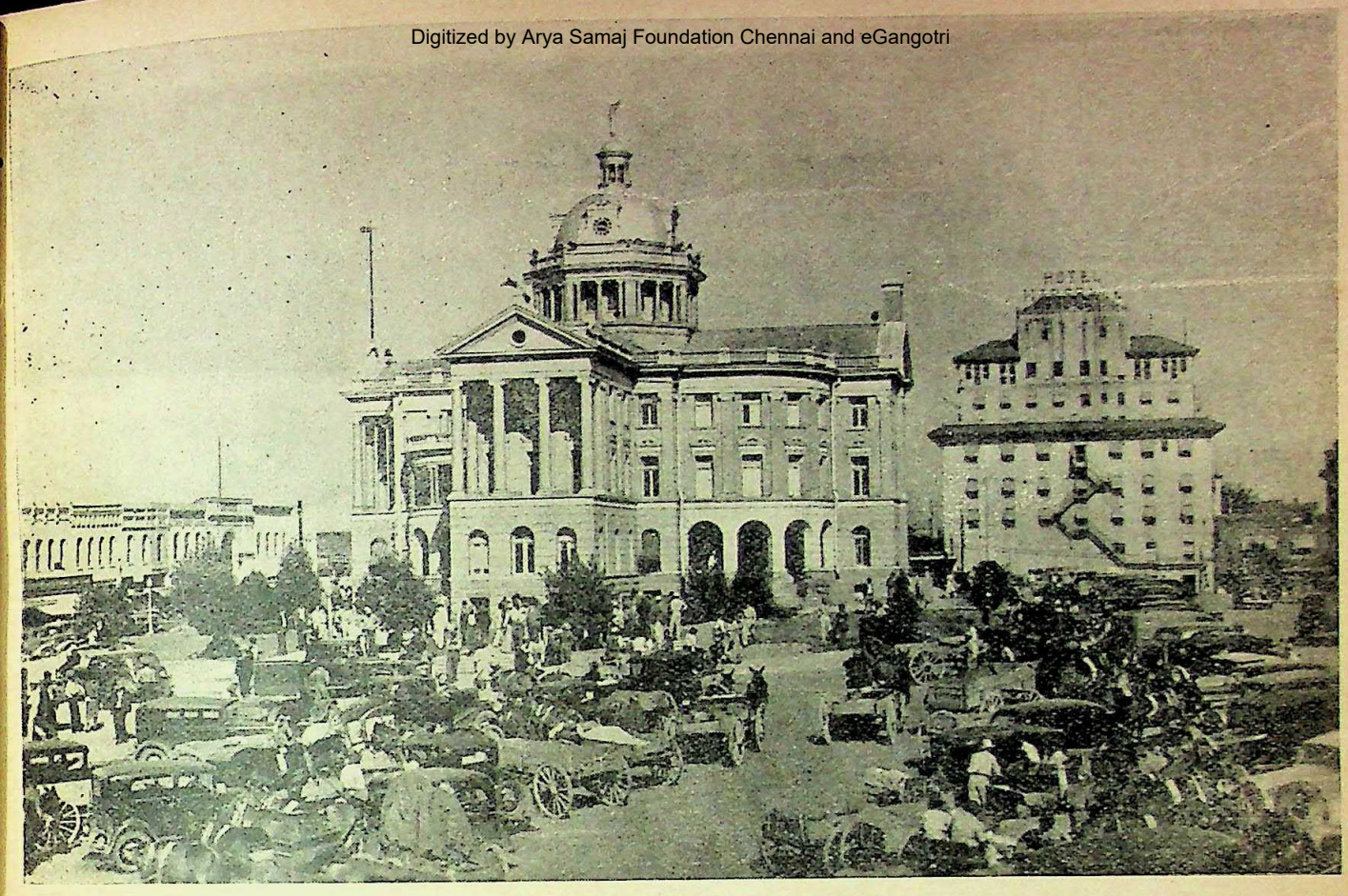
Even if the Muslims be a separate nation, for the sake of greater benefit they can live in the same Indian State like the French and the English in Canada (where two-third is English and Protestant and one-third French and Catholic), the English and the Dutch in South Africa, the Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the Germans, the Italians and the French in Switzerland, Armenians, Slavs, Turkomen, etc., in Russia and all European Nationalities in U.S.A. States need not be simply mono-national but can be and have been polynational for the sake of community of economic interest.

Now while the economic basis of capitalism, socialism and capito-socialism (where basic industries only are socialised) is the main modern contention in the formation of states, it is ludicrous to hear states being formed on communalocratic basis on an extraneous factor like the difference in naming God as Alla or Iswara. By this in the eyes of the civilized world the Muslim League has given to it the stamp of primitiveness over slavishness. Economic community and not religious community is going to determine the shape and being of states in the modern age. If every religion is to give rise to a state, there will be no end of states in India.

The League bogey of majority outrage is another prop of Pakistan. But it is only an outrage complex of its own mind. If smaller communities like Christians

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



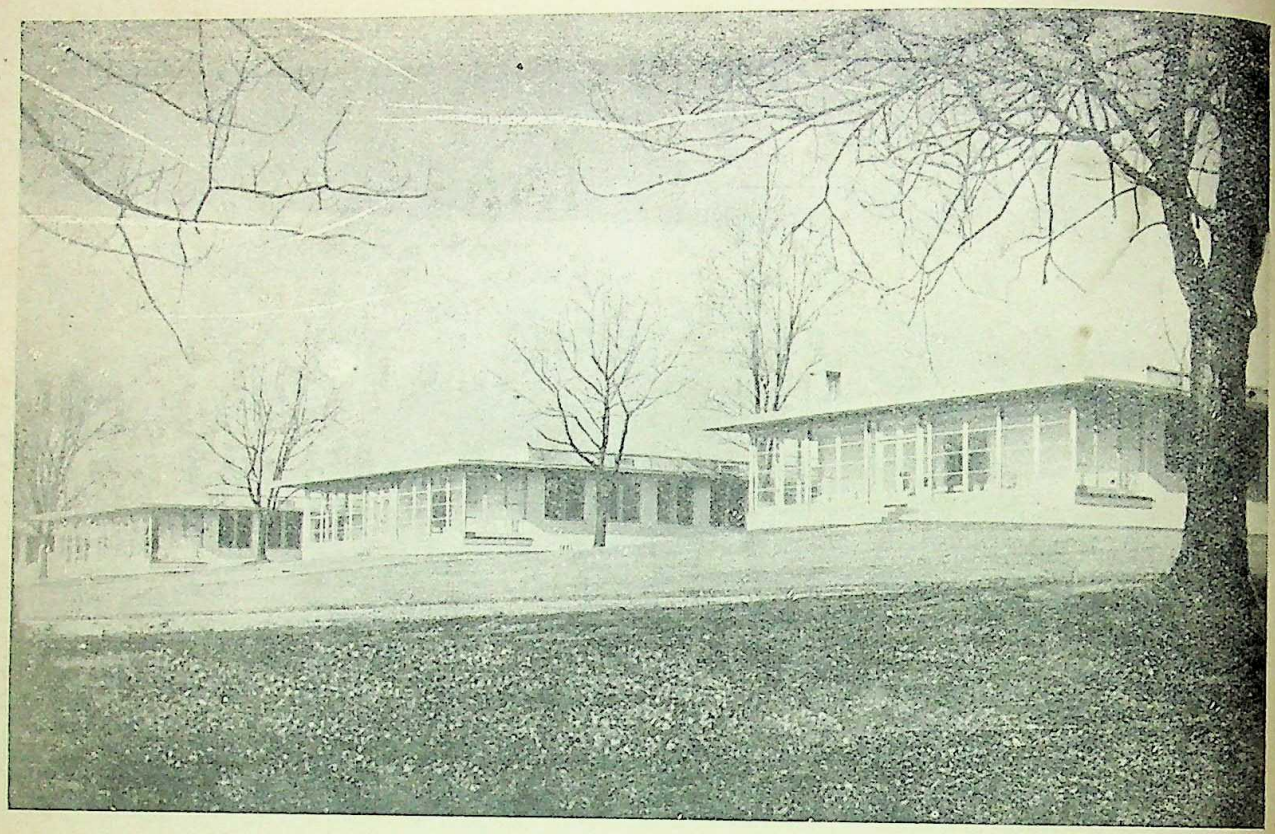
Members of the community in a small town of the United States come in wagons and automobiles to attend their affairs in the county court-house which also houses other county administrative offices



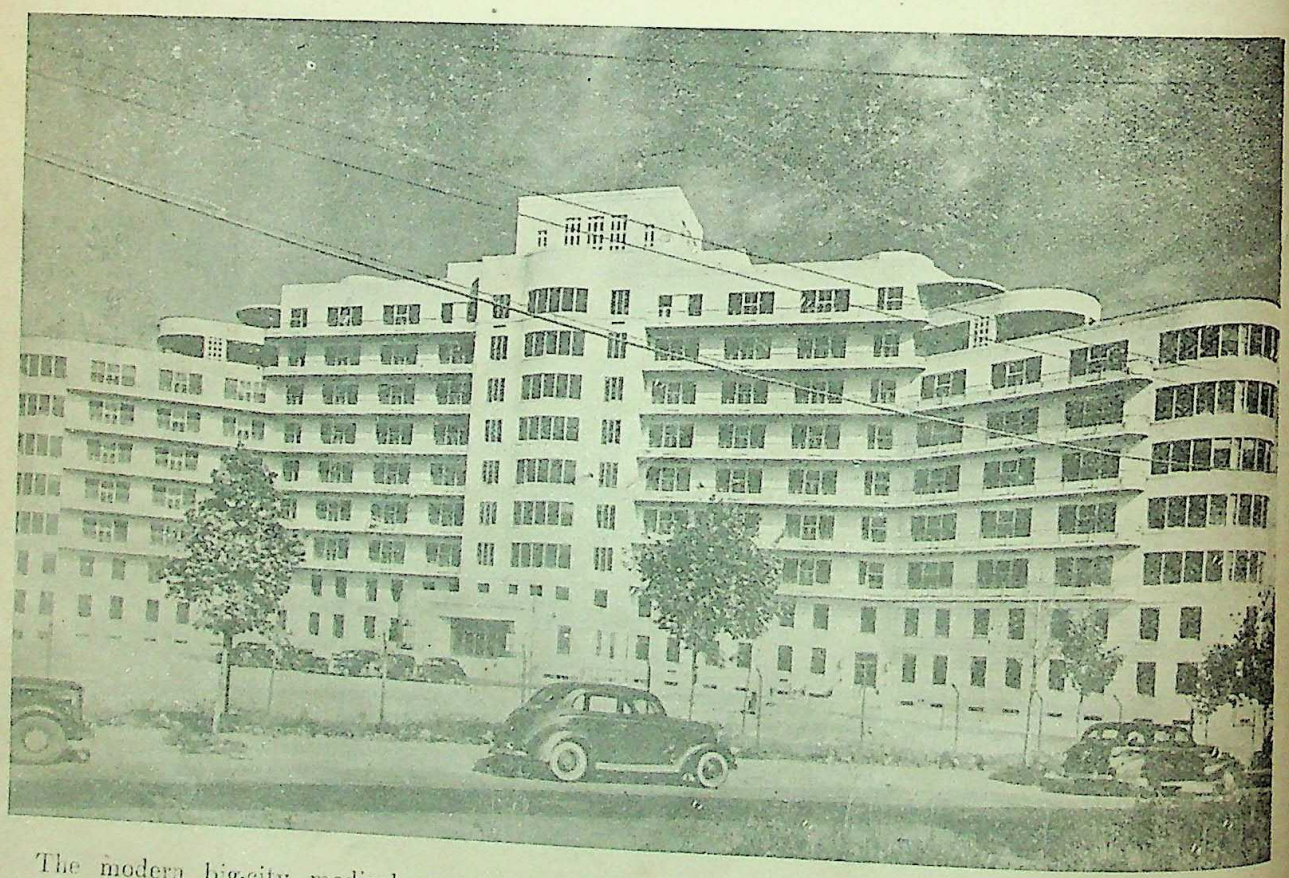
A parade of women on Fifth Avenue in New York City, demanding the right to vote on equal terms with men in the early 1900's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The small medical centre like this one, serving an area of farms, villages and small towns, promises to be an important post-war hospital development in the United States



The modern big-city medical centre, like this hospital in New York, provides plenty of light, sun and air for patients and convenient arrangement of facilities for their care

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Parsees can live without such fear, why not a ten-crore strong community of Muslims? But Pakistan is no solution of such majority outrage on Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. Its natural safeguard is cultivation of communal amity and legal safeguard is incorporation of fundamental rights like freedom of conscience and personal law and equality in service and profession in the federal constitution.

India has always had one natural and economic boundary, and like Asoka and Akbar, Britain also valued indivisible political existence of India in furtherance of which British suzerainty over Indian states also was established. Can the same Britain now preach India's vivisection as a political desideratum? At present also when for greater gain Britain is persuading Indian States to join the Indian federation and the smaller states to merge into bigger ones, how can she in the same breath advocate Pakistan?

Pakistan in the present Indian context is not only slavish, but illegal, immoral and uneconomic.

Firstly, this is not even Ulsterisation. Ulster is allowed equal liberty with England through common representation in the Parliament, but Pakistan will have nothing but a tightening of the stranglehold as in case of Burma. The very *raison d'etre* of the move is there. If Britain has to quit India really, why should she incur the world odium by this separation which may ultimately grow to be a risk to her through Pan-Islamism? The Indian States and Pakistan are intended to be lingering citadels of British imperialism in India. Hence all friends including Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, Egypt and the Arab League have warned Indian Muslims against the slavery devise of Pakistan. When to attain bigness in Defence and Economics (only the Big Five having upperhand in the United Nations) smaller states are desperately after big Federations like U.S.A. and Russia, it is fantastic to hear Muslim League cry for separation though it is not forgetful of the truth that "united we stand, divided we fall." In fact an Asiatic Federation and even a world Federation (mark Churchill's proposal for Anglo-French Federation) is the serious talk of the day.

Pakistanism militates against all canons of Democracy. Speaking at Blackpool Premier Attlee said :

> "Democracy is a majority rule with due respects to rights of the minority. It means that while the wish of the majority must prevail, there shall be full opportunity for all points of view to find expression."

Britain stands pledged to establishing this democratic principle in India. In view of this how can Britain encourage the undemocratic principle of minority veto for Pakistan? But even this minority veto cannot bring Pakistan, for if the Muslim minority in India can veto federation, the Hindu minority of proposed Pakistan aiso can veto vivisection.

Pakistan is ruled out by the Government of India Act of 1935 which disallows secession of any state from the federation to obviate which Burma and Aden were separated before the inauguration of federation. With federal and provincial spheres rigidly demarcated and arranged to be safeguarded through the Federal Court Federation over British provinces (though not over States) was practically established in 1937. For greater provincial liberty the former unitary Central Government, changed into this Federal Government (as in Brazil in 1889) no doubt, but the point of a federation being "perpetual union" was not waived to allow the liberty of their secession from this union.

The precise legal convention is that the sovereignty of every inch of the soil belongs to the whole people and not to any individual or section thereof. So without consent of the whole nation there can be no territorial disintegration to the prejudice of its above sovereign rights. All children have equal rights in enjoying the bounties of the common mother, but none has the right to sever her limbs, for that would be killing the mother. Such vivisection is also precluded by the organic conception of the state.

Some States (like U.S.A.) do not allow territorial alienation at all for it means the disruption of the organic arrangement of the whole nation. The recent Russian example does not hold any analogy for India which has greater racial and geographical unity. Russian secession is allowed neither before attainment of freedom, nor on religious basis. It is allowed only after a thorough metamorphosis into Economic Nationalism knowing that thereafter those smaller workers' units could not prefer separate existence for fear of capitalistic states, nor foster Soviet antagonism (because of the common basis of those states unlike Pakistan and Hindustan) if even separated. Otherwise Russia, who sternly refused Finland, Poland, etc., to have separate existence, would be the last to allow such secession. If territorial readjustment be allowed at all, such secession just like any accession can be allowed only on the decision of a substantial majority of the whole people of all communities as determined through a popular plebiscite (present Council elections not reflecting even the strength of nationalist Muslims).

As to the morality of the Pakistan move it may be stressed that as it does not serve the greatest good of the greatest number, it is immoral. Its basis of alien domination and coterie aggrandisement is itself unethical.

Pakistan states have no minerals and industries, but they will have heavy defence expenditure to bear due to long sea and land frontiers. They will be also deprived of their natural markets in Hindustan within the same economic boundary. All this tends to make Pakistan proposition uneconomic.

The basic idea of Pakistan is Muslim Leagueisation (not even Muslimisation) of Government under alien control and not Indianisation under self-control. In this sale of the freedom of motherland Muslim mass support is being secured by painting the Hindus (not alien rulers) as enemies of the Muslims and of the Muslim intelligentsia by dangling before them the honeycomb of service and business indulgences of which a foretaste has already been given in Bengal. In fact separation and sabotage has been the main part of League activity since its inception. League activity and national activity have ever borne an inverse ratio. The Bengal Partition agitation generated the Muslim League at Dacca in 1906 as its counterpoise striving for not only retention of partition but introduction of communal representation, the seed of communal discord. The Morley-Minto Reforms and the Mont-Ford Reforms both were vitiated by this poison. Then when the All-Parties Conference in 1928 decided for joint electorate the League raised its cry for the creation of Muslim majority provinces over and above the demand of communal electorate (14 points of Mr. Jinnah). So Sind was separated and communal electorate was also retained in the Federal Act of 1935.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The national agitation was required to be thoroughly checkmated during the war and Muslim League came with its demand of Pakistan itself in 1940. The cry has been growing louder as the British pledge of post-war freedom has to be implemented now. The Muslim League has no power to wrest Pakistan from Britain. But the question of wresting it from Britain does not arise when the giving hands are willing; only the nationalist opposition needs to be counteracted and mass support enlisted. To purchase Muslim support to Pakistan the next step is proposed to be the conversion of India into an Islamic land under the name of Dinia (as recently given out from Cambridge by Rahamat Ali, the father of Pakistan idea), though it may not materialise for the British need of perpetuating rival blocks.

The Azad Hind Fauz has shown that Pakistan is sham to real lovers of independence, they even refusing to be defended by the League. Only to such non-communal spirit can a state be entrusted and not to a band of fanatics. To such persons Hindus and Muslims are not enemies but sons of the same mother India and are equally entitled to her bounties. They are inseparably bound together by the same natural and economic conditions and equally affected by famines and plenty. They sink or sail together. Forgetful of this, those who preach territorial disruption or communal discord are enemies of Hindus and Muslims alike. The straining of sweet relations between neighbours is not the way of peace and prosperity of any. This neighbourly fraternity can best be developed by adopting the time-honoured principle of 'Fair field and no favour' as qualified by 'Live and let live'. Let it be remembered that the ways of fraternity and philanthropy are the ways of both the Vedas and the Koran, while the ways of enmity and misanthropy are the ways that breed destruction.

——:o:——

1945—IT ENDED BETTER THAN IT BEGAN

By P. R. SRINIWAS

Of 1945, there is something to be said which cannot be said of any earlier year of this decade—it saw the end of the war both in the East and the West. That is saying a great deal, indeed. To see the lights go up again, to have the baffle walls demolished, to move about without fear of a sudden wail of the siren,—all these mean a great deal. But from the point of view appropriate to a financial and economic review of the year that is now over, 1945 is as much a part of the war period as any year since 1939. In fact, more. For a world war is one of those diseases of which the convalescence is more enfeebling and trying than the period of the attack. The war ended early enough in the year to give a foretaste of what the immediate post-war years have in store for the world. The war with Germany ended early in May and that with Japan in mid-August. The developments of the subsequent months showed clearly that the return to peacetime conditions is, if anything, an even more tardy and painful process than the adaptation of peacetime economy to wartime needs. The twin evils of scarcity of goods and plentitude of money are even more keenly felt in the year immediately following the war. Government controls continue to be exercised, while the mental attitude that tolerated them is fast undergoing a change. Industry and trade are more impatient to get to normal business, but are less free to do so than even during the war.

At the same time, the governments find a new urgency in dealing with what had been termed post-war problems. The impact of these problems is more severe, because the quickened social conscience of the present day is more intolerant of delay and is apt to be more severe about it when it is seen to be avoidable. Both in the national and in the international sphere, various measures have to be discreetly speeded up with a view to reduce the hardships of the immediate post-war years and hasten the attainment of conditions which the public expect to obtain after the second world war has been won. For what distinguishes the post-war period on this occasion from the last is the clear recognition on all hands that a major war does not permit a return to pre-war conditions and that the only way to avoid a post-war slump or other adverse consequences of the war is to work energetically for the new conditions which the war has made possible and, in a manner even inevitable. The later stages of the war were therefore marked by special efforts to prepare for the early recovery of national and world economy from the effects of the war and for the international understanding essential for preventing common disasters like the world depression, competitive currency depreciation and the rise of uneconomic trade barriers. The impetus to these efforts was readily found, because the last flicker of German offensive-spirit died out at Ardennes before 1944 was over. The first few weeks of 1945 saw the Red Army marching in strident style from Warsaw to Berlin. The Anglo-American Armies had recovered from the shocks of Arno and Ardennes and were steadily pushing forward, while even the French had taken a hand in pressing back the German armies from the South after capturing Cologne.

The robust and reasoned optimism which this turn of the war generated was helpful to the early convention of such international conferences as the food conference at Hotsprings, and the International Monetary Conference at Brettonwoods. Later in the year the decisions arrived at by the latter were found to provide a sure basis for the negotiations between the British and the U.S. Governments for a financial agreement the significance of which reached far beyond the two contracting parties.

In appraising the significance of 1945 in the financial and economic history of our time, we have to remember that there were two distinct currents of events. One of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them referred to the immediate economic and financial consequences of the end of the war ; and the other to the efforts of the governments to quicken the pace towards a new balance of national and international economics. The former leads to a somewhat dull and depressing picture; while the latter is comparatively colourful.

These two currents were not less marked in India than elsewhere. Here, as abroad, the Government showed increasing interest in economic planning. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the Planning Member of the Government of India, was not content with the progress of planning at the centre but toured all over the country in order to goad the provinces to do their part of the work. To ensure co-ordinated development, the Government issued a statement on industrial policy by which certain of the most important industries were to be brought under the direct control of the Government of India. And later in the year, it was announced that, to prevent the depressing effects of the decline of war expenditure, the Government have speeded up the time schedule of planning and have got ready a number of schemes for immediate execution. Provincial Governments are to be given large advances for starting work on their provincial plans.

But aside from these, all the features of war-time economy have continued unabated. Inflation which is the worst of war-time evils is as rampant as ever. Presenting his last budget to the Central Assembly in February, 1945. Sir Jeremy Raisman said that there might be a slowing down in the rate of accumulation of sterling balances and that further addition to the note issue might not be on a large scale and that the increase in compensatory imports also would have a favourable effect on the internal economy. While the expectations of Sir Jeremy in regard to the increase in imports have been more than fulfilled, the hope that further large additions to the note issue would be avoided has been falsified. In spite of the favourable response to the Government loans and the termination of hostility both in the West and the East, the rate of accumulation of sterling is pronounced. It is noteworthy that the large accumulations of sterling have been possible even with an adverse balance on trade account for many months in this year.

The weekly statements of the Reserve Bank show that the note issue has increased by nearly Rs. 180 crores, the total as on December 14, being Rs. 1204·56 crores against Rs. 1021·26 crores. The whole of the additions to currency has found its way into circulation. Notes in circulation on these two dates were Rs. 1197·08 crores and Rs. 1009·6 crores respectively. As on former occasions, the expansion of currency has been wholly against sterling securities. There was a rise of Rs. 183 crores in the total sterling securities in the issue department to 1087·33 crores. There was no important change in the amount of rupee coin while rupee securities were unchanged at Rs. 7·84 crores. In the year ended December, 1944, the expansion of currency against sterling securities was only 166 crores.

The large measure of success in regard to the various loan programmes and the substantial increase in the working capital of the scheduled banks enabled the governments to build up large balances. Central Government deposits increased from Rs. 16·1 crores on January 7, 1944, to Rs. 241·54 crores on December 29, 1944 and Rs. 458·54 crores on December 14, 1945. That these large increases in deposits were due to the substantial receipt of sterling will be evident from the rise in balances held abroad. On January 7, 1944, foreign balances were Rs. 123·7 crores. On December 29 of the same year they had increased to Rs. 342·34 crores and on December 14, 1945 to Rs. 555·48 crores.

That there has been no slowing down in the rate of accumulation of sterling balances will be evident from the following figures. The total of sterling balances in the issue and the banking departments on January 7, 1944 was Rs. 862·54 crores and the total on December 29, 1944, Rs. 1146·67 crores or an increase of Rs. 384 crores. The figure on December 14, 1945 was even higher at Rs. 1642·81 crores or an increase of Rs. 406·14 crores. With the reduction in the war effort and the repatriation operations in full swing it is natural to expect that after some time sterling receipts will show a tendency to decline. But it would appear that for another two years the requirements of the occupation forces under the S. E. A. C., would continue to be large and annual accretions would amount to Rs. 200 crores. For some time as a result of the Anglo-U.S. financial agreement, it can be expected that the multilateral convertibility of sterling, after the ratification of the agreement, would enable the proper expenditure of foreign balances and that the additions to note issue will be automatically checked. Even so, it would be prudent to set a limit to the total of sterling accumulations and as far as possible further expansion of currency should be avoided.

The redundant currency and the increase in general savings have been reflected in higher deposits of scheduled banks. If the improvement in the working capital of non-scheduled banks also is taken into consideration, it can be said that nearly the whole of the increase in the note issue is reflected in higher bank deposits. The figures of scheduled banks for the current year will amply bear out this position. Demand liabilities on December 29, 1944, were Rs. 616·09 crores. The figure on December 7, 1945, was Rs. 688·03 crores or an increase of Rs. 71·94 crores. It would be surprising to note that the improvement for time liabilities is more pronounced, the figures on the two dates abovementioned being 202·92 crores and Rs. 275·08 crores respectively. Against the increase in demand liabilities by Rs. 71·94 crores, time liabilities have improved by Rs. 73·16 crores. The preference of investors to place their savings on a fixed basis with scheduled banks was due to the lack of remunerative channels of investment and the small return on stock-exchange and other securities. It was also feared early in the year that there might be an unsettlement in the various markets following the termination of hostilities. Against the increase of working capital by nearly Rs. 145 crores, advances and bills discounted were only Rs. 53 crores higher and cash balances Rs. 16 crores higher. As a result, Rs. 50 crores were freshly invested in government securities. As the total of the floating debt also showed a decline from Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 25 crores during the same period, the investment on account of scheduled banks was Rs. 150 crores approximately. As application to government loans were about Rs. 300 crores per annum, it is reasonable to say that public interest in government securities was greater and that at the present moment the government is not wholly dependent for their applications from banks, investment institutions and other public bodies.

Regarding foreign trade in war-time, India had a large favourable balance of trade with almost all the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

important trading countries. There was an increase in exports of raw materials and manufactured goods. But since November, 1944, the position in regard to imports has grown easier and it should be said that there has been a flood of imports in recent months. An analysis of the figures for the first six months of the current financial year reveals an unfavourable balance of trade of Rs. 13·18 crores against a favourable balance of Rs. 20·99 crores for the corresponding period last year and Rs. 44·37 crores in 1943. Imports amounted to Rs. 123·21 crores against Rs. 93·66 crores and exports Rs. 110·03 crores against Rs. 114·65 crores.

The increase in imports is not the least of the evils of which the public was apprehensive on the termination of hostilities. For, while every addition to consumers' goods is welcome in the ascetic conditions of to-day, we have also to take a long-term view of things and consider the prospects of Indian industry. If imports should continue to increase, if our export staples should fail to regain their former markets and if our economic plans should be held up for lack of machinery, the combination of adverse conditions will prove to be crushing indeed.

Our principal requirements at this stage are that our foreign trade should get back to normal, that the volume of employment should be maintained at war-time levels and on a productive basis and that the further stages of our economic planning should be ensured smooth progress. Doubtless prices attract more of lay attention than any other aspect of economic life. But since the volume of employment is far more important, the equilibrium has to be sought at higher levels of costs and prices than those of the pre-war period.

India's post-war problems are not thus limited, any more than those of any other country, to the return of pre-war conditions. Economic objectives in the modern world have to be seen in the light of the aims and purposes set down by International Conferences like those which met at Hotsprings and Brettonwoods. Freedom from want is, as things are, even more of an ambitious aim in India than in other countries. And persistent talks of planning during the last two years, coming on the top of large-scale war and employment have raised in the mind of the average man the hope that the new standards of living which he has tasted in recent times will not be allowed to suffer a fall.

Thus considered, our post-war problems have a wide range. In practical terms, they require that plans of economic development should be given the shape necessary for execution, that the adjustment of war-time economy and finance to peacetime should be speeded up and that the nations should be set as early as possible on the road which leads to higher levels of economic well-being.

In what is meant to be a review of the old year, it is both difficult and out of place to discuss all the issues that arise from what has been said in the last paragraph. It should suffice to say that, in so far as India's recovery and development depend on the recovery and development of the rest of the world, the events of the old year are more heartening than we had a right to expect in the earlier stages. For planning in India had a cruelly cold douche when the Indian industrial mission which visited Britain and the U.S. came back after meeting with serious rebuffs from the manufacturers of the two countries. Not only would the manufacturers afford no hope of early exports of machinery to India or provision of technical assistance on reasonable terms, but the outlook for our problem of sterling balances was exceedingly dark.

But the conclusion of the Anglo-American financial agreement and the general ratification of the Brettonwoods agreement may be said to provide the conditions most helpful for the general recovery of trade and the exchange of goods among the nations. As has been said already, the significance of the former is not restricted to the contracting parties. In the first place, it facilitates the ratification of the Brettonwoods agreement. Secondly, it ensures the smooth functioning of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank by providing a partial solution of the problem of sterling balances and by ensuring the ready convertibility of currencies.

Thirdly, by providing large credits for an important trading nation like Britain and by enabling her to settle with her creditors, a wide diffusion of purchasing power for international trade has been secured. It is noteworthy that the U. S. loans are available for a number of countries in addition to Britain and that the American Government propose to convince an International Trade Conference for the mitigation of trade barriers.

So far as India is concerned, the Anglo-U.S. agreement must be considered the first ray of light in the gloom that enveloped our sterling balances. Britain's obligation to settle the question is part of her undertaking to the U.S. under the Financial Agreement. The definite gains are that balances on current trade transactions are to be convertible into any currency without discrimination. The accumulated balances are to be treated under three categories, the first of which will be convertible within a year of the settlement, the second on an instalment basis and the third to be written off as the creditor's contribution to the settlement in consideration of the benefits of the settlement. But in the case of India, it is significant that the communique of the Government of India announcing the decision to ratify the Brettonwoods Agreement by ordinance in the absence of the Legislature makes mention only of the first two categories and suggests implicitly that writing off of any portion of our sterling balances is out of the question. This is indeed unexpectedly heartening. With India, an original member of the two international financial organisations, and sterling balances about to be settled satisfactorily the outlook of the new year may be pronounced decidedly bright.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IMPERIAL BRITAIN

By ESSENJEE

The great offensive of anti-Indian propaganda that was launched abroad some few years ago seems to have ended in a stalemate. But for those who are unable to see through the eyes of the ruled, and are therefore only able to determine issues by the dicta of the *Herrenvolk* only, it would be interesting to place on record the opinion of some of the foremost thinkers of the English speaking community.

Sir Stafford Cripps : You have only to look at the pages of British imperial history to hide your head in shame that you are British (p. 358).—From *Inside Europe.*

Sir Stafford Cripps : It is impossible for us to serve two masters—our own selfish interests as British imperialists and our desire for peace as world citizens (p. 57).—*The Struggle for Peace.*

Clement Attlee : The idea that Indians must always be ruled for their own good by the lonely white man is a late Victorian sentiment.—In *The Empire of the Nabobs* by Hutchinson.

John Gunther : Sir Samuel Hoare—till he lost his job—was the luckiest Foreign Minister in modern times ; he was able to write a policy in which idealism and imperialism exactly coincided. Not only God, but the British route to India, was on his side (p. 279).—*Inside Europe.*

Aneurin Bevan : Britain's policy is that of the successful burglar turned householder who wants a strong police force (p. 360).—From *Inside Europe.*

G. D. H. Cole : To do good work for a capitalist employer is merely to help a thief to steal more successfully (p. 268).—In *England* by Dean Inge.

Wendell Willkie : The moral atmosphere in which the white race lives is changing.—*One World.*

"Dean" Inge : In the moral world he does not believe in courage (p. 80).—*England.*

"Dean" Inge : Our enemies have constantly accused us of 'perfidy' and 'hypocrisy' (p. 63).—*England.*

Bernard Shaw : The intellectual laziness and slovenliness of the English is almost beyond belief.—*John Bull's Other Island.*

G. D. H. Cole : The great British public is marked by narrowness, egotism, and intellectual indolence (p. 268).—In *England* by Dean Inge.

H. G. Wells : Our country is fatuously content with itself and unaware of its continual decadence.—*The Fate of Homo Sapiens.*

W. Guerard, (American) : 'England' as a character in the international drama is thoroughly undependable (p. 152).—In Sir Norman Angell's *Menace to Our National Defence.*

Edward Thompson : In the last few years we have had a bad slump in honesty.

Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. W. M. Temple, died in October, 1944) : Things are not altogether well with us. We thank God for the splendid qualities our people have shown—courage in danger, companionship in service, perseverance in effort ; but the decline in honesty has been sharp and steep.—23rd April, 1943, *Reuter.*

Ludwell Denny : And Americans—whose capacity for puritanical hypocrisy is unequalled anywhere in the world, unless it be in Britain—cannot respect any other nation which treats defenceless peoples as we treat the Haitians, Nicaraguans, and others (p. 14).—*America Conquers Britain.*

Andre' Siegfried, (French) : If I may say so again, England seems to be lacking in vitality (p. 143).—*England's Crisis.*

Andre' Siegfried : England has not succeeded in imposing her plan on America, for over there they are still suspicious, and afraid of being made use of by 'perfidious Albion' (p. 235).—*England's Crisis.*

"The Economist": The offence of people who steal from bombed premises is plain and heavily punishable, but there are bigger fry in the criminal game. They do not steal, and they would call themselves traders or businessmen ; but they are looters, taking advantage of wartime conditions, nonetheless.—From *Capital,* 30th July, 1942.

Vernon Bartlett : Our policy since the Hoare-Laval plan has been so damnably weak and cowardly that the dictators have every excuse for believing that they could do anything they liked without taking the British Empire into account.—In *Dare We Look Ahead.*

G. D. H. Cole : Our country has lost "face"; all the world regards our country as only fit to be kicked about like a cowardly cur—or worse, like a cowed lion that still has claws but dares not use them (p. 31).—*The People's Front.*

Great Britain, and no other country outside the Fascist group, is the insurmounted obstacle in the way of a firm guarantee of Europe's peace (p. 175).—*The People's Front.*

Francis Williams : The British, it must be confessed, are a race over-given to snobbery—that snobbery that is so great a characteristic of the British nation (p. 168).—*Democracy's Last Battle.*

Sidney Dark : They see nothing wrong in their employer making huge profits and paying sweated wages, if he is clever enough to pull it off. They are moral Nihilists (p. 63).—*The Church, Impotent or Triumphant ?*

Sir Norman Angell : In the years since the war, there has grown up a whole literature expressive of pessimism, defeatism, moral nihilism.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SAROJINI NAIDU

A Critique

By OM PRAKASH MOHAN

In one of her letters to Arthur Symons Sarojini Naidu has described how she came to write her first poem. Meant as she was to be a great Mathematician or an eminent Scientist, she one day sat, "sighing over a sum of Algebra", says she, "but instead a whole poem came suddenly." This sum of Algebra was her first guide to "the Golden Threshold of Poetry". Incidentally, this sum did a great service to Algebra—it proved to an unbelieving world that even dulness can give rise to beauty, and that Algebra after all, has some use.

What sum of algebra was that? Perhaps a puzzling problem in Quadratic equations or Indices! The sum perhaps remains unsolved to this day, but it gave India Sarojini to boast of. From solving sums in Algebra she turned to solving the more puzzling "sums" of life.

More puzzling than any sum of Algebra, however, is Sarojini's own personality. From such a "tremendous and aggressively radiant personality" as Sarojini is one could not easily expect what she gives us—poetry that records joyously the beauty of line and colour, full of the sheer joy of singing with no purpose but that of affording delight to the eye and the ear, rich in "vivid light and colour, the liberal contours and rich scents and great spaces of the world she loves"—poetry with no brooding, no contemplation—no depth, one may almost say. For this dominant individual is no "escapist"; she is not cut off from the world, she lives in it, and is playing her own part in destroying it and building it anew. "A vibrant and emphatic nationalist," a revolutionary, a politician and a soldier, she has worked among Indian masses—the most miserable, down-trodden, ignorant creatures in the world. She has seen them being murdered systematically, gradually, "scientifically", and she has risen in arms against the order that tolerates this. Why is it that we do not get from her poetry that burns and scorches, that flows out like a flood of lava-poetry slashing and cutting on all sides, attacking and remodelling, destroying and re-creating? Why do we not get in her a poet like Josh—a "Revolutionary poet", sounding the clarion call for action, burning with indignation? Why is it that instead we get in her poetry a world of beauty and joy and delight, with the *Bulbul* and the *Koel* and the *Papeeha*; the songs of young maidens and lullabies of loving mothers; mad, intoxicating dances of love and sweet, enchanting perfumes of spring?

The answer to these questions we know not. Whatever the causes, the fact remains that in spite of her political career and the long fight that she has carried on against the present order we find very few traces of the political world in her poetry. In all the misery that she is out to combat she has yet been able to find beauty, it is not the sordid side of life that attracts her but the beautiful, the happy side of it. Her India is bright and sunny, with scarce a shadow to obtrude upon its shining landscape.

Whatever her poetry may be there is no denying its Indian quality. It is not a mere matter of words, though her poetic vocabulary abounds in Indian words and phrases—words that bring with them all the associations of the rich, gaudy, bright East. She is an artist in words as much as and perhaps even more than an artist in sentiments. Very often the words and sentiments are singularly in tune, and no one could have been translated from some Sanskrit song! used the words of one language in another so skilfully as Sarojini.

Full are my pitchers and far to carry,
Lone is the way and long,
Why, O why, was I tempted to tarry
Lured by the boatsmen's song?
Swiftly the shadows of night are falling,
Hear, O hear, is the white crane calling?
Is it the wild owl's cry?
There are no tender moon-beams to light me,
If in the darkness a serpent were to bite me
Or if an evil spirit were to smite me,
Ram re Ram, I shall die!

The little phrase *Ram re Ram* glides in almost. It comes in so naturally, inobtrusively, and takes its place without any self-conciousness of its being a foreigner. It is a picture in itself—a beautiful maiden, with pitchers on her head, and darkness all round her, hurrying and yet hesitating, shrinking from unseen dangers, full of apprehension and dread—the one phrase *Ram re Ram* embodies it all. It seems to tremble like the slender, delicate body of the lovely maiden. The Indian atmosphere is here created by very delicate touches. The very first line presents a very familiar sight—a slender, lovely maiden—she must be lovely, one feels with pitchers on her head, her graceful body bending under the weight, and then suggestion after suggestion is given till the picture is completed by that exquisite phrase. The picture thus presented is vivid and detailed, the distant song of boatsmen, dying away gradually, the maiden, intent on hearing the song, coming to us as the echoes die away; the river silently gliding by; the "swiftly falling shadows of night", the cries of the crane and the owl, and unseen, invisible, unknown, the gliding movement of the serpent somewhere in the bushes. The whole atmosphere is Indian, even the apprehensions of the girl are typically so.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this Indian quality of Sarojini clearer than in the use of the simile and the metaphor, and employment of imagery. There is, for example, that exquisite lyric, a Rajput love-song. It is one longing, one strong, passionate, over-powering longing, clad in all the rich imagery of the East. Indian in tone, atmosphere and description, this song is yet more remarkable because of its beauty of phrase, and heavy but beautiful imagery. As for pictorial quality, I have never come across any lyric in English which can match it. Here are two beautiful portraits, one of a lovely Rajput girl, the other of a handsome, brave Rajput gallant. And with these exquisite portraits in miniature are inter-woven many other pictures as beautiful. Here, again, everything is Indian from "the basil-wreath to twine among her tresses" to the "amulet of jade against the perils of the way". Yet more Indian than all this is that exquisite stanza:

Haste, O wild-bee hours, to the gardens of sunset!
Fly, wild-parrot day to the orchards of the West!
Come, O tender night, with your sweet, consoling darkness,
And bring me my Beloved to the shelter of my breast!

'Wild-bee hours', 'wild-parrot day', 'gardens of sunset', 'orchards of the West'—the phrases seem to have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Such suggestive, delightful phrases, which constitute half the charm of her poetry, are interspersed throughout Sarojini's poems. Says a lover—

Withhold not, O love, *from the night of my longing*
The joy of *thy luminous face.*

And

Revive me, I pray, *with the magical nectar*
That dwells *in the flower of thy kiss.*

If suggestion is art, where could we find better art than here?

More than anything else, Sarojini has a delicate, playful fancy. "Do you know, I have some very beautiful poems floating in the air, and if the gods are kind to me, I shall cast my soul like a net and capture them." This, one feels, is exactly what she does, otherwise how can she put into words such flimsy, elusive fancies? Her own lines—

Dreams and delicate fancies
Dance thro' a poet's mind—

are truer of herself, perhaps, than of any other poet. There are poems which are one continuous delicate web of fancy, there is, for example, "Golden Cassia", in which these "brilliant blossoms" which people call "only woodland flowers" are transfigured into the most enchanting things that a poet's fancy can capture. And she ends by saying :

But now in the memoried dusk you seem
The glimmering ghosts of a by-gone dream.

And there are stray lines like

O Love! do you know the spring is here
With the lure of her magic flute? . . .
The old earth breaks into passionate bloom
At the kiss of her fleet, gay foot.

And

Like a joy on a heart of sorrow,
The sunset hangs on a cloud;
A golden storm of glittering sheaves,
Of fair and frail and fluttering leaves,
The wild wind blows in a cloud.

Such lines remind one of what she says in another place—

How will you daunt my free, *far journeying fancy*
That rides upon the pinions of rain?

Coupled with her exquisite, elusive fancy are a sense of colour and sound and a suddenness of appeal which makes her poetry so effective. With a lyric insight she mingles the brightest colours, captures the sweetest sounds and presents them to us with an admirable rapidity.

Like a serpent to the *calling voice of flutes*
Glides my heart into my fingers, O love!
Where the night-wind, like a lover, leans above
His jasmine-gardens and *shrisha* bowers :
And on ripe boughs of many-coloured fruits
Bright parrots cluster like vermilion flowers.

Dramatic and effective is the appeal in "A Persian Love Song". The lover, after relating, in two stanzas, his experience that he is wistful or elated according as the Beloved is sad or happy, ends by saying in the third—

Hourly this subtle mystery flowers anew,
O Love, I know not why . . .
Unless it be, perchance, *that I am you,*
Dear Love, that you are I!

This, then, is the poetry we get from an ardent revolutionary. One traces, however, the signs of an awakening to the stern realities of her surroundings, of the strife that is raging all round her. There are hints of her political career at times in "Death and Life", for example, where, to the tender whisper of death, and his sweet promises to change her into "some lilting or lotus-loving bee" and "the wild wind's voice, the white wave's melody," she replies—

I said, "Thy gentle pity shames mine ear,
O Death, am I so purposeless a thing,
Shall my soul falter or my body fear
Its poignant hour of bitter suffering.
Or fail ere I achieve my destined deed
Of song or service for my country's need?

But one feels that the note is forced and strained—it lacks the spontaneity that characterises her poetry. The truest estimate of her poetry is that she herself has given in one of her letters :

> "I am not a poet really. I have the vision, the desire, but not the voice. If I could write just one poem full of beauty and the spirit of greatness, I shall be exultantly silent for ever; *but* I *sing just as the birds do,* and my songs are as ephemeral."

One may not agree with their being ephemeral, but their singing quality is undeniable, they are like the sweet warbling of a sweet-throated *bulbul.* The popular instinct is always unerring, not for nothing is she called the *Nightingale of India.* Her poetry "seems to sing itself as if her swift thoughts and strong emotions sprang into lyrics of themselves." It is fresh, it is musical, it is happy, there is very little of sorrow, of melancholy, of gloom, even of contemplation in it. Even the "Dirge" moves with a splendid rhythm, and it is as full of colour as any other poem of hers—it is bright, almost gaudy. Only in one poem, "The Old Woman" has she been able to arouse pathos. Sh has no "philosophy of life" unless it be "the subtle pnilosophy of living from moment to moment." It is, as though realising that the present is the only moment of which we are certain, she has determined to crowd that moment to the utmost limit of living. Even death inspires a longing to live, it adds to her zest to live, and she comes back, at the sight of a bier "of some loved woman canopied in *red*" to

Laughter of children and lyric dawn,
And love's delight, profound and passionate.

She throws a challenge even to Fate—

Say, shall my scatheless spirit cease to bear
The bridal rapture of the blowing valleys,
The lyric pageant of the passing year?

* * * * *

Shall my impassioned heart forget to sing
With all the ten thousand voices of spring?

Sarojini Naidu's poetry is curiously deficient in spiritual or idealistic quality. It lacks sublimity because it neither lifts us out of ourselves nor unearths the mystery of life. Again and again one feels that it flies at a tangent from great spiritual verities and profundities, and invariably lands us in the proverbial ivory towers of romance and enchantment. All this is true, but when all is said and done, her Muse makes the nearest approach to poetry for the sake of poetry. It wafts and transports us to a dreamland from where Politics, Economics and Science have been banished for all times.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE VITOLIAS

An Untouchable Tribe Among The Aboriginals

By Dr. D. P. KHANAPURKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

During my tour in Bansda State, in South Gujarat, I found that the Hindu influence had touched only the borderlands of the forest tracts. It was nowhere felt in the interior. Yet, one day I was rudely shocked, when I came across a cluster of dilapidated huts, far away from the main village. In front of these huts sat the inmates weaving bamboo-mats, preparing baskets and winnowing-fans from the bamboos cut from the neighbouring jungles. These people were the Vitolias. They are also known as Kotavalias or Wansfodias. The last name is indicative of their occupation of bamboo-cutting. On inquiry I learnt that the Vitolias are regarded as untouchables by the aboriginal tribes and are forced to live away from the main village, like Harijans in towns and cities. No aboriginal takes food from their hands for fear of being polluted.

I saw that the Vitolia women burdened their necks with six to ten white-bead necklaces. They had small silver rings on their ears, copper-brass rings on their fingers, thick copper-brass rings round their feet and thick silver rings on their second toes. Their dress consisted of a rag, two and a half yards in length, wound round the waist and drawn up between the thighs, covering their nakedness up to the knees. Only the young girls, I found, covered their upper parts of the body with bodice. The men had only a *langoti* on and a rag wound round the head.

The Vitolias worship stones representing their dead. These stones are called *Bhutadas*. They also honour the goddess Devali, the gods Pandar and Kakabalia. Devali has her shrine at Sonagarh in the Navasari district of Baroda. Pandar is represented by a clay-dome, painted white. The dome resembles a miniature Buddhist *stupa*. Kakabalia is a god, who presides over small-pox and chicken-pox.

The Vitolias have no endogamous or exogamous divisions. Marriages within the four degrees of relationship are prohibited.

When a Vitolia child is born, a midwife cuts its navel-cord with a bamboo-strip. Then she digs a hole under the eaves and places unhusked ricegrains in the hole. Then she places the cord on the ricegrains and fills the hole with earth. A stone is placed on the spot. Then she applies dots of red-lead to the stone and to the spot where the child is born. On the fourth day in the case of a daughter and on the fifth day in the case of a son, the midwife puts two or three small rice heaps on the place where the child is born. She applies red-lead to the stone placed on the cord. Then she pours a few drops of liquor near the stone and the place of child-birth. The mother ties a cradle made of cloth. Then she arrives at the front-door with the child. There she bows to Bhagavan and then places the child in the cradle. On the twelfth day the mother goes to a river or a well. There she applies red-lead to a stone on the banks and takes a bath. Then she returns home.

The most important event in the life of the Vitolias is marriage. It is settled by the parents. When a boy's father learns about a suitable girl in the neighbourhood, he visits her father's house, with three or four relatives. If they approve of the girl they buy liquor worth two rupees and drink it in the company of the girl's parents. After a few days a betrothal ceremony is held. On this day the parents of the boy, accompanied by their relatives and friends, start in a procession to the girl's house. The procession is headed by the village musicians. Near the front-door of the girl's house, two young virgins who are generally sisters of the girl, stand holding a bamboo-basket on their heads. The boy's father places a red-coloured saree and a bodice in the basket. This saree and bodice are meant for the bride. Besides, a bottle of liquor is presented to her. At this time the boy's father pays bride-price (*dej*) to the girl's father. It varies from twelve and a quarter rupees to fifteen and a quarter rupees. The *dej* money is placed in a dish near the mortar. The bride's father takes the dish and carries it into the house. Then the bridegroom's father brings liquor worth five rupees. A few drops of liquor are poured on the ground as offerings to the ancestors. Then all the assembled persons drink liquor. Thenceforward the bride pays frequent visits to her husband's house on holidays and on special occasions.

If the bridegroom's parents have enough money they observe a further ceremony, called *Lagan*. This is voluntary. On the *Lagan* day a pandal is constructed in front of the bridegroom's house. Bunches of mango leaves are hung all round the pandal. The roof of the pandal is covered with jambul (*Eugenia jambolana*) twigs. The bride arrives in a procession to the bridegroom's house. Inside the pandal the bride and the bridegroom sit on a mat of khajuri (*phoenix sylvestris*) or on a piece of cloth. The parents of the bridegroom first anoint the bridegroom and then the bride with turmeric powder. Then the bridegroom's mother anoints the faces of all the married persons with turmeric powder. The bride and the bridegroom then hold in their hands leaf-cups filled with liquor. The bridegroom drinks a little liquor from his cup and offers the cup to the bride. She drinks the whole contents of the cup. Then she drinks a little liquor from her leaf-cup and offers it to the bridegroom, who drinks the remaining liquor. The bride's brother then comes forward and ties the hems of the bride's and the bridegroom's garments into a knot. The bridegroom's father pays him a silver coin and he unties the knot. Then two persons lift the bride and the bridegroom on their shoulders and dance. On the following day, the bride and the bridegroom are bathed with warm water and turmeric is washed away. After ten days the bride visits her father's house. After the next ten days, *i.e.*, after twenty days the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house and returns with his bride.

Among the Vitolias divorce as well as widow-marriage is practised. A widow is permitted to marry her husband's younger brother. If she marries someone else, the new husband pays from ten to twelve rupees to the widow's father. He presents her with a red-coloured saree and a bodice. She wears the clothes and accompanies the man to his house. Then they begin their married life, without any rites.

Death is the last fateful event. After death the corpse is washed with warm water and is placed on a *tirdi* of bamboos. Then the dead body is covered with a white

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cloth if a male or with a red-cloth if a female. The corpse is carried to the cremation ground by four pall-bearers followed by men and women. The chief mourner moves slowly at the head of the mourners carrying an earthen pot in his hand. The pot contains an ignited cowdung ball. The *tirdi* is lowered at a place called *Isava*. This place is midway between the village and the cremation ground. Old and worn-out clothes, *davali* (a dried bottle-gourd used for drinking water) and earthen pots belonging to the deceased are placed at *Isava*. Then five women, related to the deceased, place small lumps of cooked rice into the mouth of the dead body and pour liquor in the mouth of the deceased with palas (*Butea frondosa*) leaves. Then the women return to the house of the deceased and the pall-bearers carry the corpse to the cremation ground. In the cremation ground, five relatives including the chief mourner put small lumps of cooked rice and pour liquor in the mouth of the corpse. Then the corpse is placed on a pyre half the size of the body. Then more logs are placed and the pyre is completed. The pyre is kindled from two sides. An axe is thrown five times across the burning pyre. The earthen pot containing the ignited cowdung ball is crashed near the head of the pyre. Then all go to take bath. After bath they sit under the shade of a tree and drink liquor.

When the chief mourner gets enough money, he performs funeral rites. It is not obligatory to perform the rites. On that day the chief mourner washes the place where the pyre was lit. Then he goes to the river-side and plants four jambul sticks on the bank of the river. Four more sticks are placed on these sticks and a miniature pandal is constructed. Under this canopy the chief mourner puts an earthen pot filled with water. Palas leaves are placed on the mouth of the pot. The pot represents the departed one. The chief mourner places lumps of cooked rice in front of the pot. Then he makes a hole in it with an axe and goes for a bath. After bath he returns home. In the evening the four pall-bearers are invited. The chief mourner pours drops of liquor near their feet, in the name of the departed one. Then all the assembled persons drink liquor and return to their respective houses.

The Vitolias raise stones, called *Bhutadas,* in honour of the departed ones. On that day a *bhagat* (holy man) is invited. He begins to nod his head and to jerk himself with uncontrollable movements as if he is possessed. Throughout the night the *bhagat* nods his head to and fro and jerks his body. In the morning he goes to a river and selects a stone from the river-bed. He instals the stone under the shade of a tree and applies dots of red-lead to the stone. Then he kills a hen and pours a few drops of liquor in front of the stone. Then the person assembled there take their dinner. Thenceforth the stone is deified and becomes a *Bhutada,* representing the departed one. These *Bhutadas* are worshipped by the family on Divali day (the last day of Ashvin and the first day of Kartik), and at the time of the Holi (full-moon day of Falgun). The householder applied red-lead to the *Bhutada* and puts small rice heaps in front of it. Then he kills a hen, and pours a few drops of liquor near it, in honour of the departed one.

These are the main items in the customs observed by the Vitolias. They are not peculiar to the tribe itself, but with the exception of a few minor differences here and there, they are generally shared by all aboriginal tribes, living in the neighbourhood.

———:O:———

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

FOOD FAMINE AND NUTRITIONAL DISEASES IN TRAVANCORE (1943-44) : *265 pages, with 33 illustrations.*

THE EXODUS FROM TRAVANCORE TO MALABAR JUNGLES.: *39 + iv pages.*

Both published by the Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, R. S. Puram Post, Coimbatore. Prices Rs. 5 and Re. 1 respectively.

These two carefully prepared reports give a dismal picture of the economic conditions prevailing in Travancore State during the years 1943 and 1944. The survey was undertaken on behalf of the Servants of India Society ; and for purposes of examination, a fairly large number of typical villages were selected. The investigators were all trained and competent men; and their work has shown conclusively that not only were the people hard hit by war conditions during the period covered by the survey, but they had, as a matter of fact, been suffering from chronic under-nourishment from even before the present crisis. The present situation only aggravated their distress.

For this, the war was certainly responsible to a great extent. But more so was the mismanagement of the government, which led not only to unrestricted black-marketing, but also to a failure of any remedial measures, like regulated migration, or educative propaganda regarding balanced diet or new crops, which might have served to lessen the sufferings of the people. The latter were practically deprived of their food by means of high prices. All protective elements of food soared away beyond their reach ; and men migrated, in their distress, to the higher hill regions, where their already emaciated bodies were laid low by fever, diarrhoea and dysentery. As a matter of fact, people had to choose between death by starvation at home and death by disease in an unaccustomed new environment.

The whole is a story of untold poverty and suffering, coupled with official inefficiency and a complete bankruptcy of social conscience, which leaves one almost

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

despondent of the future in the end. The reporters have, however, taken good care to suggest certain remedial measures which a more sympathetic government might adopt. But what seems to be more necessary is to suggest some remedy which may lie within the practical powers of the public, without the intervention of a government. If such relief is possible, the people might be heartened ; and the government also might then do what it should do out of a sense of shame.

We believe that the publication of a report of the kind we have been reviewing. will go a long way to prepare a favourable social conscience.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN LIBERALISM : *A Study by V. N. Naik. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. x + 353 + vi. Price Rs. 5-8.*

At a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation a suggestion was made that the Federation sioudd celebrate its Silver Jubilee in 1945 by issuing a Souvenir giving the origin and history of the Indian Liberal Party. This suggestion was accepted, and the Western India National Liberal Association requested Prof. V. N. Naik, a member of the Indian Liberal Party from its inception to write the book. The volume under review is the result. Mr. Naik, although a Liberal, is not an active politician; so as a writer he is not obsessed by party prejudices or by the spirit of narrow coterie or sect. His aim has been to serve and spread the truth of light as he sees it.

The post-Mutiny political awakening of India began as a Hindu revival, as witnessed by the Hindu Mela organised by Nabagopal Mitra. Surendranath Banerjea made it truly national and organised the National Conference as early as 1883. The birth of the Indian National Congress focussed and quickened the pace of nationalism. In the course of its evolution there have been differences of aim and method which are natural and inevitable in the history of any political movement. When such differences are fundamental and continue for a long time, a separate organisation becomes justifiable. The differences between the Moderates and the Extremists in the Congress first appeared in 1906 ; they were patched up, but re-appeared with the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The moderates seceded from the Congress and started a separate organisation. Its first session was held at Bombay under the presidency of Surendranath Banerjea—the father of Indian Nationalism. At first known as "Moderates", later on as "National Liberals", this party has lived and continued to function and influence political thought for over a quarter of a century. The author has given the history clearly and at great length in 21 chapters. The result is that the author has given a very readable history of the political life of the country since 1918. But one regrets that in chapter viii, while discussing the work of the Liberal Party in the Legislatures, the author has omitted all reference to Sir Surendranath Banerjea and his Calcutta Municipal Act, which has democratized the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation and placed ample powers in the hands of the popular representatives. The value of the book is enhanced by an index, but we think a Bibliography of sources would have been a still more welcome addition.

J. M. DATTA

FRENCH STORIES FROM ALPHONSE DAUDET : *By Indira Sarkar. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1945. Pages 87. Price Rs. 4.*

Alphonse Daudet, the French novelist ahd short story writer, who lived from 1840 to 1897, is not entirely unknown in India. Some of his works which were translated into English and Bengali have been widely appreciated in Indian literary circles. Tagore himself was an admirer of Daudet, and introduced the latter's works to Satyen Datta and others. Saurin Mukerjee took up the suggestion and translated a few of Daudet's books into Bengali. Daudet's story entitled *Jacque* became *Matri-rin* in the hands of Mukerjee. *Nabob*, in which Daudet described French corruption in the Second Empire, remains *Nawab* in the Bengali version. The stories translated in this collection are very famous indeed, and may be compared to those of Maupassant in brilliance. The exquisite charm and delicacy of the art are as fresh as ever. The authoress is an enthusiastic student of French literature and has displayed remarkable patience and skill in translating these stories into racy and attractive English. Her appreciation of Daudet's literary genius in an introductory note reflects a maturity of judgment of which any competent literary critic may justly be proud.

Daudet lived at a time when realism and naturalism were in vogue. Romanticism was getting liquidated. The days of idealism had fallen into the background. He was therefore never interested in the symbolic treatment of men and things. The expressionism of contemporary poets, such as Mallarme and Verlaine, hardly had any influence on his thought and style. Daudet was a confirmed regionalist. He eulogises, even to a fault, the beauties of his homeland, Southern France. Midi and Provence in particular are treated almost to nostalgia. He endows his characters with a southern temperament, wit and mirth. But this regionalism detracted in no way from the universal appeal of his works just as Wessex and Western Bengal have not restricted the respective appeals of Hardy and Tarashanker Banerjee. All the dominant traits of Daudet's art are clearly brought out in the short stories incorporated in this volume. It would be a distinct contribution, if the authoress undertook in future to render these and other French stories into Bengali.

In view of the existing restrictions, the get-up of the book should be considered good, but I am afraid many will find the price too exorbitant for its size.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SO FREEDOM CAME : *By Joan Wells. Published by Messrs. Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 16[illegible] Price Rs. 5-14.*

The present book is a political satire as well as political fantasy. Though it lacks the sharp smart of Swiftian irony and Shavian paradox, it still bubbles with great fun. Stripped of allegory, the story appears to be that of India governed by the diehard ministers of a foreign country. The Conservative Prime Minister of Fogland is ruthlessly snubbed by the Opposition for his callousness towards the independence of Blindya (India). He sends his daughter on a secret mission to Blindya to study things at first hand. She returns furnished with facts and a Blindyan drug called *oonikoon*, the application of which converts her conservative father overnight into a liberal internationalist, so that he speaks most feelingly on the Blindyan independence in the Parliament. When the spell of the drug is gone he recants, but reluctant to lose the reputation which his dream-like liberalism has earned him, he submits on the question of Blindyan independence.

TO THE HEIGHTS : *By Nalini Kanto Gupta. Published by Culture Publishers, Calcutta. 194[illegible] Pages 58. Price Re. 1-8, Foreign 3s.*

This little volume represents Mr. Gupta's poetic venture towards spiritual heights. A well-known critic, poet and mystic, Mr. Gupta has undoubtedly reached a great height so far as religious poetry is concerned. [illegible] has been inalienable from periods of literature and mystic poetry has often had high valuation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gupta has his own original way in the present volume. It is poetry in spite of mysticism. It is sometimes reminiscent of Shelleyan transcendentalism and sometimes it reminds one of Sri Aurobinda's religious lyrics. The following are some of the typical lines :

The following are some of the typical lines :
I have heard His call and He has embraced me
intimately from afar.
Lo, I am grown into the translucency of His
divine serenity,
The earth-made cells are now spirit-stars
That bear the undecaying lustres of immortality.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

BENGALEES OF TOMORROW : *By Mr. S. Wazid Ali, Barrister-at-Law. Published by Messrs. Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Pages 188. Price Rs. 3.*

There are not many books written by Bengali Muslims on the subject of Hindu-Moslem unity. It is not because Bengal has a dearth of such men but because eminent men of the Muslim community do not consider it worth while to devote considerable time and energy for inter-communal unity. The author of this book is one of those who have devoted their lives for the Bengali race irrespective of religion, caste, creed or colour. To him Bengal is one, its culture is of a special stamp and its problems are unlike those of other provinces. Language unites the entire Bengali race into one indivisible unit and as such Bengal is fit to be a nation by itself. To the author Bengal comes first and then India. To him Bengal's political, economic, social and communal problems require special treatment by the sons of Bengal without any interference from any outsider—Indian or European. He does not favour exploitation of Bengal's resources by outsiders when her own sons are in distress. But he is not blind to the advantage of all-India unity or Federation. The author in his outspoken criticism does not spare even his own community for their narrow sectarian outlook. He is not afraid to give out unpalatable truth about communal shortcomings of the Hindus and the Muslims. His national, impartial outlook and advocacy of Bengal's just cause and claims are things which deserve serious consideration in the hands of all right-thinking men who have the good of Bengal and of India at heart.

A book of this nature deserves much circulation among the educated young men of all communities in Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BOMBAY PLAN, A CRITICISM : *By P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant. Published by the Popular Book Depot. Lamington Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.*

The brochure contains a searching analysis of the Bombay Plan. The authors have fearlessly pointed out the defects of this plan which deserve careful consideration. The Bombay Plan is a scheme that contemplates the permanence of a capitalist order and civilisation. The industrialists envisage a rigorous control of every aspect of our economic life except control of profits. The kind of organisation of agriculture and industries does not remove the possibility of the exploitation of the masses. The authors have pointed out that this plan definitely rejects the idea of the control of the economic organisation in the interests of the consumers on a broad socialist basis, it contemplates planning within the present economic structure. Profit motive remains the foundation of their plan, and so long as profit motive functions within a capitalist structure, the possibility of periodic crises and chronic unemployment cannot be overcome. In the absence of any broad basis of the plan, it will provide a kind of amalgam of collectivism and capitalism and an *entente cordiale* between the men in political power and the industrialists may be set up.

There are features in the plan which have rightly come in for strong criticism. The planners have put forward the suggestion that new industries, or industries new to particular areas, which may require financial assistance from the State in the initial stages, may be not only managed but owned by the State. Later on, if private finance is prepared to take over these industries, "State ownership may be replaced by private ownership." This amounts to saying that so long as an industry involves risks and losses, the burden of the loss should be imposed upon the community, but as soon as it begins to yield profits private enterprise should take it over and appropriate the profits at the cost of the community.

The prevailing values of any age are the values of its dominant class. Our Bombay planners talk in terms of these values. But the new age that is dawning, as has been asserted by the authors of the brochure, demands the recognition of other values—the dignity of work, leisure for all, equality of opportunities, the recognition of the intrinsic value of every human soul, for which there is hardly any scope in a society based upon private property and profit motive.

D. BURMAN

SANSKRIT

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS, Vol. II, Srauta Sutras and Prayogas : *Compiled by K. S. Ramaswami Shastri Siromani, Srauta Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 6-4.*

The volume contains an account of 1,271 manuscripts giving information on different points like author, extent, age and place of origin, arranged in a tabular form. Besides, an appendix gives detailed description of the contents of 301 mauscripts, quoting extracts from them. References are given to catalogues and reports where other copies of particular manuscripts have already been described or noticed. It is not known if these are exhaustive. But as it is, one is rather surprised to find no mention of catalogues and notices of several well-known collections like those of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Adyar Library. The chronology of dated manuscripts reveals that the oldest manuscript noticed in the volume goes back to the end of the 14th century while some of the latest belong to the closing part of the first quarter of the present century. The catalogue records the dates of a number of manuscripts according to the Christian era. There is no indication if they are similarly—and if so rather unusually—given in the manuscripts also.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BRAHMO DHARMER VYAKHYAN : *By Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. Published by Rathindranath Tagore, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta. To be had of Visvabharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta. Cloth and board. Price Rs. 5.*

Sri Rathindranath Tagore, trustee, Adi Brahmo Samaj, deserves the gratitude of the serious-minded Bengali-reading public for bringing out an exceedingly well got up edition of *Brahmo Dharmer Vyakhyan* by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. The book is a collection of the sermons delivered by the Maharshi during the several years he officiated as the Principal Acharyya of the Adi Brahmo Samaj.

Barring the actual scriptures, religious books are seldom literature, as hymns are rarely poetry. They are too narrow, too argumentative and too full of self-consciousness to be interesting reading, and the writers of religious books perhaps suffer from the idea that their subjects are too profound to require any attention to style. The Maharshi's present writings, although purely religious, are nevertheless full of literary charm, and the style of these writings is the product of a deeply cultured mind.

There is, however, another secret to these writings being grand literature. They embrace life as a whole

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and not a mere fragment of it. The Maharshi's religious inspiration is derived from the Vedantic scriptures. Indeed the keynote of almost all his sermons is a Upanishadic text, the underlying idea of which, he develops in his owr inimitable style bearing upon it a serene contemplative mind utterly free from the burdens of prejudices and trivialities of ritualistic punctiliousness.

Yet of how practical use these sermons are ! One may turn to them off and on in the hours of affliction and get joy and peace from reading them. Again, how universal in their appeal these sermons are ! Although they are stated to have been delivered at the Divine Services of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, these sermons may be read and re-read at any congregation of devout spirits to whom the beauty of the words, breadth of vision, depth of devotion and catholicity of spirit contained in them will always have an intense appeal.

In all these Maharshi Devendranath Tagore is a direct disciple of Rajah Rammohun Roy. During the dark ages of India which covered the whole of the eighteenth century and a little more, like everything of value in life, real religion also disappeared from this country. Rajah Rammohun Roy, the prophet of modern India, brought back light and hope to Indian life and activities.

In the sphere of religion the Rajah was the first individual to point out by a comparative study of the principal religions of the world, that when religion is shed of its local and historical truths, what remains testifies to the same truth. Therefore, there should be no quarrel among men about religion.

On the practical side of religion, Rajah Rammohun Roy preached by his writings and the example of his own life that man can be religious even in the ordinary pursuit of wordly affairs. One need not escape from the worldly life to attain salvation. Hence the Rajah's teachings emphasised on practice of moral virtues and righteousness along with meditation. Salvation is to be achieved by sober enjoyment of life not by shunning it, and salvation must be attained in this very life and not hereafter. He preached of a salvation which can be shared by man with all his fellow beings and not enjoyed in the seclusion of a cloistered cell.

T. C.

JATIATAR NABAMANTRA : *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Illustrated. Pages 112. Price Re. 1-8.*

In the sixth and seventh decades of the last century there was an awakening in the national life of Bengal which found expression in the foundation of the Hindu Mela by the then prominent men of the province. Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Dwijendranath Tagore, Satyendranath Tagore and Nabagopal Mitra and others were instrumental in the starting of the Hindu Mela in 1867 with the object of reviving what was best in India's art and culture. Originally it was a movement to revive Hindu art and culture but ultimately it revived Indian nationalism in all its aspects and led to the foundation of the Indian League, the Indian Association and ultimately the Indian National Congress in 1885. The author who has already contributed considerably by his researches in the literature of the nineteenth century, has thrown fresh light on an almost forgotten chapter of Bengal's history. Nabagopal Mitra is an unknown person to a young man of today. It was he who brought the Hindu Mela into existence with the help, support and patronage of all these leading men of Bengal. He had such a craze for nationalism that he was nick-named "National Nabagopal". The 'Mela' had its twelfth annual sitting in 1878 after which it lost importance and ultimately ceased to exist. Nabagopal founded 'National Society', 'National Circus', 'National Mela', 'National gymnasium', 'National paper', 'National theatre' and national of every sort, so he well deserved the title 'National Nabagopal'. Some of our best national songs were composed on the occasion of the annual Mela by persons like Satyendra Nath Tagore and Dwijendra Nath Tagore.

The book is a timely publication and we have no doubt it will have a wide circulation among the Bengali knowing public interested in the national movement of the country—past, present and future.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

VISHVA SANSKRITI KA VIKAS : *By Kalidas Kapur. Vidya Mandir, Chauk, Lucknow. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1-4.*

No one has succeeded, so far, in tracking down the original, age-long, source of the river of human culture. Every century sees its being shifted farther back in the mists of time. Shri Kalidasji has, however, been able to compass, within the pages of about a hundred pages, the contours of the "river", in question. In eight short chapters he has packed the principal patterns of thought and life—those two bed-rock bases of culture,—of the progenitors and pioneers of mankind in ancient, medieval and modern times, in East as well as in West, and shown, once again that "man", as Shri Sampurnanandji, who has written an introduction to the book, says, "is always on the march." The course of the river of culture may be winding, but it never loses itself entirely in the wastes and in the wilds. What will be the next turning? Shri Kalidas believes that the time is now almost ripe for humanity to set its face and feet towards non-violence or the way of co-operative love and living. The author deserves congratulations on his work.

G. M.

MARATHI

HINDU-MUSLIM AIKYA : *By S. D. Javdekar. Published by Sulabh Rashtriya Granthamala. 12, Tilak Road, Poona 2. Price Rs. 3.*

Prof. S. D. Javdekar is well-known all over Maharashtra as the philosophic interpreter of our own times in terms of Gandhism and socialism and for that reason is regarded as the Laski of Maharashtra. His *Adhunik Bharat,* which has gone into the second edition, has been widely used as a text-book in the summer and winter classes of the Rashtra Seva Dal Camps. The present treatise on Hindu-Muslim Unity is a learned study copiously documented, emphasising the essential racial oneness and unity of economic and social demands of Hindus and Muslims and making out a case for a United India, in the common interest of all. It has completely exploded the two-nation theory and after discussing the religious differences and dissensions, shown the way out of them. The book is worth the study of every Marathi-knowing Hindu and Musalman.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

(1) UCHCHA JIVAN, (2) TRAN PRASHNA : *By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 84, 142. Price Re. 1, Re. 1-4 respectively.*

The first book is based on an English book called *Theosophy in Every Day Life* and is meant to show the reader how to lead a godly and pure life in this iron age. Each day of the week is intended to be occupied in a certain pious and devotional way till the week is completed. If the method pointed out is followed, it is sure to result in good. In the second book the first story, 'The Condition of a Sinner', is based on Tolstoy's *Forty Years* and attractively and pathetically describes the condition of a sinner—a murderer. It shows an intimate knowledge of Gujarat's village life.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE WHEEL IS TURNED

During those eventful days of 1914-1918 India faced a serious shortage of essential medicines. Supplies of Sera and Vaccines, wholly imported till then, were discontinued. Thousands of patients died for want of proper remedies. Can a more helpless state of affairs be imagined ?

And this tragedy lasted till Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., emerged in 1919 to completely reverse the picture.

INDIA PRODUCES HER OWN AND ALSO EXPORTS

SERUM & VACCINE

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO. LTD. CALCUTTA.

G.A.P.C.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Earth's Smiling Face

depends on the Salts lying hidden in the soil:

Man's vitality, too, rests on the Blood flowing in his veins.

While the earth's eaten-up salts may be easily replaced by manures, man's stock of depleted blood may be quickly replenished

By

BI-COLLO-IRON

— *A Palatable Preparation* —

Highly efficacious in all cases of Anæmia

- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' contains, among other constituents, Iron in an easily assimilable form.
- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' is a well-tolerated and widely accepted medicament for Pregnancy Anæmia, Infantile Anæmia and Secondary Anæmia resulting from Malaria, Kala-Azar, Typhoid, Pneumonia and Syphilis.

CAN BE HAD OF ALL CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS

BENGAL IMMUNITY Co., Ltd. :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Small Nations and Big Powers

No lasting peace will be possible for the world unless the fierce selfishness now prevailing in the individual as in the nation is eradicated. Freedom for small nations should be the aim of the Big Powers. What R. M. Fox says of Eire equally applies to other small nations. He observes in *The Aryan Path* :

It should be perfectly clear that Eire—unless bound by solemn international obligations—was justified in framing her policy in the way she thought would best serve the interests of her people and safeguard her national independence. There were many considerations of military strength or weakness, of vulnerability, chances of internal dissension or civil war if she took sides—which certainly could not be decided for her from outside. The present fact of Partition and the consequences of past bitter struggles could not be ruled out in a realistic estimate of the war situation in Ireland.

Everyone knows that the first intelligent rule for a small man in the event of a big row is to keep out of it. That rule goes for the small nation too. And in the World War even big nations—America and Russia—stayed out until they were attacked. Eire followed exactly the same rule, only she was not attacked, in spite of the gloomy prophets. When Britain and France deserted Czechoslovakia, in her hour of peril, irrespective of their treaty obligations, no one said this proved they had forfeited the right of national sovereignty. And why should Eire be abused for not having a more idealistic conception of international morality than the rest of the world ? Why ? Because she is a small nation, that is all.

It is against the idea that a small nation should have rights that opinion is being mobilised today.

Nazism made the Jews the scapegoat for every offence. An equally unintelligent assumption is that the natural desire—and fundamental right—of small nations to retain their independence is somehow a menace to the world. Nationalism is said to be the enemy of progress. The friend of progress is, of course, Imperialism, jealous of such islands of national freedom as still contrive to exist in this liberated world.

The Nazis stood for a perversion of Nationalism just as they stood for a distortion of Socialism. Their propagandists did not talk of the "Nation." Instead they talked of race and blood and soil. The coherent and intelligent theory of nationalism in the political sense—which arose in Europe after the French Revolution—stressed the citizen rights of every member of the nation. It accepted the rights of nations as a further development of the rights of man. Consequently the Nazi idea of the *Herrenvolk*—an Imperialism buttressed by racial obsessions—cannot be reconciled with any belief in nationalism.

Historically the rise of the nation state was bound up with the rise of democracy. Its essence was the right of each people to determine its own destinies against irresponsible feudal despots. It gave each man a right and a status as a citizen. These rights have still to be maintained against despots of finance and magnates of industry who override frontiers and exploit countries.

World unity and world peace—our imperialist spokesmen announce—demand the subjugation of the small nations.

But no man of sense or logic can show that small nations are—or ever were—a menace to world peace. It is invariably the Big Powers that threaten world peace because they are dazzled with the prospect of conquest. Small nations are always in favour of international safeguards. The League of Nations was not shattered because of any assertion of national sovereignty by small nations. It was broken because the small nations found they could not rely on the Big Powers in that Assembly to use their strength against acts of aggression aimed at weaker peoples.

National sovereignty will continue to handicap imperialist expansion. Small nations will make a stand against oppression and will respect the freedom of other nations. Those democrats who have allowed themselves to be goaded into attacking the sovereignty of small nations are guilty of a great stupidity for their enemies are plainly those big anti-social forces such as manipulated and financed dictators of the Hitler and Mussolini type.

It is childish to imagine that small nations can start wars. Even the bitterest critic of de Valera does not charge him with that. But small nations will continue to demand the right to safeguard their interests in times of crisis. That is precisely the offence of which de Valera was guilty during the war. He did not help to crush the Nazis in a military sense. But he stood for the freedom of small nations—an anti-Nazi principle which is still important for the world.

—



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878
Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man

Genuine international control over the most destructive and constructive energy yet known would have profound repercussions on international relationships. Rev. Richard M. Fagley writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

If there was any doubt that beneath the crisis of the Second World War lay a more profound crisis of man, the explosions in New Mexico, Hiroshima and Nagasaki should have shattered the illusion. The fact that the illusion widely persists reveals the depth of our present, and possibly final, crisis.

The end of one crisis becomes, with the discovery of atomic power, the beginning of a far greater crisis. The inexorable 'either-or' of the atomic bomb, upon which hangs the fate of life on this planet, leaves the pride of man no means by which to save itself.

One tragic reflection of the present crisis is the picture, conjured up by some of our writers, of vast power and plenty made possible by atomic energy. The Promised Land of freedom from want lies just ahead. Man has made the power of the sun his servant, and freed himself for luxury and leisure. How distorted is our vision to see so easily the vista of mechanical progress in the Atomic Age, and to fail to see clearly the greed, pride and fear in ourselves which have now brought us to the doorstep of doom ! Of course, atomic energy can lift the burden of poverty from the backs of countless millions and give all mankind the material basis or creative living. What should be equally obvious is that only if man has a new spirit within him can he pass over into this Promised Land. The Atomic Age is otherwise almost certain to be extremely short and extremely brutish !

Equally revealing is the naive faith of many in the ability of science to control the threat of atomic bombs by creating effective counter-weapons.

The end of a scientific race between the development of anti-bombs and the development of bigger, faster bombs is not hard to see. It is the end of man on this earth.

Again, there is the common illusion that fear can protect mankind from atomic war. Fear, it is true, may help—if it leads men to seek, with a contrite heart, the protection and guidance of God. But fear by itself offers a short-cut to catastrophe. The fear of destruction from atomic bombs in the present world of competing states would insure and hasten sudden, ruthless attacks with atomic bombs. Total aggression would become the strategy for survival. As Norman Cousins writes : 'If history teaches us anything, it is that the possibility of war increases in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the instruments of war.'

Of a piece with the above patterns of thought is the notion that the present crisis might be exorcised, if only the inventors would destroy their infernal machine, or if they would discontinue the manufacture of bombs, while the nations signed a pledge not to use them. For better or worse, however, the clock of history does not run backwards. Nor can its cosmic hands be stayed by Kellogg-Briand pacts. Atomic power is here to stay for the remainder of human history. And unless man can control himself as well as atomic power according to the moral law, both will no doubt terminate within a comparatively few years.

That changes in political institutions by themselves would assure human survival, is false like the rest of the secularist arguments. No form of government is fool-proof. No system of international control can provide a final answer. Political institutions can be corrupted. Controls can break down.

Twist and turn as we may, we cannot escape fro this crisis by secularist means. We are driven inexorab from one false solution to another, unless and until w seek a more profound, religious solution. A deeper fai in God and therefore in man as a child o God and a more sacrificial effort to make broth hood a guiding principle of society alone offer real ho that atomic rockets can be kept under control, and t new energy be put to the service of human needs.

,For nineteen centuries we Christians have preache the Good News more often with our lips than with o lives. We have preached, in tolerant fashion, that 'th wages of sin is death', and proceeded generally t accommodate ourselves to the society about us. An now our churches, infected with the secularist spir are suddenly called upon to save humanity from th impending doom created by that spirit. No, the prospe is far from comforting.

The experts believe that other states will be ab to make atomic bombs in three to five years. When an if that happens when two or more states can bri about their mutual destruction, the final race to disas will, in all likelihood, be short indeed. We know, Major George Fielding Eliot has pointed out, that th logical outcome of the full development and use o atomic bombs is the extinction of life on earth.

The chief expedient deserving, or rathe demanding immediate attention is the esta blishment of international controls over a atomic power which can be used in bombs.

Yet the very factors which made the need s tremendous—the overwheming fear and suspicion, an the equally overwhelming tendency to attack in th hope of survival—would make international cont extremely difficult if not impossible to achieve.

Now the initial and probably crucial decision is i the hands of one state, the United States, rather tha in the hands of two or more states. Now the Unite States has preponderant bargaining power, because o its temporary monopoly, to secure the type of inte national control most favourable to its own securit as well as to the security of the rest of the world. A fear and suspicion, frantic research and intense secr preparations mount, the difficulties of achieving agre ment would mount far higher.

The main thing to stress is the need to provi the maximum possible assurance that no one nation bloc of nations could use atomic weapons as instrume of national policy.

Our efforts should deal with the concrete issues international control and national safety. not w speculative abstractions like 'world government.'

The relatively favourable time for action is pi fully short and all of us woefully unprepared. Spiritu power alone can cope with atomic power.

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/6.

Pledge :—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I. N. A. Trials

The New Review observes :

India's political temperature has been raised to fever pitch with the trials of the Indian National Army which mustered thousands of Mohammedans, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians, civilians and soldiers, round the independence banner of Subhas C. Bose. The issue of the trial will be a focal point in the electoral campaign and the outcome will qualify future political development. In the mind of the Indian public, the trials do not stand on all fours with the ordinary cases of military desertion or rebellion and should be judged in the light of a special jurisprudence. What was the status of the provisional government of Azad Hind which had been recognised by several states at war with the United Nations ? What was the position of its newly constituted army ? What of the civilians who volunteered for this army, and what of the men and officers of the British Indian army who had been taken prisoners in the Malaya *debacle* and transferred their allegiance ? What of the three years' limitation usual with military offences ? These are leading issues to be discussed and settled in the court martial. And independently of the court judgment, why not a generous amnesty ?

The Congress party is stirring the whole country in defence of the accused ; the Muslim League shuns co-operation with Congress even in these trials which implicate a majority of Mohammedan soldiers ; the smaller communities generally plead for amnesty. The Delhi Fort judgment is bound to make history in India's national life and possibly in international law.

Pakistan

The same *Review* says :

Mr. Jinnah has officially defined Pakistan. Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Province along with Assam and Bengal would be built up into one sovereign state federated on the U.S.A. pattern. It would be a Muslim state though Mussalmans would have no social barrier against Hindus or others, and would live on the basic principles of equality and fraternity. Minorities would have their rights duly guaranteed and opposition parties free action in the legislature. Key industries and public utility services would be nationalised. As the Paramount Power is prepared to grant independence to several dominions in India, the answer to the Pakistan problem lies with the Muslim electorate.

Muslim electors are sharply divided on the issue. Opposition to the Muslim League is growing as the implications of Pakistan become clearer day by day. The economics of Pakistan are gloomily discussed, Muslim minorities in Hindu districts are apprehensive, traders and industrialists foresee restrictions on their all-India activities, educated Mohammedans deprecate communalism in political settlements, etc. Many among them find it hard to renounce the all-India complex associated with the Moghul empire ; but what militates most against Pakistan is that it moves directly against the needs and trends of modern times. On the modern scale, of world-politics, which has grown with the developments of communications, trade and strategy, countries can be truly independent only if they be of the largest size ; it has even been said that at present only compact and large States like the U.S.A. and Russia are fully adapted to modern conditions. Internal sovereignty is not sufficient to guarantee international facilities for trade, and industry which in our competitive world make for prosperity and progress. Even Western Europe will have to design and achieve some sort of federation if it is to arrest decline in the coming decades. Partition is a retrogressive measure, which stern realists refuse to contemplate.



CONSULT HERING & KENT FOR FREE MEDICAL ADVICE

We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, female irregularities and disorders, DEFORMITIES OF THE BUST (sagging. infantile, overdeveloped, etc.). MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding). ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, beautifying the bust contour, female disorders, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

HERING & KENT

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINTS ON HEALTHY LIVING 1

A Cough Cured ... a life Saved!



An attack of cold, followed by irritation of the throat—that is the common cough. Neglected, it may lead to such dangerous sicknesses as bronchitis, asthma—even tuberculosis. Treated and cured in time, it may mean a life saved.

Glycodin Terp Vasaka is widely recommended and prescribed by doctors as a complete cure for the common cough. It gets at-once to the very roots of infection or inflammation and its curative ingredients soothe and help to banish cough completely.

In all cases of cough due to serious organic trouble, consult your doctor.



GLYCODIN TERP-VASAKA

SOOTHES AND HELPS KILL COUGH

Alembic Distributors Ltd., Makhania Kuan, Lower Rd., Bankipore, Patna.

ALEMBIC CHEMICAL WORKS CO. LTD., BARODA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Education of Indians in Foreign Countries

There is no question that modernisation of India, nay of the East, will be greatly facilitated by the assimilation and utilisation of the best of western scientific, industrial and social institutions by India and the East, without merely copying them. In the course of an article in *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Taraknath Das and Gobindram J. Watumull observe :

In some ways the westernization of China and India has been forced upon them while Japan voluntarily recognized the necessity of western education and western methods. In Japan westernization was not imposed from the outside and therefore the process was selective and more discriminating than has been in the case of India and China.

Today all Indian authorities in the field of National Education recognize the fact that the real motive for introducing the rudiments of English education in India was to train an army of Indian officials, who, with a knowledge of the English language, would be able to hold inferior government positions and thus help the British masters to consolidate their power. The real rulers were British officials, even after Queen Victoria's proclamation which assured that there would be no discrimination, due to their race and religion, against Indians, in securing positions in the government of their own country, provided they proved their efficiency. The test of this efficiency was an English education and the ability to pass the Civil Service Examnations, held exclusively in England and with certain high standards set for British University students. It became evident to Indian youths with ambition that without an education in England there was no possibility of securing any high government position ; thus about seventy-five years ago Indian students from the most cultured families of the upper and upper-middle classes began to go to England to study in British universities. At first these students, though not a very large number, wanted to qualify for Indian Civil Service positions ; and such distinguished scholars and statesmen as the late Romesh Chandra Dutt, the author of *History of Indian Civilization,* the late Surendranath Banerjea, the foremost Indian publicist of the nineteenth century and author of *A Nation in the Making,* one of the founders of the All-India National Congress Movement, and many other prominent Indians belonged to this group. Later on a larger number of Indian students went to England for professional training—the majority of them studied Law. From this group India had many of the leaders of the nationalist movement—Arabindo Ghosh, Gandhi. Nehru, Das, Bose and others. Still later, the influx of Indian students of the middle classes to England grew, not only because education acquired in England was superior to that obtainable in India, but also because Indians educated in British universities and acquainted with British ways of life and British contacts almost always secured better jobs with higher salaries upon their return to India. About the beginning of the twentieth century some Indian students began to go to German universities and after the Russo-Japanese war, to Japan and the United States. It may be mentioned here that Indians educated in Japan, the United States or Germany did not have a fair chance of getting any important government position. In fact, they were looked upon with suspicion and discriminated against by the Government.

An ordinary B.A. of a British University had a better chance of getting a position in a British-controlled university or establishment than a first-class Ph.D. of an American University.

This prejudice still persists to some extent and has resulted in the interesting development that American-trained Indians have contributed considerably through their own and private enterprise to the development of Indian industries.

According to reliable reports "in normal pre-war years the average number of Indian students in any time in Great Britain was about 2,000." (See *Indian Information,* Vol. 15, No. 151, December 15, 1944, issued by the Principal Information Officer, Government of India, page 794.)

If the average expense of an Indian student in England be estimated at about £250 (Two hundred and fifty pounds sterling) a year, then these students must have spent annually at least £500,000, or Rs. 7,500,000. If this sum—of one year's expenditure by Indian students in England—be used judiciously and economically, it can be adequate for establishing an institution of higher education in India. For instance, out of 75 lakhs of rupees, 25 lakhs of rupees may be used for the building and equipment of such an institution, and the balance, 50 lakhs of rupees, can be invested in well-tested Indian securities which would yield an annual income of at least 2½ lakhs of rupees. This income supplemented by tuition fees would provide for a staff of 50 professors and instructors of all grades. Such an institution within ten years can be developed into a magnificent one, providing facilities for higher education for thousands of Indians, without draining Indian resources out to foreign lands.

During the last 40 years at least 10,000 Indian students went to England to acquire such education as would afford opportunities for good government jobs and professinal opportunities. On the average, these students spent three years to finish their studies in England ; and on the average, they spent £250 a year. Thus, the total amount spent by Indian students in England during the twentieth century has been no less than £7,500,000 or Rs. 112,500,000. If we use 75 lakhs of rupees as a minimum requirement for establishing an institution for higher education on a permanent basis, as indicated above, then the sum spent in England for the so-called higher education of Indian students would have provided funds for the establishment of fifteen universities and facilities for higher education of hundreds of thousands of Indians, enriching Indian national efficiency. It seems that as a national investment for promoting national efficiency through higher education the vast sum spent in England has produced very inadequate results. It seems that this fact has not been fully grasped by Indian leaders, not to speak of the Government, as they are still pursuing a policy of sending large numbers of Indian students to foreign countries.

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office :

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN :

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All-India Writers' Conference

The following note is reproduced from the Indian Diary section of *The Indian Home* (Anniversary Number) :

Centuries ago Plato opined that not till philosophers became kings and kings became philosophers would a solution to the world's ills be found. That seems as far a cry today as it was then, though efforts continue to be made, as witness the recent P. E. N. deliberations, to give expression to that ideal, to some extent at least, in practice. The First All-India Writers' Conference, which is essentially a fraternity of artists symbolising the spiritual unity of mankind, held their sessions at Jaipur from the 20th to the 22nd of October. Inaugurating the Conference, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, explained the purpose for which it had been convened : "The very meaning of tragedy has been deepened and darkened today beyond any act of history, beyond any conception of Sophocles or Shakespeare. There remains only the last appeal which is now made vainly—and it can never again be made—the appeal to the spirit of man."

That India was spiritually and culturally one was the keynote of the conference. Said the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu : "The literature of India is manifold. Why then have we all met together ? Because India is one and indivisible. However different our languages, however differently they are written, the basic thought underlying every language is one common unifying ideal. The ancient myth-lore and the songs of India are the same, from the source of the Brahmaputra to Cape Comorin . . . India tops the world in lessons of peace and love."

Speaking in the same strain, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the development of Indian literature was a unifying force. "When we talk about this question," he said, "it does not relate to a dozen languages, but only to two, namely, Hindi and Urdu—which is one language with different literary forms drawing inspiration from the same fountainhead . . . Good will result to both Hindi and Urdu if they grow as such. The defect lies in the vast mass of people being separate from the coterie at the top."

Among others who spoke were Dr. Mulk Raj Anand on the genius of Rabindranath Tagore, Sir S. Radhakrishnan on "The Moral Values in Literature", Dr. Radhakumad Mukerji on "The Ancient Indian Literatures and the Evolution of Newer Forms" and Mr. E. M. Forster on "Literature Between the Two Wars".

Ancient Hindu Polity

A close scrutiny of the Constitutional History of Ancient India gives ample satisfactory evidences of the long existence of democratic institutions of constitutional importance. In the course of a review-article in *The Indian Review* K. Balasubramania Iyer observes :

There is no doubt that the Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of State and political machinery. The earliest reference to popular assemblies and institutions is found in the Vedas. We find therein frequent mention of the Samiti and the Sabha in many contexts. From all these Dr. K. P. Jayaswal rightly concludes that the Samiti and the Sabha were national assemblies of the people who had the power of electing the king, whose deliberations the king should attend and who discussed questions of State policy. That every young man had the opportunity to take part in the Sabha is well seen from the oft-repeated Vedic prayer "Sabheyo Yuva". "May the youth be fit for the assembly." In short, in Vedic times the Samiti, Sabha and Sena seem to have been three co-existing institutions with specific allotted functions civil, criminal and military respectively.

Perhaps, the most revealing portion of this study is the clear proof of the existence of Hindu republics showing that monarchy was not the only form of government known to the Hindus. The late Dr. Jayawal's most notable contribution is here. He was the first to establish the true significance of the terms 'Gana' and 'Sangha' which were wrongly interpreted by Orientalists like Dr. Fleet and Monier Williams, as denoting a tribe. The Avadana-Sataka, a work relating to the time of Lord Buddha, refers clearly to the fact that at that time some countries were ruled by Ganas and some by kings. A whole chapter in the Santi Parva of the Mahabharata is devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of these Ganas. This discussion makes it clear that 'Gana' refers to a political community or kind of Parliamentary government. The names of some of these republics such as the Kshudrakas and the Malavas are mentioned by the great Grammarian Panini, and also later, by Greek writers who were historians of Alexander's invasion of India. The Andhaka-Vrishnis who are also mentioned by Panini and the Greek writers are famous in Purana literature.

To Andhaka-Brishnis belongs the great Sri Krishna, the Paradevata of the Vrishnis as the Bhagavata says.

It is clear, even, from the Puranic references that there was no king among this community. It was a kind of a joint league of two republics. They were a Sangha as mentioned by Kautilya. Dr. Jayaswal states that the Adhaka-Vrishni league had a joint Federal Constitution, where executive power was vested in

Over 30 Years
OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND SECURITY
IN WAR AND PEACE
WESTERN INDIA LIFE
INSURANCE CO., LTD., Satara City
The only dependable office for one to insure with or to represent.
Write for particulars to:
MANAGER
WESTERN INDIA
Life Insurance Co., Ltd.
Satara.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

leaders with their respective *vargas* representing each division. Panini refers to the Akrura Varga and the Vasudeva Varga. The duel groups are mentioned by Katyayana as Sini-Vasudeva, Ugrasena-Vasudeva and Akrura-Vasudeva. Most probably, the leaders changed from time to time and were elected. Though Vasudeva was the leader of the Andhaka-Vrishni league, he was not a king. When the Agra Puja or the first honour was proposed to be given to Sri Krishna among the assembled kings at the great Rajasuya sacrifice performed by Yudhisthira, Sisupala, King of the Chedis, strongly objected to this step on the ground that Sri Krishna was not a king and that he did not therefore deserve the first honour among the assembled hosts of kings. He argued that the rule observed was to give the first honour to one who was either a priest or Acharya or a King and Sri Krishna was none of these. In the spirited defence made by Bhisma, this point was not contested. But he praises Krishna as the great Narayana who has incarnated into the world as Vasudeva and says that, therefore, he was priest, Acharya, and King all rolled into one (*vide*, Sabha Parva, Ch. 33, Sl. 22). It is also noteworthy that nowhere in the Mahabharata or in the Bhagavata is Sri Krishna referred to as the King of the Andhaka-Vrishnis. The Bhagavata uses the word 'Iswara'.

There is a very interesting episode in the Santi Parva, Chap. 81, which throws a flood of light on the position of Sri Krishna among the Vrishnis and the polity of the Andhaka-Vrishnis. There a conversation between Krishna and Narada is narrated, in which Krishna is said to put his difficulties as the leader of the Vrishnis to his friend Narada and the latter is said to give his solution. The advice given by Narada has a quite modern ring about it and may very well be taken to heart by the party leaders of the present day, too. He says, "In a republic dangers are of two kinds, the external one and the internal one. It is the internal difficulty which is present in this case; use then a weapon which is not made of steel, which is very mild and capable of piercing all hearts. The weapon is this: Recognition of merit in others and honouring them, mildness, straightforwardness, toleration and constant entertainment. None but a great man, one of master mind and commanding a following can successfully exert himself in carrying on high political responsibility."

Even in the monarchical states, during Vedic times and the period to which the Buddhist Jatakas relate, the Kingship was on the basis of election. Though, in later history, kingship became hereditary, still in the Coronation ceremonies especially in the Coronation oath, the theory of election was presumed When there was a failure of heirs, the ministers elected the King with the consent of the people. The great Greek writer, Megasthenes, wrote that 'when a failure of heirs occurred in the Royal House the Indians elected their sovereign on the principle of merit.' According to the Coronation oath, sovereignty vests in the King by reason of the formula. "To thee this state is given; thou art the Director and Regulator; thou art steadfast and bearer; to thee for agriculture, for wellbeing, for prosperity, for development." After this formula is pronounced, he is made to sit down.

Even during the epic period the power of ministers to select the King on failure of heirs seems to have been in existence.

When Dasaratha died and Rama was banished to the forest, it is said in the Ramayana, that the ministers called Rajakartrah (King-Maker) sent for Bharata and decided to instal him on the throne. When Bharata is persuaded by the ministers to accept the throne, stress is laid by them upon their unanimous opinion that he should be made King. They argued that Bharata would never be in fault if he accepted the throne in response to their unanimous opinion.

From the Arthasastra and other evidence, we can realise that the Hindu monarch was more a constitutional sovereign than an autocrat. His actions were always controlled by the Chief Ministers and by the Council of Ministers. The Nitivakyamrita clearly states that the King who overrides the ministers ceases to be King in the eye of the Constitutional Law. As the Mahabharata put it, "the king was always 'Paratantra' under the control of ministers."

Far from India having been ruled all over by despotic kings, it was divided in ancient times into monarchical states and republics; and that even in monarchical states, the kings were constitutional sovereigns controlled entirely by the Council of Ministers and the popular institutions of Paura and Janapada and subject to the reign of Law established by the sages, law-givers and other wise men among the people.

Novel
Marathi
Monthly

THE MAHADWAR

मन्वाड्वार

"Under the direction of its energetic editor Mr. V. N. Kulkarni, this Kolhapur monthly has made excellent progress during its brief career of less than two years. Beginning as a sort of "Marathi Digest" it has secured an independent place for itself."

—*The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, December 16, 1945.

The MAHADWAR is now stepping into its third year from February 1946. Annual Subscription: Rs. 6

MAHADWAR OFFICE .....KOLHAPUR.

The Tripura Modern Bank Ltd.

ESTD: 1929

PATRON:

H. H. THE MAHARAJA MANIKYA BAHADUR, K. C. S. I. OF TRIPURA.

Regd. Office: **AKHAURA** (B. & A. Ry.)

Chief Office: **AGARTALA** (Tripura State)

Calcutta Branch: **6, CLIVE STREET.**

Tele { gram: Goorukripa
phone: Cal. 4660

Burrabazar Branch: **201, Harrison Road, Cal.**

Branches all over Bengal and Assam.

1. Authorised Capital	... Rs.	50,00,000
2. Issued and Subscribed Capital	... Rs.	22,50,000
3. Paid-Up Capital with Reserve Fund	... Rs.	13,50,000
4. Deposit exceeds	... Rs.	2,13,00,000
5. Working Capital exceeds	Rs.	2,70,00,000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says** :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extra-ordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(*The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East*).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.
Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M.
Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : B. B. 3685.
LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London. Phone : Cal. 5742.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Indian Textile Industry

We quote below the following extracts from the article, entitled "Wartime Developments in the Indian Textile Industry", published in the *International Labour Review*, August-September, 1945 :

Among the seven important industries for which, international committees are being set up in accordance with a decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, is the textile industry. India, as one of the world's principal producers of textiles, is included among the countries represented on the committee, which will consider the social problems of the industry during the transition from war to peace and the economic foundations of international co-operation concerning future social policy. In this article, an account is given, for the Indian textile industry, of its pre-war position, of the changes brought about by the war and by the resulting unprecedented demand for textiles, and of probable future trends.

The textile industry, comprising the weaving of fabrics of cotton, jute, wool, silk and artificial silk, is one of India's foremost industries. In 1938-39, the last year before the war, the Indian textile industry produced 5,608·5 million yards of cotton cloth, 69·6 per cent of which was produced by the mills and 30·4 per cent by the handlooms, and 1,221·5 thousand tons of jute manufactures (including twist and yarn); it gave employment to over a million persons in the mill industry and to about six million persons in the handloom industry; and the raw and manufactured textiles formed 46·24 per cent of the value of the total exports by sea from British India. Raw cotton and cotton manufactures constitute the most important part of the textile industry, and within India, owing to economic and climatic reasons, cotton cloth is by far the most popular.

The cotton mills, which include some of the largest manufacturing plants in India, number about 400, with a paid-up capital of 500 million rupees, and employ over half a million workers. Twenty-five years ago they consumed roughly about one-third of the Indian cotton crop, whereas since the war they consume over three-fifths; and India, with an annual average (from 1934-35 to 1938-39) area under cotton of over 25 million acres and an annual average crop of about 4·7 million bales (478 lbs. each), is the second largest cotton producing country in the world.

The Cotton Mill Industry

The Indian cotton mill industry has been growing rapidly since the beginning of the twentieth century. The index of average annual increase in spindleage, however, declined from 48 in 1911-1914 (1907-1911 = 100) to 42 in 1914-1918 and —13 in 1918-1922; corresponding figures for Great Britain are 52, 26, and —10 ; for the United States, 67, 58, and 47 ; and for Japan, 62, 122, and 239. In the four principal textile producing countries the average annual increase in spindleage during the four years following World War I was lowest in India and highest in Japan.

From 1920 to 1940, the quantity of cotton consumed by the Indian mills increased by 88·5 per cent (from 1,952,318 bales to 3,679,874 bales of 392 lbs. each), the number of spindles installed by 47·9 per cent (from 6,763,076 to 10,005,705), and of looms installed by 68·1 per cent (from 119,012 to 200,076). The average yield of cotton per acre also increased from 87 lbs. in 1924-1927 to 93 lbs. in 1938-1941, although compared with other major cotton producing countries it is still very low.

It might be mentioned that the profits of the cotton mill industry also show a considerable upward trend since the last depression. The index of profits (1928 = 100), which had declined from 99·1 in 1929 to 33·9 in 1933, rose to 90·1 in 1934, 89·0 in 1935, 98·8 in 1936, 137·9 in 1937, and 210 in 1938.

Cotton Mills and the Domestic Market

The Indian cotton mills have been gradually winning an increasing share of the Indian textile market since World War I. Before 1914, India produced 90 per cent of the yarn it consumed, but the Indian mills supplied only 25 per cent of the mill-made cloth consumed in the country, whereas in 1935, 96·0 per cent (by volume) of the yarn and 76·5 per cent (by volume) of the piece goods consumed were domestically produced. In 1913-14, of every thirteen and one-third yards of mill-made cloth consumed in India, ten yards were imported from Lancashire and only three and one-third yards were produced in India, whereas in 1930-31, out of every nine and a half yards of cotton cloth consumed in India only one and three-fourth yards were imported from Lancashire and three-fourth of a yard from Japan and seven yards were produced in India. Furthermore, a great change took place in the relative as well as the absolute productive capacity of the three countries. From 1909-1913 to 1935-1936, the share of India in the mill consumption of raw cotton (in percentage of the world total) remained about the same (10·2 and 9·7 per cent respectively), the share of Japan almost doubled (6·6 to 13·0 per cent), and that of the United Kingdom declined by about two-fifths (18·0 to 10·6 per cent).

As a competitor against British and Japanese goods in the home market, the Indian textile industry first specialised in the cloth most commonly used by the masses, and later turned to the production of finer fabrics, many of which cannot be made from indigenous cotton. From 1929-30 to 1939-40 the total yarn produced in India increased by less than 50 per cent, but the production of yarn of 40 S counts and above increased by no less than 400 per cent. This increase in the production of fine cotton yarn is reflected in the increase in the imports of raw cotton into British India from 134,300 bales (400 lbs. each) in 1929-30 to 474,600 bales in 1932-33 and to 752,900 bales in 1937-38.

The Handloom Industry

The handloom industry, which supplies about 25 per cent of the total cloth consumed in India, and employs over 85 per cent of the textile workers, was estimated to have in 1940 about 2 million handlooms, of which 13 per cent were idle, and to produce annually 1,989·4 million yards of cloth (including hand-spun yarn), valued at about 728 million rupees before World War II. Classified by types, there were about 64 per cent throw-shuttle looms, 35 per cent fly-shuttle looms, and only 1 per cent of other categories ; classified by fabrics, 72 per cent were engaged in the cotton industry, 16 per cent in silk, 5 per cent in wool, 1 per cent in artificial silk, and 6 per cent in other textiles.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Competition between the Mill and the Handloom Production of Cotton Cloth

While the old handloom industry depending on hand-spun yarn decayed during the first half of the nineteenth century, there arose a new hand-weaving industry which used mill-spun yarn and shared the fluctuations of the mill industry. Up to 1909-10 the annual handloom production of cotton cloth was more than the mill production and in some years nearly double; from 1911-12 to 1914-15, the two became nearly equal; during World War I, the mills gained considerably over the handlooms; and since then the fortunes of the two have been affected by the tariff policy of the Central Government, the *khaddar* (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth) movement sponsored by the Nationalists, and changes in the clothing habits of the people.

The Jute Industry

Jute, the most important of all the fibres used for industrial and agricultural purposes, is virtually a monopoly of India and ranks among its principal exports. The jute crop is of particular importance to the province of Bengal, which accounts for about 90 per cent of the total Indian output of raw jute, and where the average value of the crop is estimated at 440 million rupees, or about half the money income of the agricultural community of the province in normal years.

The jute textile industry, which differs from the cotton textile industry in that it is practically confined to a single locality in Bengal, gave employment to 298,967 operatives in 1939, as compared with 347,000 in 1929. Although as a manufacturer of jute cloth and bagging India does not enjoy anything like its monopoly as a producer of raw jute, in 1934 the Indian jute mills consumed over half of the world's jute crop. From 1932-33 to 1938-39 the mill consumption of raw jute increased by 30 per cent, or from 5,002,000 bales (400 lbs. each) to 6,463,062 bales. India generally consumes only 20-25 per cent of its jute manufactures, and exports the rest.

Other Textiles

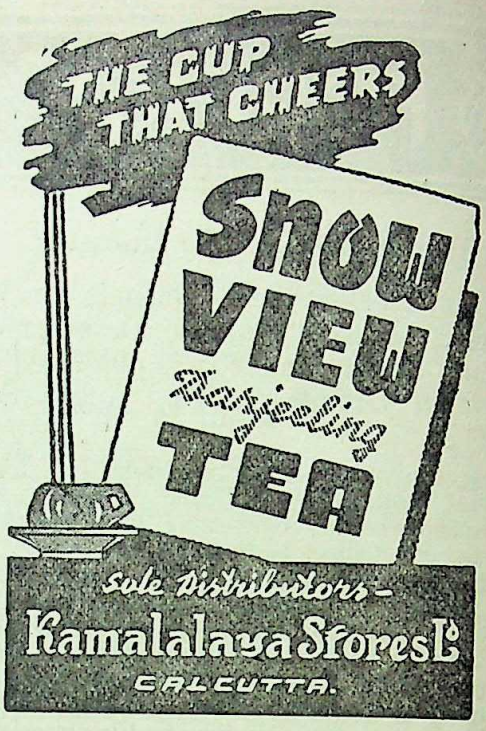
Other Indian textile industries, such as the woollen and silk industries, play a negligible part in the world market. In 1934, India produced about 2·7 per cent of the world total of raw wool (greasy basis) and consumed 1·5 per cent of the world total of available supply. From 1930 to 1939, the number of woollen mills increased from 17 to 41, and of spindles from 78,162 to 81,370.

In 1931-32, India produced only about 1·5 per cent of the world total of raw silk and silk wastes. The sericultural industry is found in several Indian States, in particular, Mysore and Kashmir, the latter producing the highest quality of raw silk in India.

Foreign Trade in Textiles

In 1938-39, textiles constituted 46·2 per cent (by value) of the total exports of merchandise by sea from British India and 19·3 per cent of the total imports by sea into British India. The chief exports, in order of importance, were jute manufactures, cotton (raw and waste), and raw jute, all three together accounting for 91·3 per cent of the total textile exports; the most important import item was raw cotton and cotton goods, which amounted to 77·6 per cent of the total textile imports.

India's largest pre-war export market for cotton manufactures was Burma, followed by Malaya and Ceylon, importing in 1939-40, respectively, 110, 29, and 24 million yards of Indian piece goods. Burma was also the major market for yarn, and purchased in 1937-38, 1938-39, and 1939-40, respectively, 9, 12, and 15 million pounds of yarn. A substantial market which had been built up in Egypt by 1937-38 was almost eliminated in the following year owing to the imposition of restrictive import tariffs.





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The effect of the present war on the Indian textile industry differs in one important respect from that of the last war. During World War I, the Indian textile industry acquired an enormous home market at the cost of its erstwhile competitors, since the production of Indian mill cloth increased by 33 per cent in 1918-19 as compared with the pre-war average, and the Indian imports fell from 2,600 million yards (pre-war average) to 1,100 million yards in 1918-19. Before World War II, the Indian textile industry was already satisfying the bulk of the domestic requirements; from 1934-35 to 1938-39, mill production supplied, on the average, 61 per cent and the handlooms 25 per cent of the total cloth available for consumption in India. The war has led to an unprecedented demand on the textile industry. With its rising tempo, particularly with Japan's entry as a belligerent, there has been an immense increase in the demand for the rapidly expanding armies, in civilian consumption, and in the exports to neighbouring allied and neutral countries, particularly those in the Middle East which were formerly supplied by the United Kingdom or Japan.

Sericulture

Unlike the jute industry, the Indian silk industry has been affected favourably by the war. In the State of Mysore, for instance the area under mulberry increased from 38,480 acres at the end of June, 1941 to nearly 57,000 acres at the end of December, 1942, and a scheme was launched for increasing the production of filature silk required for the manufacture of parachute fabrics and components. Under this scheme, besides 1.300 basins privately financed, the Government of the State of Mysore agreed to put up a filature of 200 basins at the cost of about 284,962 rupees to the Government of the United Kingdom, and to supply all the silk produced in that filature to the Government of India, which is to bear the entire cost of training the labour and supervisory staff necessary for operating the plant.

In the State of Kashmir, where the sericulture industry provides part-time occupation for over 50,000 rural families and wholetime occupation for about 4,000 urban families, plans have been made for its further extension. In Jammu and Kashmir, a programme involving an annual expenditure of 125,000 rupees for a period of three years for the extension of mulberry plantations was launched in 1943.

Artificial Silk

The imports of artificial silk, which were valued at 21,607,000 rupees in 1938-39 and at 37,521,000 rupees in 1936-37, came largely from Japan, Italy, and Germany. The war has led to an examination of the possibilities of establishing the rayon industry in India. Most of the raw material for the manufacture of rayon is available in the country, but there is a lack of the needed machinery. Rayon staple fibre, furthermore, can be substituted for the long staple cotton, now imported, which is not grown in India. The investigations carried out by the Indian Central Cotton Committee, assisted by the Industrial Research Bureau of the Central Government, into various aspects of the industry are preparing the way for its establishment in the country.

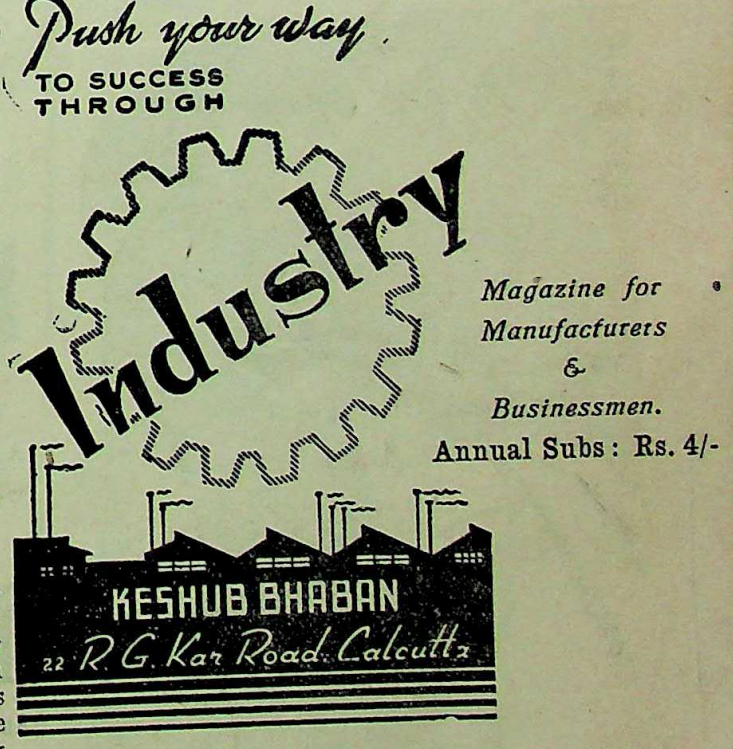
Future Trends

The wartime prosperity of the Indian textile industry is largely the result of the cessation of competition from the United Kingdom and Japan, the heavy requirements for the armed forces, and the stimulation of exports to markets deprived of their normal imports from other countries. For the duration of the war, the heavy demand on the textile industry for military requirements and for exports will probably continue and the supply of clothing available for civilian consumption will tend to remain restricted, although to a less extent than it was in 1943..

The Indian cotton mill industry, which has been expanding mainly at the expense of foreign imports, has reached a stage, postponed by the war, of acute competition against the handloom industry, which, left to itself, will perhaps dwindle to the position of a small handicraft concentrating on the production of a few speciality cloths. The *Report of the Fact-Finding Committee,* however, maintains that in an industrially backward country suffering from chronic unemployment a labour-using and capital-saving industry such as the handloom industry has a special function to discharge as it provides employment for a large number of people and helps to mitigate the unequal diffusion of purchasing power, considered to be one of the main reasons of India's poverty. Decentralised production is not so uneconomical or inefficient as is often assumed, and hand-weaving is particularly suited to Indian conditions. The hand-weavers' cost of production is estimated to be only about 10 to 15 per cent higher than that of mills in many lines of staple production, and even this difference is claimed to be due to the enhanced cost of yarn to the weavers resulting from middlemen's charges. The Report emphasises the complementary character of mills and handlooms, and recommends co-operation between the two in order that the linking of the handlooms with the spinning and finishing mills may effect a combination of the economies of machine production and large-scale enterprise with the economies of the domestic system.

Conclusion

Considering the volume of its production, the value of its foreign trade. and the number of workers it employs, the Indian textile industry is of outstanding importance in the national economy. But the textile industry is pre-eminently international. While each country must cope with its own particular problems,



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED :—

For	one year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„	two years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„	three „	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply :—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—**Honeycomb.** Phone :—Cal. 3381.



GUARD YOUR COMPLEXION IN DRY & WINTRY DAYS *with*

CALCHEMICO'S

LA-BONNY SNOW & CREAM

A soothing and refreshing skin food for day and night use respectively, to give you a velvety skin.

TUHINA BEAUTY MILK

An aristocratic skin preparation to keep your face, arms, neck and body soft and beautiful.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

there can be no complete solution unless there is international agreement. Textile mills are not only found in many countries but they are highly interdependent, since only a few of the leading textile producing countries have necessary raw materials. Before World War II, for instance, five countries, namely, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, and the United States, produced over 80 per cent of the total world supply of ginned cotton, and, in turn, depended on world manufacturing activity for the sale of their raw material. The countries exporting cotton textiles are actual or potential competitors in all markets, although there is a considerable range within which they are non-competitive in practice. Obviously the development of the textile industry and trade is an important factor in the evolution of world economy, and the proper co-ordination of the world textile industry is essential if it is to be sufficiently expanded to ensure an adequate supply of textile products for the masses of the people in every country.

Progress Toward an International Language

Arthur Dahl writes in *World Order*:

With his far-seeing wisdom, Baha'u'llah realized that in to-day's integrated, co-operative world, it was essential that peoples of all nations and races should be able to exchange ideas freely and directly, both verbally and in writing. Since it was out of the question for everyone to learn all the multitudinous languages and dialects, the obvious alternative, which He included in His basic social teachings, was the adoption of an auxiliary international language, which each person would learn in addition to his native language. This auxiliary language could either be an existing language, or one especially created for the purpose.

Sensible though this idea is, it has been very slow in reaching widespread acceptance and understanding. One reason has been the failure, until recently, to fully appreciate the necessity for international intercourse. A second reason has been the difficulty of selecting the auxiliary language. Each language group would like to see its own tongue selected, both to gain prestige, and to avoid learning a second language.

For a long while French was tacitly accepted as the common language in international society and diplomacy. In recent years, with the increasing predominance of the United States, English has been gaining acceptance in this capacity. To a large segment of the world, Spanish is dominant. Yet in the case of none of these tongues has there been a concerted movement to secure widespread acceptance as *the* international language.

To overcome the obstacle of national pride, several efforts have been made in the last sixty years to develop an entirely new language, with the necessary qualifications for an auxiliary language carefully incorporated. Most well known to date has been Esperanto, initiated in 1887 by Dr. L. L. Zamenhof. This language has many advantages. It is euphonious, logical, and regular in construction; the grammar is easily grasped; every rule is without exception; the spelling is phonetic; and the dictionary is small. It was favorably received in many parts of the world, and enjoyed a period of intense promotion, climaxed in the 1920's when the League of Nations published a favorable memorandum on the teaching of Esperanto in the schools of the world, and the International Telegraphic Union Association recognized it as a "clear language." Several Baha'i books have been translated into Esperanto.

A more recent candidate to receive widespread attention is Basic English, the creation of C. K. Ogden of Cambridge, and actively sponsored in this country by Dr. Ivor A. Richards of Harvard. This system con-

"Ofcourse you've heard about NOVUM - but HAVE YOU TRIED IT?"



BEFORE you spend your time in needless worry, over difficult days and fear of delays, why not try Novum. A high-grade ethical product with an open formula. Recommended by doctors and nurses. Complete relief. Quick sure and effective.

Made in 3 strengths.

Price: per container of 21 capsules of ordinary strength of NOVUM, Rs. 12-8-0; per container of 63 tablets, of strong NOVUM (Forte) tablets, Rs. 21-0-0; price per container of 21 red capsules, special extra strong strength, Rs 50-0-0.

Also available in "special injection form" for advanced and unyielding cases of female complaints.

Take 'Novum' at the first sign of delay—and see how comfortably you sail through your difficult days!

Available at all druggstores.

ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR describing a few of our outstanding products and our "Free Medical Advice Department".

NOVUM

A Product of

HERING & KENT

P. O. Box No. 323.
Opp. Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay. Phone: 24297

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sists of a vocabulary of 850 words : 400 general nouns, 150 adjectives, 100 "operators" (verbs, participles, pronouns, etc.), and 200 names of picturable things. There are subsidiary lists of words for the use of technicians and specialists in various fields. The words have been selected because of their co-operative utility, rather than their frequency of usage. The syntax of Basic is that of normal English. Its proponents claim that it is ideal both as a simple and easily learned auxiliary language, and as a rational introduction to unlimited English. Though the system was given a strong impetus when it was referred to by Prime Minister Churchill at Harvard, it remains to be seen what response will be forthcoming from the rest of the world to a proposal for an auxiliary language based on English.

But whereas progress toward a true auxiliary language has been slow, the war has brought about a veritable revolution in the teaching and dissemination of existing languages. The emergency need for thousands of service men could speak not only the leading European languages, but also the intricate and little-known tongues of Malaya, the Far East, and the Pacific islands, gave an opportunity to a new system of teaching practice known as linguistic science, which the United States has taken the lead through the pioneer efforts of anthropologist Franz Boas. The new system has passed with flying colors its test applications in short, intensive Army and Navy courses at selected American universities, and its proponents feel that it will make the learning of several languages common practice after the war.

The development of methods by which languages may be learned quickly and easily will do much to bring about greater understanding among the peoples of the world, and by demonstrating this through concrete experience the advantages of spoken intercourse between races should eventually lead to acceptance of the principle of an auxiliary language.

———:O:———

THE MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

In the May, 1945, issue of this journal we wrote in an article headed "Menace of Foreign Capital" as under :

"It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatmaji's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50 : 50 at least on 70 : 30 or 75 : 25 basis."

In an *A. P.* message published in Calcutta newspapers on the 18th December, Sir Miles Thomas, Managing Director of the Nuffield organization was reported to have arrived at Karachi and said that "in conjunction with the Birla business, they had floated a three-million-pound company for the production of Indian cars made by Indians for India." Another message of the same news agency published in Calcutta on the 24th December announced that "Messrs Tatas and Imperial Chemical Industries are going ahead with a joint scheme" for starting a dyestuffs industry. It is thus clear that our prophecy has been fulfilled and India is now faced for the first time during nearly 200 years of British rule with an issue that, unless manfully handled, will perpetuate her foreign yoke. Ranade was strongly opposed to the inflow of foreign capital. Gopal Krishna Gokhale preferred our minerals lying unworked to their being worked with foreign capital. Surendranath Banerjea was of the opinion that the bondage of foreign capital was far worse than polit subjugation. Bepin Chandra Pal in addressing stude meetings in College Square, Calcutta, shuddered at idea of India becoming the happy hunting ground foreign capitalists.

It is lamentable that present-day Indian leader is chary of treading on the corns of Indian big b ness. After our previous article was published in journal, Mahatmaji disapproved of Indian industrial going to Britain and America apparently with a v to import foreign capital. But now comes the harrow revelation of combine after combine being formed foreigners. Ireland repeatedly spurned exactly sim offers from British capitalists and that is why she been able to come out of the clutches of Britain. creation of foreign vested interests within the cou which is in danger of being a second China was poi out by us in the May issue. An example of this is except *The Nationalist* and *Advance* no other newsp in Calcutta has spoken a word on this unholy alli The chief defect of such combination is that the cou cannot fight it with the same zeal as it can when concern is totally foreign. India can now be indust ised to her maximum capacity with her own capital regards technical skill foreigners may be employed the beginning as by the Tatas in their steel works.

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 25, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar
Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER :

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXVIII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JULY TO DECEMBER
1945

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8 ; Foreign Rs. 14-8.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page
All-India Rabindranath Memorial Committee (*illust.*)	244
America on Verge of Complete Rural Electrification (*illust.*) *USOWI*	296
Art and Life S. I. Clerk	299
Banking Bill, The U. S. Nayani	282
Bengal Famine and the Problems It Raises, The Bijay Bihari Mukharji	387
Book Reviews	46, 110, 169, 241, 314, 392
Breeding of Fresh Water Fish of Bengal (*illust.*) H. K. Mookerjee	87
Bribery and Corruption in India H. C. Mookerjee	203
Britain's New Pledge for Speedy Self-Rule in India Taraknath Das	351
Call of the Countryside in Modern Poetry Pradyumna C. Joshi	289
Capture of Karachi C. L. Mariwalla	162
Children's Museum, The (*illust.*) Mrs. Lesley Blanch	27
Civil Liberties in India during Peace and War S. V. Puntambekar	17
Comment and Criticism Chemical Fertilisers *versus* Compost	229
Lingua Franca for India	379
Cooper Union of New York (*illust.*) *USIS*	372
Decimalization of Weights and Measures H. L. Ray	377
Demand for Full Employment, The Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	275
Early History of Agriculture in Bengal Devajyoti Burman	157
Economic Planning in India K. K. Gajria	237
Education and Educators in the Land of Socialism Sudhansu Bimal Mookerji	146
Foreign Periodicals	60, 122, 183, 254, 329, 404
Future of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, The Bijay Bihari Mukharji	37
Goals of Social Reconstruction Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	79
Government of London, The (*illust.*) William A. Robson	152
Hindu Marriage Reforms Roma Chaudhuri	104
History of Land Revenue Settlement in Bengal Debajyoti Burman	304, 359
Holiday in America, A (*illust.*) Sunil Prokash Shome	98
House of Lords, The (*illust.*) George Christ	103
Human Freedoms S. V. Puntambekar	141
Hydro-Electricity in India A. M. Zahoorul Huq	226
Imperfect Report, An Kali Charan Ghosh	107
Indian Periodicals	53, 116, 176, 247, 321, 398
Indian Siberia, An (*illust.*) Uma Charan Patnaik	91
Indian Womanhood (*illust.*)	102, 222
India's Needs Presented for Anglo-U.S. Loan Negotiations	384
Indonesian Ferment K. K. Gajria	375
Indo-Saracenic Architecture of Ahmedabad (*illust.*) S. I. Clerk	95
Kaka Mahashaya (*illust.*) Bisvesvar Chatterji	243
Kandhas of the Hills, The (*illust.*) Uma Charan Patnaik	214
Kautilya, The Indian Machiavelli D. R. Dutt	382
Labour Party (*illust.*) Essenjee	301
Last Wavell Proposal, The A. K. Ghosal	352
Lingua Franca for India Md. Shahidullah	106
London Letter : The General Election Major D. Graham Pole	139
"Looking Back"—II Kali Charan Ghosh	44
Madura (*illust.*) L. N. Gubil	150
Mala Uralis of Periyar, The (*illust.*) K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy	33
Maurya Empire Santosh Kumar Basu	230
National Trust, The (*illust.*) Claud Golding	223
Note on the Post-War Educational Development in India, A S. Datta	208
Notes	1, 63, 125, 187, 259, 335
Ogale, Gopal Anant (*illust.*) T. V. Parvate	155
On South Indian Turban (*illust.*) L. N. Gubil	291
Origin of Sericulture in Kashmir M. Ganju	224
Our Economic Future in the Light of the Statement on Industrial Policy P. A. Wadia	21
"Paaladas" of the Asokan Edicts T. Bhujanga Rao	374
Peep into the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram, A (*illust.*) R. V. Rao	370
Perennial Philosophy and Raja Rammohun Roy K. Kaliana Swami	149
Place of Agriculture in World Economy Krishna Prasanna Mukerji	206
Present Cloth Situation and Cloth Rationing in Bengal, The Bimal Chandra Sinha	29
Present Political Situation, The Sastri, Wadia, Natarajan and Petit	355
Reorganisation of the Philosophy Courses, The P. T. Raju	233
Research : The Foundation Stone of American Industrial Success (*illust.*) *USOWI*	367
Revivalist, A St. Nihal Singh	42
Role of Turkey in European Affairs Sushil Chandra Singh	219
Russia and the Problem of the Straits J. Sen	356
Socialism and Gandhism Anath Gopal Sen	277
Soviet Women in the Great Patriotic War N. Sevrikov	344

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Page
Survey of the Far Eastern Question, A Mahmood Ahmed Khan	308
Terracottas from Kausambhi, The (*illust.*) Satish Chandra Kala	148
Tokyo, Capital of Japan (*illust.*) *USOWI*	294
Tolstoi, Tagore, Rolland Subhendu Ghose	385
TVA Model for the Reconstruction of India (*illust.*) Kamalesh Ray	29
Under the Dome of St. Paul's (*illust.*) J. R. Glorney Bolton	154
Value of a School Garden, The Usha Biswas	167
War-Time Banking in India K. P. Thakur	284
Wavell Offer, The D. N. Banerjee	82
Where Three Seas Meet (*illust.*) S. C. Bhattacharya	219
World and the War, The (*illust.*) Kedar Nath Chatterji	16, 78

INDIAN PERIODICALS

	Page
Age of Kalidasa	325
August the Fifth	250
Botanical Research and Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur	323
Education Among Tribal People	252
Edward Carpenter	179
End of War, The	250
English Tradition	119
Fisheries in India	58
Folk-Songs at Gujerat	324
French Contribution to World Culture, The	400
Freud's Contribution to the Problem of Personal Development	326
Indian Chronology	56
International Uneasiness	321
Iron Image with Feet of Clay, An	398
Is Nationalization Possible Without National Government	177
Labour Wins	176
No More Windfalls in Apple Orchards	57
Pacific War, The	54
Pakistan Means Continuation of British Rule	399
Peace That Comes, The	117
Pherozshah Mehta, Sir	321
Reminiscences of an Artist	401
Retrospect	118
Rothenstein, Sir William—A Friend	53
Shakespeare in War Time, Meaning of	55
State, The	398
Tagore's Analysis of Hindu-Moslem Relations	247
Tennessee Valley Authority	178
Thoreau at Walden	116
Unconscious, The	180
What Price Racial Hate?	247
Wind and the Whirlwind, The	321

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

	Page
Art Crafts of Ireland, The	60
Better Economic Condition Will Guarantee Future World Peace	184
England, Ireland and India	404
Havoc of War, The	186
History in Modern Dress	258
How India Aided the United Nations at War	329
India at San Francisco	183
Indianization of China, The	406
Indian Students in America	405
India To-day	60
International Language, An	331
Islam Led the World in Science and Art	185
New Attitude in Education, A	255
Oriental Cultural Centre in London, An	123
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano	124
Russian's View of India, A	254
Social Relations of Science, The	332
Sun Gun	256
Vocational Guidance for Young Persons in Sweden	122
Wavell Proposals, The	404

NOTES

	Page
Aborigines and Backward Classes in Bihar	10
Aborigines—the Forgotten People of India	10
Administrative Implications of the Wavell Offer	2
Administrator on Indian Civilisation, An	347
Agricultural Prices and Problem of Stocks	71
American Review of India's Coming Election, An	343
Another Instance of Petty-fogging Highhandedness	9
Anti-American Propaganda in India	202
Anti-Bengali Move of the Utkal University	70
Anti-Indianism in South Africa	11
Anti-Indian Propaganda in America	67
Appointments in the Archaeological Survey	70
Arab League Opposed to Pakistan	261
(Sir) Archibald Rowlands on Corruption	262
Atom Bomb, The	125
Bengal and Punjab and Mr. Rajagopalachari	77
Bengal Cloth Famine Viewed from Delhi	77
Bernard Shaw on Democracy	68
Black Deeds of White Men	11
Breakdown, The	6
Britain Using Japs and Indian Troops for Suppressing Indo-China Nationalists	338
British Diplomacy in Palestine	339
British Elections, The	63
British Empire a Trading Empire	126
British Export Drive of Consumer Goods to India	267
British Officers Prefer to Quit India?	196
British Policy in Asia	343
British "Trusteeship"	126
Burma Rice Trade	5
Calcutta Corporation Strike	341
Capitalist Ownership of Newspapers	274
(Mr.) Casey's Attempt to Reform Bengal Administration	272
"Caste Hindus"	15
Caste System Among the Muslims	135
Clive on Corruption	263
Coming Famine, The	200
Communal Implications of the Wavell Offer	1
Congress and the Elections	188
Congress Protests Against Scaling Down	189
Corruption in Bengal	74
Damodar Valley Multipurpose Project	199
Danger of Self-Determination	3
Death for Devotion to Duty	8
Development of Fisheries in India	14
Development of Sunderban Fisheries	14
Difference in Hindu-Muslim Culture	134
Distinctive Features of Western Civilisation	347
Document on Indian Settlement in South Africa, A	271
Educational Progress in Ceylon	137
Election Prospects for the League	340
Elections, The	266
Employment to be Alternative or Additional?	274
End of World War No. 2, The	125
English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy	274
Enhancement of Sales Tax in Bengal	15
Enlightened British Opinion on Jinnah	135
Export of Food and Cloth and the Consequences	4

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

		Page
Extent of the Indo-Chinese Movement, The	Muslim Rights in Minority Areas	338
Fakir of Ipi Compares Jinnah with Lawrence of Arabia	Need for Irrigation in Bengal	
Fear of Further Exploitation	Need for Medical Relief for Indians in East Asia	341
Finance for Building Houses	Neglect of Bengal Fisheries	4
Fish, the Second Protective Food of Bengal	Nehru's Blue Print for Free India	266
Fixation of Agricultural Prices	New Wavell Proposals	76
Four Judges' Statement on the Draft Hindu Code, The	No Arab Support for Pakistan	71
Freedom or Slavery for Asia	No Capital Equipment from U. K. and U. S. A.	
Freedom from Want in India	Outrage on Asia Should Stop	12
(Mr.) French on Bengal Policies	Pacism *versus* the Gestapo	187
(Mr.) French on Congress	P. E. N. Secretary on Indian Demonstrations	71
French Role in Indo-Chinese Movement	Plea for an All-Bengal Electrical Grid, A	195
Future of Colonial People	Plight of Indians in Burma and Malaya	195
Future of Western Civilisation	Police Partisanship in Criminal Investigation	338
General Election in India	Post-War Development Scheme	6
Government and Scientific Research	Post-War World, The	346
Government Communique on Calcutta Events	Power Politics Behind Middle-East Oil	133
Government of India's Mineral Policy	Press Advisers Must Go	349
Government of India's Mineral Policy in Action	Profiteering in Education	336
Government of India's Oil Policy	Prospects of Defeating the League	129
Government's Gold Mine—the Printing Press	Puckle on Britain's Duty to India	130
Growing Population and Food Problem	Punishing Corrupt Officials	12
Has Muslim League Grown in Strength ?	Quit India and the Official Economic Plans	5
Hindu-Muslim Tension	Raisman Champions Birth Control	72
(Dr.) Hora's Fishery Plan	Rationing Under a Bureaucracy	3
How Control Hits Handloom Weavers	Rehabilitation in Bengal	77
How Controls Encourage Black Markets	Religion Cannot be the Basis of Self-Determination	14
Imperialistic Science	Responsibility for the Breakdown, The	132
Implementing the Rowlands Committee Report	Reward for Yes Men	4
Import of Capital Goods for India	Rice Position in Bengal	263
Import of Foreign Goods	Road Transport Taxation in India	345
I. N. A.	Rowlands Committee Report and After	190
India—Key to America's Industrial Success	Rowlands on Reorganisation of Government Machinery	325
India Through Soviet Eyes	Rowlands on Tax Dodging	6
Indian Christians Condemn Communalism	Sanskrit Education in India	194
Indian Enterprise and Foreign Capital	(Sm.) Satyabati Devi	349
India's Historical Archives	Separation of Races in South Africa	193
India's Squander-Bug !	Separatism Once Begun Knows No End	8
Indo-Chinese Battle for Freedom	Simla Conference, The	337
Indonesia	Slavery in "Civilized" South Africa	259
Industrial Expansion in Indian States	Social Inequity : a Prime Cause for Islamic Proselytisation	268
Inter-Provincial Food Council	Social Welfare in Australia	194
Jinnah—A Creation of Congress Shortsightedness	Spotting Born Legislators	350
Jinnah Getting Subsidy for Pakistan ?	Statesmanly Approach, A	2
(Mr.) Jinnah Intransigent	Strangling of Indian Industry	12
Judges Against Codification, The	Students' Demonstration in Calcutta	13
Judges Against Daughter's Rights, The	Subhas Chandra Bose	13
Judges on Polygamy	Sudden Change Towards the Breakdown, The	337
(Miss) Jyotirmayee Gangulee	(Sir) Tarak Nath Palit's Bequest	198
League Arithmetic	Teaching by Broadcasts	347
Lessons of the Indian Civilisation	Tragedy in Asia, The	341
Lessons from the Frontier	Treatment of Indian Prisoners	193
Liquidation of Bengal Zemindaries	Typical Case in Bengal, A	237
Louis Fischer on Coming Indian Elections	Unholy Alliance Between Indian and British Industrialists	195
Lying Propaganda about India	Un-Indian Indian Army, The	68
Men and Supermen in Democracy	Unity in the Punjab Congress	75
Men with Authority	U. N. R. R. A. and India	4
Military Burden on India	U. N. R. R. A. Mission in India	74
Mis-Statement on Bengal Peasants' Income, A	Want of Protective Food in Bengal	265
Mothers-in-Law for British Industries !	War-Time Development of Banking in India	261
Muslim League and the Elections	Wavell Plan, The	136
Muslim Majlis Chief Refutes Jinnah's Claim	Yes-men and No-men in Parliaments	197
Muslim Nationalists to Fight League		134
Muslim People and the Capitalists		

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page
Banerjee, D. N.	
The Wavell Offer	82
Basu, Santosh Kumar	
Maurya Empire	230
Bhattacharya, S. C.	
Where Three Seas Meet (*illust.*)	219
Biswas, Usha	
The Value of a School Garden	167
Blanch, Mrs. Lesley	
The Children's Museum (*illust.*)	27
Bolton, J. R. Glorney	
Under the Dome of St. Paul's (*illust.*)	154
Bose, S. M.	
Chemical Fertilisers *versus* Compost	229
Burman, Debajyoti	
Early History of Agriculture in Bengal	157
History of Land Revenue Settlement in Bengal	304, 359
Chatterji, Kedar Nath	
The World and the War (*illust.*)	16, 78
Chattopadhyay, Kamaladevi	
Goals of Social Reconstruction	79
The Demand for Full Employment	275
Chaudhuri, Roma	
Hindu Marriage Reforms	104
Christ, George	
The House of Lords (*illust.*)	103
Clerk, S. I	
Art and Life	299
The Indo-Saracenic Architecture of Ahmedabad (*illust.*)	95
Das. Taraknath	
Britain's New Pledge for Speedy Self-Rule in India	351
Datta, S.	
A Note on the Post-War Educational Development in India	208
Dutt, D. R.	
Kautilya, The Indian Machiavelli	382
Essenjee	
Labour Party (*illust.*)	301
Gajria, K. K.	
Economic Planning in India	237
The Indonesian Ferment	375
Ganju, M.	
Origin of Sericulture in Kashmir	224
Ghosal, A. K.	
The Last Wavell Proposal	352
Ghosh, Kali Charan	
An Imperfect Report	107
"Looking Back"—II	44
Ghose, Subhendu	
Tolstoi, Tagore, Rolland	385
Golding, Claud	
The National Trust (*illust.*)	223
Graham Pole, Major D.	
London Letter—The General Election	139
Gubil, L. N.	
Madura (*illust.*)	150
On South Indian Turban (*illust.*)	291
Huq, A. M. Zahoorul	
Hydro-Electricity in India	226
Joshi, Pradyumna C.	
The Call of the Countryside in Modern Poetry	289
Kala, Satish Chandra	
The Terracottas from Kausambhi (*illust.*)	148
Khan, Mahmood Ahmed	
A Survey of the Far Eastern Question	308
Mariwalla, C. L.	
Capture of Karachi	162
Mookerjee, H. C.	
Bribery and Corruption in India	203
Mookerjee, H. K.	
Breeding of Fresh Water Fish of Bengal (*illust.*)	87
Mukerji, Krishna Prasanna	
Place of Agriculture in World Economy	207
Mukharji, Bijay Bihari	
The Bengal Famine and the Problems It Raises	387
The Future of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service	37
Navani, U. S.	
The Banking Bill	282
Parvate, T. V.	
Gopal Anant Ogale (*illust.*)	155
Patnaik, Uma Charan	
An Indian Siberia (*illust.*)	91
The Kandhas of the Hills (*illust.*)	214
Puntambekar, S. V.	
Civil Liberties in India During Peace and War	17
Human Freedoms	141
Rao, R. V.	
A Peep into the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram (*illust.*)	370
Raju, P. T.	
The Reorganisation of the Philosophy Courses	233
Ray, H. L.	
Decimalization of Weights and Measures	377
Ray, Kamalesh	
TVA Model for the Reconstruction of India (*illust.*)	29
Robson, William A.	
The Government of London (*illust.*)	152
Sen, Anath Gopal	
Socialism and Gandhism	277
Sen, J.	
Russia and the Problem of the Straits	356
Sevrikov, N.	
Soviet Women in the Great Patriotic War	218
Shahidullah, Muhammad	
Lingua Franca for India	106
Shome, Sunil Prokash	
A Holiday in America (*illust.*)	98
Shukla, Pt. Ravi Shanker	
Lingua Franca for India	379
Singh, St. Nihal	
A Revivalist	42
Singh. Sushil Chandra	
Role of Turkey in European Affairs	212
Sinha, Bimal Chandra	
The Present Cloth Situation and Cloth Rationing in Bengal	23
Sastri, Sreenivas and others	
The Present Political Situation	355
Swami, K. Kaliana	
Perennial Philosophy and Raja Rammohun Roy	143
Tampy, K. P. Padmanabhan	
The Mala Uralis of Periyar (*illust.*)	33
Thakur, K. P.	
War-Time Banking in India	284
USIS	
Cooper Union of New York (*illust.*)	372
USOWI	
America on Verge of Complete Rural Electrification (*illust.*)	296
Research : The Foundation Stone of American Industrial Success (*illust.*)	367
Tokyo, Capital of Japan (*illust.*)	294
Wadia, P. A.	
Our Economic Future in the Light of the Statement on Industrial Policy	21

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Abul Kalam Azad and the Viceroy	63
Akihito Tsugu-no-Miya, Crown Prince of Japan	294
Big Three Conference in session at Potsdam	227
Boulder Dam	307
Breeding of Fresh Water Fish of Bengal (*3 illustrations*)	88-90
B-29 Superfortresses in the Marianas ready for attack on Japan	125
Children's Museum, The (*4 illustrations*)	27-28
Clinton Engineer Works at Oak Ridge where atomic bomb production is carried on	383
Cooper Union of New York (*6 illustrations*)	372-373
C-74 Globemaster, the world's largest land-based passenger plane	335
DDT used at the Jones Beach near New York City	383
Delegates to the U.N.C.I.O. at San Francisco	102
Desolate Shore (*in colours*) Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	125
Du Pont Research Laboratories (*4 illustrations*)	367-369
Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram (*3 illustrations*)	370-371
Grandmother's Tomb (*in colours*) Sailendra Kumar Mukherji	259
Hirohito, Emperor of Japan	294
Holiday in America, A (*7 illustrations*)	99-102
Honey Sellers, The (*in colours*) Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury	335
House of Lords, The The Chamber of the House of Lords	103
The Victoria Tower of the House of Lords	103
Indian Siberia, An	92
Indira Devi Chaudhurani	102
Indo-Saracenic Architecture of Ahmedabad, The (*7 illustrations*)	95-98
In Expectation (*in colours*) Tarapada Biswas	63
Jinnah and the Viceroy	63
Keijo, capital of Korea	259
Khond women	216
Klamath Irrigation Project	307
Labour Ministers	303
London (*4 half-plates*)	
(*4 illustrations*)	140-141
Madura (*3 illustrations*)	152-153
Mahatma Gandhi surrounded by pressmen and the public after his interview with H. E. the Viceroy	63
Mahendra's voyage to Ceylon (*in colours*) Khagen Roy	
Mala Uralis of Periyar, The (*9 illustrations*)	
Mao Tse-Tung and Patrick J. Hurley at the Chungking airfield	
National Trust, The (*2 half-plates*)	
(*2 half-plates*)	
(*3 illustrations*)	
New U.S. military cargo plane, the Fairchild C-82 Packet	
Ogale, Gopal Anant	
Okinawa civilians return to their villages	
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Simla Conference	
Paranjpe, Miss Kusum D.	
Pontoon causeway to the shore from the dock of the artificial harbour, set up off the Normandy beaches	
Queen and Her Attendants, The (*in colours*) Priyaprasad Gupta	
Rabindranath Tagore	
Ramananda Chatterjee	
Samuel G. Hibben demonstrating the "cold light" of a firefly	
Saudi Arabian delegates at San Francisco	
Spillway tunnels of Fontana dam to reduce river erosion	
Terracottas from Kausambhi, The (*7 illustrations*)	
Tokyo, Capital of Japan (*6 illustrations*)	
(*2 half-plates*)	
Turban, On South Indian (*12 illustrations*)	
TVA Model for the Reconstruction of India Diagram of Damodar Water Control System	
Farmers of the Tennessee Valley have restored the soil's ability to produce by using superphosphate fertilisers produced in TVA plants	
Millions of acres of the Tennessee Valley in an eroded and impoverished condition	
The four turbine casings along the Wheeler Dam in Alabama	
Under the Dome of St. Paul's	
U. S. aircraft-carrier steams through the Pacific	
U. S. *S. Missouri*	
Where Three Seas Meet (*12 illustrations*)	
(Miss) Wu Yi-fang and Ramaswami Mudaliar at a public session of the Conference at San Francisco	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Jupiter Terrace of Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park. This picture belongs to the collection of William H. Jackson, pioneer photographer and explorer, whose photographs were instrumental in inducing the U.S. Government to make it a national park



These rugged mountains are typical of the unspoiled wilderness of the Yellowstone National Park

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HUEN TSANG

(A rare and ancient portrait from a Chinese monastery)

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Courtesy : O. C. Gangoly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1946

VOL. LXXIX, No. 2 WHOLE No. 470

NOTES

The New Central Legislature

Old wine, re-processed, has been poured into the old bottle of the Central Assembly. As yet there are no signs of a new orientation in the outlook of the legislators, whether elected or nominated, excepting in the matter of the election of the Prsident. In that affair, officialdom of the die-hard variety openly sided with the reactionaries, and some of the nominated showed their distrust of the war-time bureaucracy by refusing to obey the official directive either openly or in secret. Perhaps the thinly veiled incitement to reaction that is still being continued by the legatees of that Pillar of Wisdom—hollow, wooden and filled with dry-rot—that propped up Imperialism in India, has at last roused even the Moderate and the Jo-hookum to a sense of realities. However, to continue with the main topic, apart from this little side issue nothing has emanated from the Central Assembly to show that the old order has changed or even that it is about to change. Maybe it is too early as yet to assess the possibilities of the future of this new Assembly. We only hope that soon we shall be given unmistakable proof that those that are functioning as our mouthpieces at the centre are fully alive to the fact that the old tactics were completely barren of any beneficial results and that the country looks forward to them for positive action bearing concrete results. Otherwise there is no justification in keeping up this show, short-lived though it might be.

The task before the country is truly colossal. Politically the country was dragooned into accepting terms that bore comparison with mediaeval autocracies. Economically there is more poverty and destitution in India now than there ever has been in our history. Corruption on an appalling scale has swept like a plague all over the country. Even to-day in Calcutta we hear rumours about the hushing up of a case running into crores in which officialdom and the last League Ministry was involved. Stories of atrocities and oppression that match the records of the Hitlerian regime are coming to light, and they all call for investigation and retribution. All these wrongs have to be righted and the first move must come from the legislatures. The responsibility on the legislators is enormous and the sooner the fullest realization of this fact dawns on them the better for the country. For time is of the essence even for an Assembly that will function in the interim period.

Lord Wavell's Speech

There was nothing new or novel in Lord Wavell's speech as he himself stated in the introductory portion. He has frankly called for co-operation from all sides, though he has not indicated how that is possible while permanent officialdom continues to fish in the troubled waters of communalism. Public distrust of the executive has been enhanced by what has transpired in the Central Assembly elections, specially in the areas where corrupt and reactionary members of the executive have been entrenched through the tolerance, even open assistance, of the higher executive who were in league with the reactionaries. Unless corruption and totalitarian tactics are put down with a strong hand, it is futile to expect any whole-hearted co-operation from those who have suffered agonies at the hand of the bureaucrats. Reactionary time-servers can always be bought at a price, as was so very evident in India under the League-Linlithgow coalition, but the exactions of such gentry tend to rise higher and higher in a steep endless curve and it is futile to expect the country to continue paying the black-mail, as arranged by its irresponsible rulers, and go on co-operating cheerfully. We know Lord Wavell was no assenting party to such underhand arrangements, but unless he is armed with authority from the British Parliaments, and is thus able to declare when an end would be put to political bribery and a genuine attempt will be made to clear the Augean stables of communal India by forthright action, he can expect little in return for his labours.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Regarding his request for moderation in speeches and the remarks he made on the generation of bitterness and animosity in the country, we only wish he could call his executive together and exhort them in the same way. Police and oppression have now become synonyms so far as the nationalists are concerned and as for the executive, where is the civil servant who is actuated with a genuine motive of service to India or its people, or any other motive excepting self-interest on a broad-base? There can be no unilateral arrangement either in co-operation or in moderation, and if there is any real desire for both on the part of the Government then strong and apparent action is needed from the centre in curbing and disciplining the Executive and their henchmen and in punishing the delinquents.

The Parliamentary Delegation

The Delegation has come to India at a time when the country is attempting to recover from the effects of drinking to the dregs the cup of bitterness filled to the brim with humiliation and oppression by British officialdom and their henchmen. Six millions starved to death and another sixty at least brought to sheer destitution in the name of military exigency, tens of thousands imprisoned for wanting liberty, millions oppressed, hundreds of thousands crushed down by fire-arms and bludgeons and rape, loot and arson let loose on the country in the name of Law and Order, that is the record of this country since August 1942. If after this there is any friendship between the Indian and the Briton, it would be because the Indian possesses a limitless capacity to forgive and forget. All might yet go well if the Delegation has the power to recognise Truth when they see her and the ability to tell their fellow Parliamentarians about the realities that they have gathered.

We know the Labour Ministry is facing titanic and vital problems at home, and we know of the almost unsurpassable morass in which they have been plunged by their predecessors in power. But they can make a gesture of good will by stopping the official campaign of lies, maligning India, that has been going on for years abroad and by telling their own people about the true nature of things relating to India. If the Parliamentary Delegation can even do that when they return then they would have achieved much.

Mr. Mavlankar Elected President of Central Assembly

The Central Assembly chamber resounded with cries of *Jai Hind* when the result of the contest for presidentship was announced and Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, the Congress nominee, was declared elected President by 66 votes against 63 secured by Sir Cowasji Jahangir, the Muslim League nominee who was supported by the Government and the British group. The *Hindustan Times* reports that Mr. Jinnah, who was awaiting the result in the lobby, probably believing that his party had won, walked in hoping to be cheered as the hero. When he found the Congress benches cheering instead, he stood in the gangway, stunned, motionless, a sadder, but not perhaps a wiser man. The special representative of the *Hindustan Times* says that the result was unexpected. There are several unknown heroes who helped the Congress to win. T shall ever remain nameless, but what they did t did for the sake of their conscience and to uphold moral cause which an unholy alliance between Edward Benthall and Mr. Jinnah had sought to put jeopardy. But there are two known heroes, Sir Arde Dalal and Colonel Himmat Singhji (nominated mem representing the armed forces of India) declined to their votes. The Congress benches cheered th declaration which was as strong a public protest as one could have lodged in their position against privy pact the Government had formed with League to cheat the elected part of the House of right to elect a President from among its own rank

It is also revealed that Sir Edward had ente into this unholy pact without even consulting the o members of the Council. The general opinion in lobby was reported to be that Sir Edward Benthall proved his unfitness to hold office in the Execut Council or to be the Leader of the House. He inspi and entered into an unholy alliance with a commu party and thereby had forfeited the right to hold cha of a Government department. Although Sir Edwar action looked bad, it was quite in keeping with British policy pursued in India at the present mome

Official Partisanship in Elections

Two significant events in connection with Bengal elections have been reported. The first to place in a village named Gaffargaon in the district Mymensingh where Nawabzada Liaqat Ali, Sir Naz uddin, ex-Premier and Mr. H. S. Suhrawar ex-Minister of Civil Supplies, had gone to make elect propaganda. When the train carrying the League lead was nearing the station, thousands of Muslim peasa belonging to the Krishak Proja Party, stopped t train and asked the League leaders to quit. T demonstrators were peaceful, they did not resort any sort of violence. Police aid for the League lead who seem to be quite unpopular in the locality, ready. Armed police "rescued" the leaders and in t melee fired several rounds of shot which injured s of the demonstrators. The police, thereafter, took League leaders to the appointed place of the meet cordoned them off from the demonstrators and hel the meeting to be conducted peacefully by remain on guard outside. Whenever demonstrators sought approach the pandal, they were chased away by police. The overzealousness of an Additional Dist Magistrate of the district in providing police aid League propaganda has been reported. It was in district that the supporters of Sir A. H. Ghuznavi w prevented by the League *goondas* from coming to polling booth. Whoever tried to help Sir Abdul Ha was brutally assaulted, some severely. All efforts Sir Abdul Halim to make the Executive move to s League hooliganism had failed.

The second incident occurred at Bhairab Ba Railway Station in the same district. When Humayun Kabir, who had been on election tour, reached that station, he was mercilessly belabour injured by some *goondas* belonging to the Mus League. Here, as in the case cited above, the Lea was the aggressor and the Nationalist Muslim, defender. Consistently with their policy, police st aside as silent spectators, so did the station staff. B the incidents took place in broad daylight.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now, is the Government neutral in the matter of elections? We have heard verbose assurances given by highly placed officials, including the Governor, declaring the Government's desire to remain neutral and to prevent hooliganism. We do not yet know if these oral assurances have been followed up by secret instructions of the Hallet circular type. Indian experience of British administration in India is that the views expressed by the Viceroy or the Governors in this country may not *ipso facto* mean Government's intentions. It is the permanent Executive that really counts and it is their views that ultimately prevail. The people know it. They feel it every day. Therefore, addressing the permanent Executive, we wish to put forward a few straight questions.

The elections are going to be held with an inordinate haste thus putting a heavy handicap on the Congress. Shortness of time, corruption of officialdom and black market money have been the three great factors which have put formidable obstacles in the way of a free and fair election. Before the Congress could look about, elections are going to be held. Is this haste unintentional?

What is the real role of the permanent Executive in this matter? Are they taking direct action or not? Well ahead of the Central elections, the *Dawn*, the official organ of the Muslim League, gave a clear directive in undisguised language for violence and suborning. For far less provocation nationalist newspapers have been severely penalised and the Congress party arraigned. In this case, in spite of the fact that leaders of the calibre of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru drew attention to the comments of the *Dawn*, the Government kept silent.

Coming to our home province, we get direct examples of how the plan of the Executive is functioning. Two instances have been given above and it is needless to multiply. In the first case, where the League programme was held up, the Executive *summarily used firearms on the peasants who did not belong to the League*, although there was no question of violence on any League leader. In the case of Nationalist Muslims where the Leaguers have used utmost violence, the Executive have not taken any action whatsoever. This is by no means the first or second, or even the hundredth instance of such purposeful inaction.

Let the Executive take off its mask and tell us the truth. If the intention of the Executive is to maintain neutrality, the officials who fired upon the unarmed demonstrators in Mymensingh must be prosecuted. In case they really want that elections should proceed along constitutional lines, then all the instances where the Leaguers have used violence must immediately be taken in hand and severe punishment dealt out both to the official delinquents and the criminals who are thus trying to use fascist methods in foiling a so-called democratic election. The Executive cannot have it both ways. The old methods of hypocrisy, so much loved by the British bureaucrats, can no longer be allowed to function unchallenged.

Verdict on the League

The report of Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal envoy in India, submitted to the U.S. Government after his return from this country and so far kept secret, has now been made known. The report covers nearly eighty typed pages. It frankly admits that the Indian National Congress is not a fascist body, that Muslim League objections to self-government in India are not valid, that there were more riots in League provinces and that the acceptance of such principles as advocated by the Muslim League in the Bombay Property Tax Agitation would result in anarchy. The only instance of any importance cited by the League as infringement of Muslim economic rights is the Bombay Property Tax. This tax was criticised generally on the ground that property taxes should be left to municipal governments but the League attacked it on communal grounds. Explaining the League attitude, Mr. Phillips says, "But seriously to contend that because Muslims happened to form a large percentage of the landowners in Bombay, the tax should not have been levied, or that the funds realised should be spent for the benefit of Muslims alone is hardly reasonable. Acceptance of such principles would result in anarchy."

In respect of League allegations of misrule against the Congress, Mr. Phillips says:

> "It must be noted that the sweeping allegations contained in Mr. Jinnah's 'Deliverance Day' resolution are not supported by the evidence accumulated and presented by the various Muslim League reports, even if these were validated. The charge that the Congress Governments did their best to destroy Muslim culture rests principally upon a few isolated instances of the elimination of Urdu from school curriculums and such measures as the Wardha Scheme of basic education, or the use of certain text-books. The case of economic or political discrimination is even weaker.
>
> "That communal disturbances assumed alarming proportions during the year of the Congress Ministries is also not based on facts. In fact the Hindu-Muslim riots were frequent in Bengal and the Punjab during the same period and were more numerous in the Punjab than in any one Congress Province. An unbiased judgment would consider the disturbances as outcome of growing cleavage between Muslims and Hindus which owed its development quite as much as to the communal spirit emphasised by the Muslim League as to any other single factor."

The observations of a few of the diehard administrators may here be cited. Lord Linlithgow, in a statement made shortly after the Congress Ministers resigned from office, pointed out to the "distinguished record" of public achievement during the last two and a half years. "That the provinces," he said, "had conducted their affairs on the whole with great success, no one can question."

Lord Zetland, the then Secretary of State for India, regretted that 'the ministries, which have with so much zeal been carrying on the government of their great provinces, and tackling with every resource the many problems with which administration has naturally brought them into contact, should have found it necessary to withhold further services for their country.'

Sir Harry Haig, Governor of the United Provinces during Congress regime, speaking of the conditions in that province, complimented his Ministers specially on their handling of the communal problem. He said, "In dealing with questions raising communal issues, the Ministers in my judgment normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair."

Even an implacable enemy of the Congress, Mr. L.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Amery had admitted although grudgingly that the Congress Ministers governed "not unsuccessfully."

Mr. Phillips made it clear that the purpose of the Congress was not to set itself up as a fascist government, but to unify India in order to gain the objective of independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution. He says that Mr. Jinnah's accusation that the 'sole aim of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country' is his interpretation of the fact that the Congress continued to pursue a policy of expansion by endeavouring to win adherents from all elements of the Indian population. Mr. Jinnah was mortally afraid that complete success of this attempt of the Congress would have resulted in the dissolution of the Muslim League and other communal and sectional organisations.

Phillips on Separate Electorates

Mr. Phillips continues to say :

The Muslim leaders have not proved that Muslim interests as such were endangered by Congress rule. What does appear evident from a survey of the years of provincial autonomy is that the Muslim League as a political party will not have an opportunity to gain control of the Government but will continue to occupy, except in a few provinces, the position of a minority in the assemblies ; in the Central Legislature also it can not hope to capture a majority of the seats. This is the real grievance of the Muslim leaders over the Congress attitude towards the states ; it explains the demand for Pakistan.

Discussing the future of the Hindu-Muslim problem the report says : The charges of discrimination brought against the Congress ministries, the continuous agitation during their two years of office, leading up to the celebration of "deliverance day," were an effective means of arousing the Muslims and gaining their support for the League. The recognition of this fact does not, obviously, do away with the minority problem, or contain any solution for it. The position of a large group of people destined for ever to have but a minor voice in the Government of their country still demands consideration.

If, however, it be granted that political alignments in the future are likely to be different from those which exist today, that the majority as constitued as at present is likely to split up into its component parts, the position of the Muslims takes on a different aspect.

Muslim objection to self-government for India on the ground that the Congress will continue to dominte political affairs are no longer valid. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that the Muslim League itself will be affected by changes in other political organisations. In the first place, the Muslim community as a political party has only an artificial unity. Like other religious groups it comprises various classes which have been more or less welded together politically by the device of a separate electorate. There is already evidence to indicate that Muslim workers and peasants are becoming increasingly aware of their unity with Hindus of the same class. The Muslims are beginning to realise that religion does not obliterate class distinctions or produce a community of interests.

Frantic attempts to maintain separate electorates in India are ceaselessly being made. There are clear indications that the framers of Indian constitution know what separate electorates really mean. Only the other day, a member of the British Parliament said that separate electorates on religious basis introduced in Liverpool or Glasgow would have the same result as prevail in India. Here we have seen that whenever any attempt at re-introduce joint electorates has been made, it has been stubbornly opposed sometimes openly sometimes under cover of the reactionary Muslims. In the Calcutta Municipal Act, separate electorates were grudgingly granted by Sir Surendranath Banerjea for a specified period only after which joint election automatically began to function. After some fifteen years separate electorates have been made a permanent feature of the Calcutta Municipal Act as soon as legislative power passed on to the hands of a reactionary group. We dare say that neither the Muslim League nor their patron the British Government will claim that separate electorates have improved the Calcutta Municipal administration in any way whatsoever. In Sind, we find the same story repeated. As soon as a progressive Ministry was formed there under Mr. Allah Bux joint electorates were re-introduced in local Board elections. After his removal, the Ministry of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayetullah again brought about the separate electorate. It seems, however, that this gentleman has grown wiser. He has declared his verdict against separate electorates and has said that unless this poison is removed, the Indian national life cannot function with health and vigour.

Thoughts on Pakistan

Sheikh Mahammad Abdullah, leader of Kashmir, has put a straight question to the Pakistanwalahs and has wanted to know how Pakistan will rescue Muslims from Hindu domination. He says that on the face of it, this argument that Pakistan will liberate Muslims appeals to the Muslims who are in the position of a minority. But there are provinces in India where they are in a majority and obviously they do not need Pakistan there. According to this style of argument, if it is needed at all, it is needed by Muslims of Madras, C.P., U.P. or Bihar. It is they who need being rescued from Hindu domination, if such rescuing business is at all necessary. Yet, Sheikh Abdullah points out, it is they who are being kept out of the orbit of Pakistan. The League leaders have merely advanced the argument of *Satana* or retaliation as a measure of enforcing Muslim rights in Hindu majority provinces. Sheikh Abdullah's comments are specially illuminating on this point. He has very ably cleared this argument of *Satana* in the following words :

The votaries of Pakistan, however, explain : Taking the instance of C. P. Muslims (who roughly constitute 6 per cent of the population) in the event of Hindus maltreating them, Pakistan would reply at once with reprisals taken against the Hindus in the Punjab or Sind. Is such a course of action possible ? Is it simply done ? In the first instance, the Punjab or Sind Government would be absolutely lacking in moral justification when asking hostages of the innocent Hindus living in the provinces. Secondly, though sympathy may often be expressed, sympathy always has limits. What are we the 8 crores

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Mussalmans doing to stop British tommy-guns from killing liberty-loving Indonesian Mussalmans or the Arabs of Palestine? The idea of treating the Hindus living in Pakistan as hostages for the sake of Muslims living in Hindustan is, therefore, manifestly absurd. Again, for the tortures suffered by a Muslim subject of C. P. it would serve as little consolation to him, if (assuming such a course of action were possible) a Hindu citizen of Lahore would receive a similar treatment at the hands of Muslim rulers of Pakistan. A thing like this is unheard of.

It follows consequently that Pakistan as a plan to rescue Muslims from the domination of Hindu majority would leave nearly 3 crores of honest, devout Mussalmans at the mercy of Hindus in the Hindu majority provinces where they really need being rescued.

Whom will Pakistan then help? Will it help Muslims in the Muslim-majority Provinces? Not politically. Because even with Pakistan established, a province like the Punjab cannot but have a composite Government representing both Hindus and Muslims. The Punjab Hindus with their advancement in trade, education etc., cannot simply be ignored. Comprising roughly 45 per cent of the population, they are bound to hold a strong position in the Government of their province and *this by the way, will make taking of hostages impossible.* Same is true of Sind, partly in the case of N.-W.F.P. and of course too true in the case of Bengal.

That the mere fact of allegiance to the same religion cannot by itself rule out all provincial rivalries or internal disputes, has also been elucidated by Sheikh Abdullah. He says that in spite of all Mussalmans being of one religion and of cultural unity, provincial animosities between the different units of Pakistan are bound to come to the forefront sooner than later. The Pathan for instance does not like the Punjabi and we know a good deal of the "Sind for the Sindhis" psychology. A weak Pakistan will thus be further weakened through provincial rivalries. Sheik Abdullah says:

> Actually it appears to me that politically we in India are reverting to the phase immediately after the fall of the Mughal Empire and just before the advent of the foreign rulers. The British Empire is falling too like the Mughal one and there is again visible the tendency to break up India into sovereign and semi-sovereign units. History is trying desperately to repeat itself.

Commenting on the economics of Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah says:

> Economically, Pakistan would be a losing concern. I am saying this not with a view to offend Mr. Jinnah by pointing out the utter impracticability of Pakistan but as a fact. Certainly, when Mr. Jinnah says we will know how to manage our finances, he is right but thereby he does not show that Pakistan would be a sound proposition economically. I hold with Mr. Jinnah that Pakistan cannot be denied only because it appears financially unsound. I am referring to its economic unsoundness for two reasons. In the first place, the inhabitants of Pakistan would be poor compared to the inhabitants of Hindustan with less chances for betterment, living at best on religious ego. Economically, Hindustan would dominate Pakistan just as the U.S.A. is doing with South America, which would eventually be domination on the political plane as well. How then is Pakistan a reply to Hindu Capitalists?

Origin of the Pakistan Idea

There is some dispute as to who first started the idea of Pakistan. It is often said to have been Sir Mahammad Iqbal. Mr. Edward Thompson has told us what Iqbal thought about Pakistan. He writes:

> In the *Observer* I once said that he supported the Pakistan plan. Iqbal was a friend, and he set my misconception right. After speaking of his own despondency at the chaos he saw coming 'on my vast undisciplined and starving land,' he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to the Moslem community. 'But I am the President of the Muslim League and therefore it is my duty to support it.'

Thompson says that he was astonished that certain official circles were keen on the Pakistan idea; he was still more astonished to find that some of the British 'Left' were beginning to be pursuaded to it. In his view, there is no surer way of plunging India into eternal civil war.

Thompson gives his own view on Mr. Jinnah and the two-nation theory, which we consider worth quoting:

> Hindus and Muslims are of the same blood and —as Sir George Forrest has pointed out in his *History of the Indian Mutiny*—'understand each others' systems' (as we who are birds of passage in India do not). They have found a bridge to each other before and may do so again. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, who now claims that there are two nations in India, one Hindu and one Muslim, has the same vernacular as Mr. Gandhi (Gujarati) and was once a Congressman, when he was the spokesman and hope of all who worked for Hindu-Muslim unity—just as in Britain the young Mr. Gladstone was the rising hope of the stern unbending Tories and Mr. Neville Chamberlain's father Joseph Chamberlain the rather more than rising hope of the fiery Radicals.
>
> At the opening general session of the First Round Table Conference it was Mr. Jinnah who made the most challenging demand for immediate recognition of India's status, and I well remember the excitement of an American journalist who rushed away shouting: 'I'm going to give England hell! Jinnah has voiced the united demand of India and your Prime Minister hasn't said a word in reply!'
>
> In my talk with Mr. Jinnah last October there was these exchange: there is no harm in quoting it, since it is what he has said so often and so often.
>
> "Two nations, Mr. Jinnah! Confronting each other in every province? every town every village?"
>
> "Two nations. Confronting each other in every province, every town, every village. That is the only solution."
>
> "That is a very terrible solution, Mr. Jinnah!"
>
> "It is a terrible solution. But it is the only one."
>
> I do not believe it, any more than I believe in its kindred and accompanying solution of 'Pakistan'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India and Indonesia

Contributing an article to the *Hindu,* Dr. Mohammad Hatta, Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, has addressed a few words to the people of India, whom, he says, "I look upon as my brothers." He says that this feeling of affection which he entertains for India is not only influenced by the close ties of friendship existing between him and many of our leaders for many years past, but also because of those historic connections between the two countries that go back to the very early days of history. He frankly admits that Indian civilisation moulded the course of Indonesian culture, and more recently every important move on the Indian political chess-board has engaged their full attention. Dr. Hatta writes :

> In our relations with the West we of India and Indonesia have fallen heirs to the same set of experiences. The history of our bondage started with submission to a trading company vested by its Government with monopolistic powers. In both our countries, therefore, the edifice of alien rule was erected on capitalistic trading basis. Then with the rise of industrial capitalism the control over the colony passed from the hands of the traders to the colonial Power. The colonial Power now took on the job of safeguarding the capital invested in its territories.
>
> Viewed from this angle it is easy to understand why liberalism and democracy—so highly prized in their own countries—were considered by the colonial Power as unsuited to colonies. The liberal and democrat turned an imperialist and became a colonial autocrat. If he had not done so, he would have been faced with the problem of native interests clashing with foreign capital.

Fascism in the Colonies

Dr. Hatta then gives an account of how fascism has developed in the colonies :

> Preservation and continuation of capitalistic exploitation by foreigners imposed on colonial Powers the necessity of autocratic control over huge population groups. Fascism and Nazism, although only apparent in Europe during the past two decades, have existed in the colonies from the very moment the colonies came into being. The *herrenvolk* theory, extolled by the Nazis, has been consistently dinned into the ears of native populations by their colonial rulers.
>
> Bearing all these factors in mind it is not a matter for surprise that India and Indonesia are putting up a struggle to oust capitalism and imperialism. Expansion of capitalism results in corresponding increase of imperialist greed so that every national movement aimed at the liberation of colonial territory must inevitably cross swords with capitalism. Capitalism in colonies is the simple explanation of imperialism in colonies.
>
> Although the Indonesian struggle for freedom is as old as Dutch colonialism a campaign on modern lines is the product of this century. In 1908 was born the political organisation known as "Budi Utama," its members being students of the medical college at Jockarta (Batavia). This organisation was of an intellectual character and sought to obtain for the Indonesians the same status as the Dutch, but this movement of intellectuals marks an important chapter in the history of Indonesia's political activity. It served to pave the way for founding a radical national party in 1913, "Sarikat Islam," which is a people's organisation numbering millions of members.
>
> At the start of Indonesian political consciousness the aim of the movement was the achievement of their objectives through co-operation with the Dutch. They believed that by working together in this fashion they would be able to induce the Netherlands Government to grant Home Rule to Indonesia; and Home Rule once achieved, the acquisition of full independence would automatically become possible.
>
> Such were the views of Indonesian Nationalists at that time. The world had just heard for the first time of the late President Wilson's slogan of the right of Self-Determination and had subsequently heard the pledge that the right was to be extended to all. Here in Indonesia the Netherlands Government in November, 1918 made a categorical promise in the *Volksraad* (Puppet Peoples Council), undertaking to introduce self-government at the earliest possible moment. Yet, not long afterwards the self-same Netherlands Government went back on its word and refused to carry out what it had promised.
>
> Thus it came about that the people of Indonesia lost faith in the goodwill of the Dutch. Then again when the Communist revolution was sweeping Russia, Holland too experienced a minor social upheaval caused by the Social Democrats and the Dutch repeated the promise of self-government to Indonesia. But as usual as soon as the danger passed the Dutch went back on their word.

Indian Example for Indonesia

Explaining how Indonesian national movement has gained inspiration from India, Dr. Hatta writes :

> This feeling of being cheated strengthened radicalism among the ranks of nationalists. Realising it was the usual procedure for colonial Powers to cheat their subject peoples, the Indonesian people cast a look around to see how other colonies were getting on. And staring them in the face was the nationalist non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi.
>
> The Indonesian students educated abroad saw with full clarity how futile it was for Indonesians to co-operate with their Dutch rulers. Indonesian aspirations to freedom ran counter to Dutch interests, which, to give one example, derived profits totalling over five hundred million guilders a year. The youth movement, therefore, advocated the policy of non-co-operation with the Dutch and the policy of self-help for Indonesians. They felt that if Indonesia wanted freedom she had to quit co-operation with the Dutch, for co-operation meant only self-deception for the Indonesians who were being exploited for the benefit of the Dutch.
>
> Influenced by the Indian non-co-operation movement and by representations made by Indonesian students abroad, the Indonesian nationalists began to base their struggle on the principle of non-co-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

operation. There was difference of course, not in objectives or the means employed but in the basis on which the struggle was conducted. Here the Indonesian movement did not have any of the religious background it had in India.

Since 1923 the Indonesian non-co-operation movement has progressed from strength to strength with corresponding opposition from the colonial Government. Subsequently, non-co-operation became the chief weapon of the Indonesian struggle. Those not in agreement were only the official class who favoured co-operation with the Dutch plus opposition in the *Volksraad.*

During that period the Dutch took a heavy toll of Indonesian nationalists. Thanks to the provision in the law code permitting action against those likely to 'endanger public peace,' the Dutch were able to extern many leaders for indefinite periods. In this matter no legal trials were necessary. The Governor-General dealt with all those who, in his opinion, were likely to endanger public peace.

It is common knowledge that the economic crisis of 1929 proved to be a strong incentive to the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe. But much faster was the rate at which Nazism stepped into the ranks of the Dutch in Indonesia, who had always acted autocratically. Governor-General De Jongh, sent here in 1931, openly admitted his Nazi sympathies. No surprise that the Dutchmen in Indonesian civil service, police and army followed suit.

With the advent of Nazi influence in colonial politics, the Netherlands Government began to force on Indonesia a policy under which, to the disadvantage of this country, we were unwillingly bound to an economic system devised by the Dutch. That was the beginning of neo-mercantilism. From then Indonesia's economy was made to fit into the needs of Netherlands' economic and industrial plan. According to this scheme, Indonesia was limited to small industries, small enterprises, small trades—everything being on a small scale. In effect therefore Indonesia was in the position of a small town branch of a big business organisation, Holland being the head office.

Although Indonesians were bent on achieving economic orientation centring on the Pacific they were not given the chance. There arose in their minds the conviction that Indonesia was nothing else but mere chattel used for the benefit of the Dutch. And at the time the Dutch surrendered to Japan, the same impression persisted in the minds of the Indonesians.

Indonesia Looks Up to India

After narrating the difficulties for the period of Jap occupation. Dr. Hatta concludes his article with the following words :

'The Indonesian Republic exists *de facto* but we have not yet attained *de jure* recognition. Therefore, our national struggle is by no means over. We base our claim to Self-Determination on the Atlantic Charter which gives each people the right to choose the form of government it wants. We shall fight to the last ditch to win international recognition of our independence.

We in Indonesia sincerely hope that India will soon be free, all the more so in view of the fact that the question of freedom for our two lands is really one common question. When India achieves her independence and becomes free from British rule, Indonesian Independence will no longer be a problem. The small Dutch nation cannot overwhelm by force 70 million Indonesians ready and eager to defend their freedom with their last drop of blood.

Both India and Indonesia, each along its individual cultural line, are proceeding towards the realisation of the ideal of world brotherhood. Both are fully qualified to implement that ideal but it is essential that our right to Self-Determination be first recognised in order we may be in a position to contribute our best towards that ideal. The new world envisaged will not be stable unless it is based on principles of humanism. Therefore, let Indonesia and India work together and head towards the same direction as pioneers along the road of social justice.

Imperialism has so far succeeded in obstructing a physical contact between India and Indonesia through her accredited leaders, but have failed to stifle their voice of sympathy and friendship. India and Indonesia stand united on the rock of idealism which no Imperialist power can demolish.

Provincial Elections

Elections in two provinces, Assam and Sind, are now over. In both of them, Mr. Jinnah has lost heavily. In Assam, Congress has captured a majority of the seats and will now be in a position to form the Ministry independently of any other group.

In Sind, the situation continues to be intriguing. The party position in the Sind Assembly now stands as follows :

Muslim League	27
Congress	22
Nationalist Muslim	4
Syed Party	4
Europeans	3
Total	60

The Muslim League had put up 35 candidates of whom 27 have been returned. Congress put up 18 candidates all of whom have been returned. Mr. Syed had set up 14 candidates, four of whom have been returned. Of the Nationalist Muslims, Khan Bahadur Maula Bux, brother of Allah Bux, has been returned with three other followers.

It is now clear that the Muslim League cannot form the Ministry even with European support. Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Maulana Azad have gone to Karachi to discuss the election results.

Mr. Jinnah's position is now fully anomalous. Frontier Province has declared against him. The League in Assam, with a Muslim population of 33 per cent, had so far succeeded, through British help, to maintain a League Coalition Ministry in power. Further prospects for the formation of any League Ministry is now doomed. These two gates of Pakistan are therefore closed.

Sind was the creation of Mr. Jinnah. It was separated from Bombay in response to Mr. Jinnah's fourteen point demand. The complete burial of Pakistan

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in Sind as well will now depend on the statesmanship of the Congress leaders. They had faltered when Allah Bux frantically sought to form a Congress Coalition. They must wake up to realities.

23rd January

On 23rd January the fiftieth birthday of Subhas Chandra Bose was celebrated all over India. The function was unique in Bombay and Calcutta in two different ways. Calcutta celebrated it peacefully with great pomp and grandeur. The city of his youth and maturity saw the biggest procession on record which solemnly marched through a distance of about seven miles. Major-General Shah Nawaz of the Indian National Army, who participated in the procession received thunderous ovation from the people. Dressed in full military uniform, Shaw Nawaz responded to the greetings of the people.

The entire route was lined by people, who, at places ten to twenty deep, were patient, uncomplaining and orderly. Housetops and balconies were also packed. Two big portraits of Netaji Subhas, one full figure and the other a bust, were taken in the procession. It was an impressive spectacle which stirred imagination. It was an exaltation of a national hero and the sublimation of his achievements. Houses in the city were tastefully decorated. Portraits of Subhas in different poses festooned with garlands of roses, marigolds and white flowers were hung up at the arches erected at different street crossings.

An attractive feature of the procession was the participation of different communities. At its vanguard proceeded Sikhs on horseback followed by a spectacular band of Khaksars in their characteristic ceremonial dress. Bengali volunteers, both boys and girls, dressed in white from cap to toes, were equally impressive. The discipline maintained throughout the march was unique. In the evening whole Calcutta was illuminated. During his short stay, Major-General Shah Nawaz enthused the people with the ideas of the great Leader. He said, "The I.N.A. can spread the spirit of complete unity and brotherhood among Indians infused into them by Netaji. No Indian can render greater service to his country than carrying on this mission of bringing about communal harmony." On the 24th, in a public reception accorded to him, Shah Nawaz asked the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh to combine for driving out British Imperialism from India.

Police in Calcutta were conspicuous by their absence and there being no police intervention, there was no trouble.

Things were entirely different in Bombay. In the name of maintaining law and order, the Bombay police blocked the procession and declined to let it pass through the Muslim quarter of the city on the usual plea of maintaining communal peace. This led to serious trouble. On the smallest provocation, police resorted to firing. Public sentiment was roused, the situation went completely out of control. Grain shops, booking offices and similar institutions connected with the Government became targets of public fury and British people began to be attacked. The police later had to admit to the *Associated Press of America* that the demonstrations had nothing to do with communalism, they were entirely anti-government outburst. Through the efforts of the Congress, peace was finally restored.

Demonetisation Ordinance

The Government of India had issued the Demonetisation Ordinance with two ostensible objects namely, to freeze a large portion of black market capital which they believed to have been in higher denomination notes, and to track down tax-dodgers who had evaded payment of taxes by holding large cash balances in the form of high denomination notes. The first blow of the Ordinance created a good deal of panic in the money market which quietened after some time with the appearance of a new dodge in the form of thousand-rupee notes offered at a high discount. The Ordinance which sought to combat black marketing created a new black market.

Latest reports show that demonetised notes to the extent of Rs. 85 crores have already been exchanged. This represents nearly 53 per cent of the total notes of higher denomination computed at Rs. 160 crores which were in circulation at the time of the promulgation of the Ordinance.

The net result of the Ordinance now seems to have been a shake up in the black market money with a further concentration of its capital into fewer hands. Weaker elements of the profiteers disgorged their hoardings and disposed them off at a discount of 40 or 50 per cent and the bigger ones purchased them. Native States did not fall in line with the Government of India and many of them have not yet taken steps to issue any order of the kind of the Demonetisation Ordinance. This has resulted in the migration of a large amount of notes to the Native States. Unscrupulous people made good profits during the period the ordinance worked. It was rumoured that Banks have revived dead accounts for cashing the notes and insurance companies have received annual premiums for Life insurances. Banks were required to submit accounts and numbers of high denomination notes but not the Insurance Companies. Women and Mahajans have also been utilised for cashing them. We doubt how far the declarations collected by the Government at the time of exchanging the notes will prove useful. Taxes will be assessed on them a year hence, and these people will get plenty of time to cook their accounts if they mean to do so. It is also likely to create another black market in passing the accounts by the Income-tax officials. It is well-known that not all officers of this department are descendants of *Judhisthira*.

One thing still remains perplexing to us. If the Government of India knew that black market capital was being held in high denomination notes, why did they pour them out in an unending stream? The following account quoted from the Report on Currency and Finance issued by the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1944-45 will show the proportion in which such notes have been issued :

	Crore Rupees			
	Rs. 5 Notes	Rs. 10 Notes	Rs. 100 Notes	Rs. 10[illegible] Notes
31st Dec., 1939	45·63	98·29	75·57	13·79
31st Dec., 1944	148·80	363·38	382·51	100·93
Approx. Rise	230%	270%	404%	621%

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 50 and Rs. 500 notes are not much in vogue and therefore they have been left out, Rs. 10000 notes are generally used by Banks in settling mutual accounts and the amount is not high. This table gives figures only up to 1944. Up-to-date, it is believed, the amount of high denomination notes has reached Rs. 160 crores and the proportion between pre-war and present amounts must record a rise far higher than 1000 per cent. Government owe an explanation to the public on this account. They must tell the people whether this colossal amount of black market capital was supplied knowingly or not.

The Deaf-Mutes in Bengal

We have received a report on the work with the deaf-mutes in Bengal, by Nripendra Mohan Mazumdar, the Honorary Zone Secretary of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India. The first school for the deaf and dumb in Bengal was established in Calcutta in 1893. In course of time similar schools were started in Barisal, Dacca, Mymensingh and other district towns. The Convention was organised to urge for compulsory education for the deaf-mutes, to stimulate public interest in order to establish more schools and with other allied objects in view. Due to war conditions work could not be as satisfactory as one wished. Moreover, the commodious building of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School was commandeered by the Military authorities. The Day School has been removed to 71, Tarak Pramanick Road, Calcutta, and the boarding section is being run at Madhupur. In free countries they have different State Schools for handicapped children—handicapped visually as well as auditorily. But in our country the Government is almost apathetic in the matter.

In order to give publicity to the skill of the deaf-mute artisans and thereby open a market for them, and to draw the sympathetic attention of the Government and the employers of labour to give equal facilities to the deaf, an Exhibition of the handiworks of the deaf artisans was organised by the Convention. The prorouged Exhibition of 1941 was held at 71, Tarak Pramanick Road in December, 1944, and was opened by Mrs. Casey. The Third Industrial Exhibition was also held last winter (1945) in the same place. In spite of adverse conditions the Convention has done some good work during the war period, for which the energetic Zone Secretary Mr. Mazumdar is to be congratulated.

War-Time Controls

Power once tasted cannot easily be relinquished. War-time controls have proved that it has been too true for many countries in the world. Although the war is over, many of the governments have begun to express their unwillingness to part with the tremendous powers they had arrogated to themselves in the name of controls. In India, signs are not wanting that if the Government of India can have their own way most of the war-time controls, which have functioned as engines of oppression and waste, will continue for a long time to come. The *Round Table* reports that it is true for Canada as well. A sharp controversy has developed there over a Bill called the National Emergency Powers Act, through which the Mackenzie King government aims to keep alive for another year many of the arbitrary powers conferred upon it for the period of the war under the War Measures Act. Influential spokesmen of the business and the industrial communities are protesting against the retention of the controls even in a modified form, which they contend will be brakes upon the speedy reconversion of business and manufacturing establishments to normal peace time activities. Whatever shortage there might be in a government, there is never any shortage of excuses for the support of arbitrary actions. Mr. King wants to retain the controls for combating inflation, the opinion of the very people who will be affected by the retention of the controls being curtly brushed aside. Modern politicians claim to know more about trade and industry than the traders and industrialists themselves. In India, things are easier. Here the politicians running the government can forge and continue with any measure "for the welfare of the people" even when the people declare that such measures are dragging them to misery, starvation and death.

Plight of Primary Teachers

Mr. M. V. Donde, a well-known educationist of Bombay, and President of the Bombay Provincial Primary Teachers' Association, has published facts and figures about teachers' salaries in that province which bad as they are compare very favourably with those obtaining in Bengal. Here are the facts :

> No public servant suffers such a terrible hardship as a teacher in a Primary School in this province. He gets under the Education Act, Rs. 15 as his salary. For a Primary School teacher the minimum qualification is the Primary School Certificate Examination after a schooling of eight years. With this qualification he is taken up in service on Rs. 15 without any grade. When he becomes confirmed, generally after seven or eight years, he gets Rs. 20 till the end of his service. There is no scale of salary for him, no increments of any kind. After some years he may get a chance for training in any of the Training Colleges. If he qualifies himself with a training certificate after full two years' instructions, he is promised a grade of Rs. 25-1-/3-40. This start of Rs. 25 he generally gets after a service of 10 or 12 years. After every three years, the increment in his salary is Re. 1 *i.e.*, As. 5 ps. 4 due annually but paid after three years. There are not many cases in which a teacher reaches the maximum of Rs. 40, because generally he reaches his period of retirement before he reaches his maximum. In the whole department, there are hardly 40 per cent teachers who are trained. That means 60 per cent teachers get Rs. 20 only as their salary. They start on Rs. 20 and die on Rs. 20. No public servant is paid so low as that. The teachers, even in these days when the cost of living has gone up by 200 per cent and 300 per cent. are not paid dearness allowance. In some cases, after a good deal of agitation, they are paid Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 as dearness allowance.

In Bengal, according to Government Reports, the average pay for a Primary School teacher in 1942 was only Rs. 9 per month. Even trained teachers get not more than Rs. 12, or at the most Rs. 16, only the other day a dearness allowance of Rs. 3 has been added to this paltry pay. In their post-war scheme, the Government of Bengal could not raise even their target figures over Rs. 30 for trained Matriculates, Rs. 22 for other trained teachers and untrained Matriculates and Rs. 18 for other untrained teachers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Resignation

National Call of Delhi had predicted the resignation of Sir Ardeshir Dalal as early as the last week of October. It was reported that Sir Ardeshir had threatened to resign if the proposed Department of Co-ordination was created as a super-structure over the Planning and Development Department. With the voluminous talks on planning and development, departments of Co-ordination are being created both at the Centre and in the provinces. It is not very difficult to understand the meaning behind this move. Development of Indian national life, particularly the industrial and educational advancements are not much liked by our present rulers. A British Watch and Ward Department has, therefore, become a dire necessity as a superstructure over the Planning and Development Departments.

National Call reports that Sir Ardeshir's threat worked for some time and the Department was not created. A subterfuge, however, was soon discovered. In place of the Department, a Co-ordination Committee of the Executive Council was created with Lord Wavell as Chairman, Sir Ardeshir as Deputy Chairman and Sir Eric Coates as Secretary. Although it was to be a committee like the War Resources Committee, it was given a separate Secretary, Joint and Deputy Secretaries and the full paraphernalia of a full-fledged department of the Imperial Secretariat.

This Committee was dominated by the British element—Lord Wavell and Sir Eric Coates. The work of co-ordination of post-war plans, including those of the provinces began to be carried on in this Department and Sir Ardeshir's Planning and Development Department became a meaningless entity and a virtual superfluity. Sir Ardeshir, the Deputy Chairman, was given no occasion to exercise his office, as Lord Wavell was always there and the meeting would not be called in the absence of the Viceroy. Sir Eric Coates was specially picked up for the post.

All this proved too much for Sir Ardeshir Dalal, who after all, was not merely in search of a job. He had made sacrifices to take up the membership of the Viceroy's Council because the Tatas wanted to oblige the Viceroy by giving one of their best men. Sir Ardeshir, like Sir Homi Modi, another Tata's Director who left the Viceroy's Council, found that it was the Viceroy and the British Secretaries who ran the Secretariat and the Government of India and the Indian members were more or less ornamental superfluities. It is reported that he was feeling sick of the communal conflict in planning. Imperial need demanded that communalism must be introduced into future development plans so that seeds of frustration were planted from the very start. Sir Ardeshir found that in proposals for capital, for training of technicians, for constituting the Investment Board, the Finance Corporation and at all such steps the communal conflict was present. The communal interests depended on the British element within the Government for the support of their sectional demands and he felt his inability to prevent it.

Another cause of Sir Ardeshir's resignation is his inability to do away with the statutory safeguards for British trade and industry even after the clear verdict of the Assembly on the subject. He visited London and tried to bring about a new Indo-British Treaty or Convention. He went there with the authority of the Government of India to evolve substitutes acceptable to India but had to return empty-handed and disappointed.

We doubt whether these revelations would be sufficient to deter good people from joining the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Ardeshir himself had joined after the resignation of Sir Homi Modi. There is nothing new in the event. The British Government is no respecter of persons, they must safeguard their own interests first. The Viceroy's Executive Council may be of benefit to the country on the condition that it is made responsible to the Central Legislature, that it functions as a cabinet and that the Viceroy's veto is removed.

India's Food Problem

The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics held its sixth annual session at Benares. Started in 1940, the Society's main object is to promote investigation and study of economic and social conditions of agriculture and rural life. Three subjects and a current topic were specified for the Benares Conference. The subjects were (1) the Tennessee Valley approach in Indian agriculture, (2) cost in relation to the size of farms and (3) social factors in rural economy. The current topic inevitably was the food policy. The president of the conference, Sir Manilal Nanavati, summed up the Indian agricultural condition in the following few words :

> During the last 75 years, continuous deterioration in the condition of the masses is taking place. In 1880 India had a surplus of foodstuffs to the extent of 5 million tons and today we have a deficit of 10 million tons. The consumption of food was then estimated at 1½ lbs. per individual and now it is one pound. Nearly 30 per cent of the population in India is estimated to be suffering from chronic mal and under-nutrition. The man-land ratio is steadily rising. In spite of the developments of modern industries, deindustrialisation is still continuing. In 1880, industries absorbed 12·3 per cent of the population and now the figure is 9 per cent. In 1872, 56 per cent of the population depended on agriculture, this proportion has now increased to 73 per cent.

This, in a nutshell, indicates what is wrong with Indian agriculture on what Prof. Dantwalla called the visible side. But much that is wrong is ploughed underneath the surface phenomenon, *i.e.*, under-employment. The president unearthed it in the following striking passage of his address :

> It is our policy of allowing any number of people to press on the land, without work and earn meagre and uncertain incomes that has led us to avoid facing the problem of the rural economy in a true perspective. Partial employment of the majority of rural population which is another word for widespread disguised unemployment is not a good substitute for visible unemployment . . . It is better that the disease is brought out and adequately dealt with than allowed to poison the vitals of economic life.

In addition to the two clear categories of fully employed and completely unemployed, we have a third category of under-employed which in volume exceeds both together. Much of the agrarian distress is diffused over millions of half-starved agriculturists. This under-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

employment, naturally leading to half-starvation and chronic malnutrition is tending to be a real danger in our national life.

India's food problem came up for discussion at the Bangalore session of the Indian Science Congress as well. With the aid of statistics, Mr. Afzal Hosain drew the attention of those present to the fact that the output of the country's food resources had failed to keep pace with the increase in population. Thus, according to him, since 1911, seven million acres have been added to the area under cultivation. But the area sown *per capita* has declined from 0·9 to 0·72 acre, that is, by 25 per cent. This is one of the most vital facts that have persistently been neglected by both the Central and Provincial Governments while launching and advertising their pet Grow More Food campaigns. Mr. Afzal Husain pointed out that even for an emergency restricted diet, designed to tide over difficult times, 1·2 acres of land *per capita* under cultivation is regarded as the minimum in the U.S.A. where crop yields are higher per acre than in India. He emphatically said, for a population of 400 millions, India must increase its production by 10 per cent in cereals, 20 per cent in pulses, 25 per cent in fats and oils, 50 per cent in milk and 300 per cent in fish, flesh and eggs.

It was pointed out at the same session of the Science Congress that although Asia had got 52 per cent of the world's population, its consumption of cereals and other foodstuffs was 24·6 per cent and of meat 5·6 per cent, while Europe with a population of 25·9 per cent, got 41·2 per cent of the world's production of cereals and other foodstuffs and 45·7 per cent of the world's meat.

Some official spokesmen have claimed that the Government of India, specially after the Bengal famine, have been displaying a keen interest in the development of the country's agriculture. Sir Pheroze Kharghat, the Government's agricultural expert, has produced a plan in which he has expressed the hope that the agricultural production of India can be increased by 100 per cent in 15 years with an expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores. We do not know if the Government of India will ever find this sum for the enforcement of the plan. Instead, a shortcut way of agricultural improvement has been announced by Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Agriculture in the Government of India. He said, "We will be setting up before long, research and experimental stations, and institutes in respect of rice, potato, vegetables, fruits, grass lands, etc. The Dairy Institute, the Veterinary Institute, the Agricultural Institute, and the Forest Institute will also be expanded." The real official attitude has thus been explained. If any improvement and expansion has to be made, it must be in the office and the Secretariat and not in the peasant's field. Official experts on planning seem to have a firm faith in the addition of jobs as a panacea for all evils of the country. They forget Dr. Voelkar's report in which this British agricultural expert had said that Indian peasants do not need education in agricultural economics, what they really need are cheap credit and protection from the middlemen's exploitation, both of which have virtually been denied by the Government. The very little they have done in these important directions have not touched even the fringe of the problem.

Indian Girls in the W.A.C. (I.)

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the eighteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference, has, in her address, discussed the present and future conditions of the Women's Auxiliary Corps in India known as the W.A.C. (I.)s. We give here the relevant portion of her address :

> We do not know how many women joined the Corps. I dare say the salary attached to the service must have attracted a large number of women. The stories one hears about the kind of work they were required to do are not very reassuring. We would like to know more about them, more especially as the Government of India intend to continue this women's section of the war department for at least another year. We hear stories that some of them have borne illegitimate children ; and that one in every five has been infected with foul disease. I dare say these tales are exaggerated but at the same time I feel there must be some grain of truth in them. If there is, then we would like to know what steps are taken to help the unfortunate victims of war who have suffered and are suffering. We would like to know if those who are suffering from disease are taken care of by the Government, and are receiving proper treatment. If they are allowed to go as they are, they will spread the infection and become a menace to the social health of the country. The Conference should appoint a special committee to investigate into these questions and find ways and means to help those women who require our help. If we can utilise the training and experience of the W.A.C. (I.)s for the educational and social work in rural areas, they will be an asset to the nation. But with their expensive habits of life it is doubtful if they can now settle down in villages where their help is required most.

Our latest information is that the W.A.C.(I.) is going to be disbanded. We hope this does not mean officialdom washing its hands of all responsibility.

Indians in Ceylon

In the *India Quarterly* for April 1945, Mr. T. S. Rajagopalan has discussed the position of Indians in Ceylon and reviewed the activities of the Soulbury Commission.

On the 26th May, 1943, the Governor of Ceylon communicated to the State Council a Declaration of His Majesty's Government which stated that "the post-war re-examination of the reform of the Ceylon constitution will be directed towards the grant to Ceylon of full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration." The Declaration further stated that His Majesty's Government would retain control of Defence and that Ceylon's relations with foreign countries and other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be subject to the control and direction of His Majesty's Government. The present classes of bills to which the Governor could reserve assent are to be largely reduced and Ceylon is to be at liberty to conclude trade agreements, with the approval of H. M.'s Government, with other parts of the British Commonwealth. Such proposals as may be made for the reform of the constitution in pursuance of the Declaration were to be examined by a suitable commission or conference subject to the clear understanding that "acceptance by His Majesty's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government of any proposals will depend, first, upon the British Government being satisfied that they are in full compliance with the preceding portions of this statement and, secondly, upon their subsequent approval by three-quarters of the members of the State Council excluding the officers of State and the Speaker or other presiding officer."

Though the 1943 Declaration contemplated a post-war examination of the Reforms question, the Ceylon Ministers prepared and submitted a complete scheme of constitution in pursuance of the Declaration and asked that it be examined without waiting till the end of the war. The British Government agreed and on the 5th July, 1944, they announced their intention to appoint a Commission which "should provide full opportunity for consultation to take place in the various interests including minority communities concerned with the subject of constitutional Reform in Ceylon and with proposals which Ministers have formulated." At this point a hitch arose ; the Ministers considered that the terms of reference to the Commission were wide, that the 1943 Declaration contemplated investigation by a Commission of the question only whether their proposals fell within the terms of the said Declaration and in protest they withdrew their scheme. The British Government while regretting the action of the Ministers, were unable to agree with the interpretation of the Ministers and considered that though the Ministers' scheme might not be officially before the Commission it could not be withheld from them and that it was bound to be very useful. The Soulbury Commission, consisting of Lord Soulbury (who as Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham held cabinet rank), Sir Frederick Rees (Principal of University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire) and Mr. F. J. Burrows (President of the National Union of Railways and now the Governor designate of Bengal) arrived in Ceylon about the end of December, 1944, and were expected to finish their work in Ceylon by the end of March (1945). The Ministers were not collaborating with the Commission in its investigation but otherwise welcomed them.

While it is generally admitted that the present indigenous population of the island are the descendants of the Indians who once emigrated there, labour immigration started somewhere about 1827. Now the total Indian population is estimated between 750,000 and 900,000. Accurate figures are available of the Indian labour population on the estates only, they numbered 672,196 on 31st December, 1943. The total population of Ceylon is estimated at 60 lakhs of whom 8 lakhs are Indian Tamils, 7 lakhs are Ceylon Tamils, 3½ lakhs Muslims, ½ lakh Burghers and Europeans and the rest Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese. The Sinhalese, the majority of whom are Buddhists, thus constitute about two-thirds of the total population. The Indian population consists of 6 lakhs estate labour and of about a lakh urban labour ; and the rest consists of business and professional people.

At the time of the passing of the Emigration Act of 1922 it was made clear that the policy of the Government of India was not to allow emigration of Indian labour to countries where they would not enjoy equality of political status with the rest of the population. In the case of Ceylon enquiries were made by the Government of India, and the Government of Ceylon replied to them stating that Indians enjoyed such equality. And in fact till the advent of the Donoughmore Constitution in 1931, Indians in Ceylon enjoyed complete equality of status with the local population in Ceylon.

In the matter of Franchise far from there being any discrimination against them, they enjoyed votes in communal electorates in addition to the franchise in territorial electorates. The Donoughmore Special Commission on Constitutional Reforms, who recommended adult suffrage and the committee system of Government, suggested that the privilege of voting should be confined to those who had an abiding interest in the country and that in the case of Indians a residential qualification of five years should be imposed. In the Order in Council, which brought the Donoughmore Constitution into existence domicile was made the standard test for franchise and for the undomiciled who did not possess a literary and property qualification, it was provided that they should produce a certificate of permanent settlement involving a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon. In 1943 the total number of Indian voters were estimated at 165,000 for a population of eight lakhs. Under adult franchise free from extraneous conditions the number of voters would be roughly half the Indian population, or nearly four lakhs.

Indians in Ceylon Under Donoughmore Constitution

The fifteen years under the Donoughmore Constitution have been a difficult time for the Indians. During the two elections and in the two ministries there has been only one Indian minister and that was in the first ministry and none in the second. And in a Council of fifty elected members there have been only two Indian members in each of the two elections.

The Land Development Ordinance No. 19 of 1935 which provides for the mapping out of Crown lands and their alienation to and colonization by Ceylonese peasants and middle classes defines a Ceylonese as "person of either sex domiciled in the island and possessing a Ceylon domicile of origin." Similar definitions are found in the Fisheries Ordinance No. 24 of 1940 and in the Omnibus Licensing Ordinance of 1942.

The Indian estate labourers were excluded from the Village Communities Ordinance. Indian daily paid workers in the Government service were gradually replaced by Ceylonese.

In 1937 Sir Edward Jackson who had previously been Attorney-General of Ceylon was appointed on the recommendation of the Ceylon Ministers as a special Commissioner to enquire into

a) the extent of immigration from India of skilled and unskilled workers and whether it was increasing or decreasing,

b) whether such immigration had caused or was likely to cause unemployment or other economic injury to the permanent population and

c) whether any restriction or control beyond that already existing should be imposed on such immigration and if so what form such restriction or control should take.

In the course of his Report (published as Sessional Paper III of 1938) he has stated that "if Indian labour had not been available nothing resembling the manifold advantages which have accrued to the island from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

76410
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

production first of coffee and later of tea and rubber could possibly have been gained." Answering the terms of reference Sir Edward found that the inflow and outflow of labour adjusted itself to the work available in Ceylon. "So far from causing economic injury to the permanent population, immigration workers made possible an economic and general advance which could not have taken place without them and in the benefits of which the great majority of the population directly or indirectly share today." Thirdly, he found that no restriction of immigration was necessary or called for. The report did not find favour with the Ceylon Ministers who stated during conversations at Delhi (in the Exploratory Conference at Delhi in November 1940) that they did not accept the report either on the facts or the conclusions.

Government of India's policy towards the Indian emigrants to Ceylon has been quite in keeping with their policy towards emigrants to other dominions and colonies as well. These unfortunates have been left to their fate abroad to eke out a meagre and miserable existence. All talk of trusteeship melted away as soon as the Government of Great Britain were called upon to interfere for safeguarding the primary rights of Indians in many parts of the British Empire. Government of India's overseas Indians department has conveniently slept over the matter thus giving a long rope to the colonial interests for oppressing the Indians under their jurisdictions.

Soulbury Commission Report

The draft constitution for Ceylon prepared by the Board of Ministers contained proposals for a single Chamber of 100 members, all territorially elected except for six to be nominated. A scheme of weightage for the less thickly populated areas was put forward as a sop to the minority communities, though in effect it would not greatly increase their percentage of representation. It was also proposed to abolish the Officers of State. The formation of a Cabinet chosen by a Prime Minister and largely independent commissions for the control of the public and judicial services were recommended. The report of the Soulbury Commission has adopted the great majority of these proposals.

The views of the minority communities as submitted to the Commission showed a considerable measure of agreement. The only respect in which the Commission's Report differs markedly from the Ministers' Draft Constitution is its recommendation for the establishment of a Second Chamber.

The British model has throughout been followed in the constitution. The claims of the reactionary minority groups for separate electorates have been completely over-ruled. Many of them had asked for "balanced representation" in both the Legislature and the Executive with communal electorates. The Commission has rejected the idea of pure communal representation, especially in the sphere of the Executive. In this respect the Ceylon constitution is going to mark a definite advance on the Indian constitution.

Indians in East Africa

The struggle of Indians in East Africa has been ably narrated by Mr. C. Kondapi in the *India Quarterly* for July 1945. We give here a summary of this weighty article which shows how Indians in this colony have been and are being treated.

Indian emigration to East Africa may be traced to a period even prior to the Portuguese occupation at the close of the fifteenth century; Indians were trading there long before British rule began. In 1841, Captain Hamerton was appointed at Zanzibar as the first British Consul and as Political Agent for the Government of India primarily to safeguard Indian trading interests. In 1874, there were 4,198 Indians in Zanzibar and the East African coast as against 24 Europeans including officials. In 1875, Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, pleaded for active encouragement of Indian emigration to East Africa for the purpose of settlement and colonization and emphasized

> 'from the imperial point of view, the great advantages which must result from peopling the warmer British possessions which are rich in natural resources and only want population by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited.'

When the Royal charter was conferred on the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria, it was urged as one of the chief grounds for the grant

> 'that the possession by a British Company of the coast line as above defined which includes the port of Mombasa would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who would otherwise become compelled to reside and trace (?) under the Government or protection of alien powers.'

The Sultans of Zanzibar also encouraged Indians to settle down as agriculturists by offering concessions in the shape of remission of land duty. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway in 1895 was carried out mainly by Indian labour from the Punjab and this led to a large influx of Indian artisans. Sir John Kirk, who was Political Agent of the Government of India from 1866 to 1887, has stated that the Railway itself found it necessary to retain the services of a considerable number of Indians both for clerical work and for skilled and unskilled labour. Many traders followed the artisans and settled in the towns and trading centres in the native Reserves. By 1897, Indian population had increased to 7,500 while in that year the Europeans and Eurasians numbered only 390. Sir John Kirk has testified to the fact that in 1866 the whole trade in Zanzibar was in the hands of Indian merchants. In his despatch to Lord Salisbury in 1888. Col. Evan Smith, Consul-General at Zanzibar, reported to the same effect.

The emigration of Indians naturally forged close links between India and East Africa. The unit of currency in Zanzibar and British East Africa protectorate (Kenya) was the Indian rupee till as recently as 1st January, 1936, when it was displaced by shillings and cents. The civil and criminal law and procedure of British India was followed in the trial of Europeans and other British subjects in Zanzibar, the area within which the Consular Courts exercised jurisdiction being regarded as a *zila* or district of the Bombay Presidency to whose High Court an appeal lay from the decision of the Consular Court. Indeed, in a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated, 23rd August, 1905, the Colonists Association (of the Kenya White Settlers) stated :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The East Africa Protectorate is governed as if it were a province of India and a large number of Indian Ordinances are applied to it . . . The sooner the sorry farce of Indian laws and Indian methods of Government is abolished the better.

Replying to this petition, Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated :

> The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Protectorate are natives for whom the Indian codes may well be regarded as more suitable than English law.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated, September 11, 1940, Sir Edward Grigg, Governor of Kenya, wrote :

> Indian labour was responsible for most of the manual part of the original construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. Indian contractors and traders have been the medium of much development throughout the Kenya colony including the native Reserves. Indian lorry-drivers are pioneers of trade in all the most outlying districts of the colony. I could add to this list in many directions.

Sir Harry Johnston in 1899 as the Special Commissioner and Sir Hasketh Bell in 1909, as the Governor of Uganda, and the Uganda Development Commission of 1920 have all testified to the Indian encirclement of that country. In 1926, its Governor declared that *the role of the Indian community in Uganda's development has been not merely important but positively indispensable.* Similar official declarations have been made in respect of Indian contribution in Zanzibar and Tanganyka.

Europeans own or manage farms for growing cash crops like coffee, sisal, tea, cloves and cotton. The native communities are primarily labourers and Indians do the rest.

Indians' contribution was so much that after the close of the last war Sir Theodore Morrison suggested that India should be given the mandate over Tanganyka. The suggestion was, however, rejected by Indian public opinion in conformity with the ideals of anti-imperialism.

The most important political problem now agitating the mind of Indians in East Africa relates to the closer Union. 'Closer Union' was the method proposed even as early as the twenties of the present century for securing a more effective co-operation among the governments of the several Eastern and Central African territories through a common policy and co-ordinating machinery as regards economic subjects of common interest like Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, Transport, Defence, Scientific Research, etc. This centralisation of the control of common and essential services was to be exercised through the constitution of a Central Authority with full legislature and executive powers in these matters ; the suggestion was even made that the objection could best be secured by means of a federation.

Hilton-Young Commission and After

The Hilton-Young Commission suggested the establishment of a strong, unified central government directing all affairs of common interest for the three provinces, rather than a federation of quasi-independent States.

The Commission also recommended the associatio of the immigrant communities with the Central Auth rity in an advisory capacity, the power to define a interpret the terms of the principles of native poli being vested solely in the Imperial Government. Last it favoured an increase in the unofficial representativ in the Kenya Legislative Council by the appointme of four additional members nominated by the Gover to represent native interests and a correspondi reduction by four of the existing official members.

The European settlers were not satisfied with t recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commissi Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a pointed Sir Samuel Wilson in March, 1929, to vis Kenya, Tanganyka and Uganda with a view to discus ing with the local Government, and the communiti there the recommendations of the Hilton You Commission. In his report (submitted on 2nd Jul 1929) it was proposed that a High Commissioner wh would be King's Representative should be appointe He was to rank senior to Governors of these territori and was to exercise complete control—legislative an executive—over certain common services *viz.*, Custom Railways, (Ports and Harbours including), Posts an Telegraphs, Defence and Fundamental Research. H was to be assisted by a council in which Indians hardl stood any chance of securing membership.

The considered proposals of H. M. G. on th reports of the Hilton-Young Commission and Sir Samue Wilson were published in June, 1930, in the form o two white papers.

In a memorandum submitted in July, 1930, Indian pleaded that if in spite of Indian protest, a Centra Council should be established, the number of offici and non-official members of the High Commissioner's Council appointed from each territory should be equa that Indian and European non-official members both in the council and the committees should be in equa proportion, and that one of the private secretaries to the High Commissioner should be an Indian. The fears of the Indian community were best expressed by th Governmnt of India who in their despatch to th Secretary of State for India dated, 24th December, 1930 stated that the policy of the Central Authority wa "bound to be affected by the political ideals of th European settlers in Kenya" which were complet political domination of non-whites by whites and suc a policy would "eventually develop into the Kenyani zation of all the countries directly affecting the secur position and equal status of the Indians with the res of the population under the Mandate." There was th danger of the safeguards provided under the Mandator system, far from being extended to Kenya and Uganda being nullified in Tanganyka itself.

In pursuance of the two white papers referred to a joint select committee of the two Houses of Parlia ment was set up in November, 1930. Mr. Sastri wa to London on behalf of the Government of India. Th report was published on November 2, 1931. The con clusion reached by the Committee in regard to Close Union was that the time was not ripe for taking any far-reaching step in the direction of formal union H. M. G. in the Command Paper of August, 1932 accepted the view of the committee.

The White Paper on Indians in Kenya (1923) wa the result of an agitation on the part of the Kenya White Settlers protesting against the Wood-Winterto

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

agreement between the India Office and the Colonial Office in 1922 which had favoured Indians on the question of a common electoral roll. The consequent cancellation of the agreement created distrust in the mind of the Indians regarding their position in East Africa as they feared that they would be dominated by the Kenya White Settlers. Closer Union, to their mind, would lead to that domination. So far as co-ordination of economic and administrative policy was concerned, the East African territories were already co-operating in respect of Transport, Posts, Customs, and Scientific Research. But it became altogether a different question when, under the mask of administrative co-operation, a political union was sought to be imposed on the basis of white supremacy. Indians also feel that closer union for economic and administrative purposes could be obtained by methods other than the creation of political federation. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said in her Presidential Address at the 1929 session of the East African Indian National Congress, that Indians in East Africa and the natives would ask for the retention of control by "an impartial Government in England" until such time as the African population had been sufficiently delivered from social bondage, and had become "intelligent enough to obtain knowledge and understanding."

The position of Indians overseas is rapidly worsening. The situation is very delicate in Africa, specially East and South Africa. Rights of franchise, trade licenses, acquisition of property and occupation of houses have all been jeopardised and one after another each of these fundamental rights are being taken away. In a recent press interview at Nagpur, Dr. N. B. Khare said, "I hold the view very strongly that Indians, wherever they have settled outside India, *should* get equal rights with the indigenous population and there should be no colour bar of any kind anywhere." In the earlier paragraphs we have indicated that Indians overseas *did* enjoy equal rights with the native population and it was due to the visibly weak policy of the Government of India that tempted them to deprive Indians of their basic rights.

A Historian Honoured in His Own Land

Our readers will be glad to learn that their old acquaintance and our esteemed contributor, Rao Bahadur Govind S. Sardesai, is active in his eighty-first year as ever before. He has collected the essence of his lifelong study and reflection on Maratha history in an English work in three volumes,—*A New History of the Maratha People,*—of which the first volume is expected to come out two months hence, the second is ready in a press copy, and the third is nearing completion. Recently the Rajwade Historical Society of Dhulia (Khandesh) presented Sardesai with an address of appreciation and a gold medal inscribed with his name and the title of *Itihas-martand* which was conferred on him in 1923 by V. K. Rajwade, the father of historical research in Maharashtra. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, Sir Leonard Stone, presided. The veteran historian's reply contains a message whose significance should not be lost on us today ; hence we quote from it.

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai said :

I find myself so embarrassed at this moment by your overwhelming kindness that I do not know how I should express my feelings . . . I have been a common plodder in life, have done no national service, nor made any sacrifice for a cause. If my work seems accumulated in quantity, it is the result of a long life and fortunate circumstances, by no means of my creation.

People ask me what is the secret of my health. I say, I do not know. Every one of us has a claim to a long life. My thirty-seven years' service in Baroda under a stern task-master, the late Maharajah Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, gave me rare chances for work and study. I was enabled to make several trips in Europe. In 1892 I saw and talked to Prof. Seeley, the Regius Professor of History at Cambridge. I spent days and weeks at Paris going round the Grand Exhibition of 1900. I had the first long motor drive in Germany, and I could hold a long hearty chat with Lloyd George at the Coronation ceremony of George V in 1911.

But whether I was in London or Paris, or at Kamshet on the bank of the Indrayani river in which our great saint Tukaram took his final plunge,—I lived a simple life of pure air and fresh water. I swam in the Thames at Oxford daily for three months, as I now do at Kamshet. I worked and studied all the time, and met many a worthy scholar in India and abroad. It is no wonder that the result now appears to you, and no less to me, quite striking.

During all my travels and contemplation I have been haunted as was my master Sayaji Rao, by one supreme thought, why such a great talented people, such a highly gifted country as this India, should be so low and wretched in the scale of comfort, power and politics ; why should we have to remain always half-starved, half-clad from month to month and year to year. I often ask myself, after witnessing two world wars, if even a part of the wealth which was wasted in smoke and destruction, had been utilised in forwarding the comforts of humanity, not a single soul on this wide earth would remain in want and distress. I begin to search my heart to find out what is the use of all this study of history, if we cannot learn the simple lesson of every one of us trying to serve humanity, trying to do at least one good turn, if not every day, at least once in life.

In this mood of contemplative sadness, I often feel helpless and distressed in my solitary Ashram at Kamshet, particularly during the evening hours when I lie in bed after the day's work. Then in my dreamy moments with my tongue lisping the lines of the Bhagavad-Gita, I often send a fervent prayer to that all-pervading power, "Have pity on us, poor souls, give us strength to live a decent life, a will to serve our fellow men and not to exploit and kill them."

And you may as well ask me what is the solution that my study of history suggests to me. It is this : Let us each do our own part sincerely from morn till evening. Let us not feel we are disconnected scattered pebbles casually thrown about without any purpose or any function to perform. We all together form one grand human machine, in which, as in a clock or an engine, each one without exception is a connected and indispensable part with a distinct function and a clearly assigned duty to carry out. If one individual fails in his task, the whole machinery goes wrong and comes to a standstill. Even a small pin of a clock has to put in its quota,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is none useless or irresponsible. Such is at this moment the plight of us Indians, all disconnected, disjointed units. The remedy is in our own hands. No outsider can help us.

This is a wild reverie and I have indeed wandered from my purpose. I have no desire nor capacity to preach a sermon. My thoughts have strayed and carried me away. And now that I am already past eighty, my only prayer is that I be allowed to close my chapter in peace and cheerfulness with the supreme joy that I have played, according to my light, the part assigned to me in this big world's machine and to follow the common lot of humanity as aptly pointed out by Hafiz:

"When you first came into this world, a small baby, you screamed and cried aloud in pain, while the world around indulged in shouts of joy and mirth. Now, man, do so depart yourself through life that you may depart with a smile of joy on your face and the world around moisten their eyes in tears."

Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilisation

In connection with the bicentenary celebration of the birth of Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a symposium was held on the subject of "Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilization" in which Sir Jadunath Sarkar took the chair and Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi was the main speaker.

The Chairman Sir Jadunath introduced the subject of discourse in a short weighty speech summing up the principal contributions of Islam. After referring to Islamic influence over the three continents and the role of the Arabs and Persians "as the intellectual broker of distributing agents for the world of the day" diffusing Greek thought and science eastwards and Hindu philosophy westwards, Sir Jadunath pointed out the three principal contributions of Islam. In medicine the Muslims translated the Greek works and amplified them by clinical observation. In philosophy they developed Sufism which being a blending of Indian pantheism, Greek Neo-platonism and Central Asian monistic thought provided a meeting-ground for the liberal-minded devotees of all creeds. In the realm of historiography Sir Jadunath drew attention to the article on *Itihasa* by Dr. Sieg in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Dr. Siddiqi began his discourse by referring to the spirit of Islam—its freedom from prejudice, its capacity for adapting and adopting new thoughts and ideas from other races and peoples and its emphasis on critical and experimental method. He referred to the adoption of the crescent and the system of divan from the Iranians. The contact between the Muslims and the Christian and Jewish savants stimulated scientific activity; in alchemy works said to have been composed by Khaled Ibn Yezid were translated into Latin in the eighteenth century and published by Prof. J. Ruska. Islamic culture reached its zenith in the twelfth century, although from the tenth century onwards it had begun to influence the thought of European peoples. In the eighteenth century a large number of Muslim works translated into Latin were used as text-books in the educational institutions of Europe.

Post-War Railway Rates

The *Commerce* finds it difficult, as we ourselves do, to understand the *non possumus* attitude taken up by Sir Edward Benthall in the speech he made at the Indian Railway Conference Association at New Delhi particularly with reference to post-war railway rates. He said:

> Nor is it quite the time to settle finally what the post-war rates will be, because we are still faced with the inescapable fact that railway rates have not been raised during the war to anything like the general level of prices, and it remains to be seen whether the increased post-war volume of traffic will more than balance the rise in operating costs due to continued increase in wages and coal bills and all the other costs of operation.

Two sessions earlier, at the Conference of the same body, Mr. C. G. W. Cordon referred to the railway rates and explaining the existing system, stated:

> The subject deserves consideration now in order to ensure a rating system and practice suitable for the trade of the country under post-war conditions.

Railway rates in India have long been a standing scandal. Government of India's policy in this respect has succeeded in a large measure in discouraging Indian manufacturing industries. The importance of the connection between transport and industries in the modern world is well-known. The beneficial effects sought from a well-meant tariff policy may be nullified by an indifferent or a perverse transport policy. The *tempo* of economic advancement may be accelerated or obstructed by a progressive or obstructive railway rate policy. In India, the railway rates have always been adjusted to suit the need of the British trader. Port rates have been lower than the internal rates. The result has been a concentration of industries in the port towns. Complaints against unfair railway rates on raw materials transported from other parts of India and on the manufactured goods despatched to the various markets have, on several occasions, been made by the Indian industrialists to different commissions and committees but with no result.

Indian people fully appreciate the sentiment of Sun Yat-sen when this great leader of China volunteered to hold the Railway portfolio in the first National Government formed there after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty. Exactly similar was the idea of Bismarck, the maker of modern Germany, when he said,

> Give me control of railway rate policy and I don't care much for the protective duties.

TO OUR ADVERTISERS

We herewith notify our constituents that the advertisement rates of *The Modern Review* will be increased as from April, 1946, the basic rate being Rs. 80/- per ordinary page. Our circulation has increased very substantially since 1944, and is still increasing fast. As the costs of production have likewise increased substantially in all directions, excepting a very slight reduction in the price of paper, our margins have been severely reduced by this increase in circulation.

We hope that our advertisers will extend their co-operation by accepting this justified increment. Please consult the new scale as stated on advertisement page 29. Existing contracts will run at old rates till the date of expiry of the contracted period.

Advt. Manager, M.R.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE TRIAL OF DEMOCRACY

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The iniquitous role of the Allies, particularly of the Imperialist ruling powers, in the so-called liberation of the Eastern countries has been making headlines the past few weeks and months since the defeat of the Axis powers. Their reactionary policies have been outraging the politically and socially conscious sections all the world over and particularly in Asia. It has been rightly surmised that these ruling powers have remained unaffected by changing times or even the bitter and tragic lessons of the world war, and are determined to fight another war to maintain their Empires and their stranglehold over millions of people whom they have brought under their subjection through superior military force. But their doings in Europe, their equally reactionary role there, and the liberating process used by them to create spheres of influence through the enforced maintaining of outmoded social and political systems against the desperate struggle of the people for liberalism and democracy, and the ruthless suppression of the progressive forces, are perhaps less universally known here, and a brief survey of those tragic happenings would be of equal importance at the moment.

Greece came far more into the press than any other, mainly because of Churchill's personal intervention there, though few details for a clearer analysis were made available. But going according to the chronological order, North Africa comes first in the list and in a sense it is there that the corner-stone of Allied policy was laid when on 12th November, 1942, Darlan was appointed High Commissioner for French North Africa by the High Command of the "Liberation" Allied army. Not long ago Paris announced the arrest of two prominent supporters of Darlan, Lemaigre-Dubriel, a pre-war industrialist, and Jean Rigand, Minister of the Interior under Darlan. The press message said :

> "They had actively supported the Allied landings, but made no secret of their hostility to the French Committee of Liberation . . . . They were charged with 'Endangering the security of the State'."

This little item was in truth impregnated with a very dark chapter of current history, but its significance escaped most people, for paper reports like icebergs often only show an indicator point above the surface while a whole big mass lies submerged under the murky depths below. Lemaigre-Dubriel, a peanut oil king, was also connected with the Banque Worms, Chief German Financial agent in the control of strategic French industries and the agency through which Germany sent money to French anti-democratic Fascist Organisations. This was not all. He had many other roles besides. He was also the President of the Taxpayers' League which used to hire hoodlums to beat up French democrats and stage riots for political purposes. He was the French Chief of the foodstuffs section of the Armistice Commission which stripped France of its food to feed the Germans. As for Rigand, he was a Cagoulard, one of the dark-hooded men who were responsible for several murders, was said to have been personally implicated in the murder of the Roselle Brothers, committed to oblige the Italian Fascist Intelligence Service. But the most sinister part of it all is the role of these men in the recent war of Liberation and even more so of Robert Murphy, the U. S. President's representative in Algiers. These two men did help in the Allied landings, but they also did something more, they used these impending landings for a financial coup by buying African francs on the Lisbon Exchange. They also helped to smuggle the Bank of Morocco's gold to Lisbon. They are moreover said to have admitted to be acting on behalf of the Count of Paris, the Pretender, whom they were going to make the Lord Protector of the Realm. Last but not least, thy were instrumental in bringing General Giraud to North Africa. It is now known that this was no "Escape" but given that garb and was in reality a concerted effort by the Vichy men to ensure the continuation of their regime, the new order for which they had worked for 20 years, suppressing and fighting every single democratic force. And these men, the real power behind Giraud in North Africa, and their nefarious policies, had the fullest backing of Murphy and therefore of the American Government. And on the strength of Murphy's report President Roosevelt denied to the world over the radio, that there were no more political prisoners in Algiers, while there were 15,000 politicals still rotting in jail, forced into hard labour under the hot blazing sun, and naturally dying like flies. The brutality of these detention camps equalled that of any other Fascist country. What is more, summary arrests and imprisonments went on under Murphy's protection, with these men holding power over the police, which they acquired through a *coup d'etat*, after Darlan's murder. When De Gaulle arrived, every effort was made by him to remove these men and put them under arrest. But Murphy personally intervened and used the high prestige of his office to protect them. In fact when things became too hot for them, they were enabled by Murphy to flee in an American aeroplane to Casablanca, there hid in the house of an American Vice-Consul and continued to remain in secret communication with Murphy, while American officials assured the Resident of Morocco that they were unaware of the whereabouts of these men. They eventually crossed over to Spanish Morocco in a car lent by Murphy and the American laisser-passers. That they dared to enter France at all after this, shows how confident they were of American protection. But the France of today is not likely to so easily give in to American pressure. Nor is De Gaulle so likely to yield now as he did in North Africa under a threat from Murphy to stop Lease-Lend to France, and let the men go. France is not in a mood to treat complacently these men of a Super-counter-Revolutionary Organisation of gangsters, known as the Mouvement Synarchique d' Empire. The crucial fact, however, is that America's official representative lent himself to this gang and allied his country with counter-revolution.

CC-0. Prof. Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Next we turn to Italy where events are of greater importance for it was the first country to be freed from Nazi Control and was also the first test of the Allies' policy. When the Allies landed in Sicily in July, 1943, the traditional anti-German feeling had been fanned to its height by the passage of German troops through the country, anti-Fascism was spreading, war was daily growing unpopular and the opposition was ready to organise and act. Mussolini himself, sensing the popular mood, was deciding to break with Germany. The Monarchy and the ruling class Fascists wanted, however, to forestall him and thus manage to keep power in their own hands. So they had Mussolini arrested and on the crest of the people's joy, the new dictators installed themselves into power. "There has been no revolution and no *coup d'etat,*" carefully explained the Rome Radio on that occasion. Badoglio who enjoyed full powers, could have used the army and saved the people, sacrificing the Monarchy which had been completely compromised with Fascist dictatorship. He chose however to save the Monarchy and sacrifice the people. Nothing better could have been expected from one who had been so faithful a lieutenant of Mussolini's. The war on Germany's side continued. But the tide had turned and neither Badoglio nor the Monarchy could avert it. Mussolini's fall was the signal for the anti-Fascist parties to come to the surface and issue a united proclamation to express their willingness to act for the liquidation of Fascism and the establishment of a Constitutional Government representative of all the parties. They appealed to the people not to be lost in rejoicing but be alert to prevent the present occasion being exploited by reactionaries for salvaging the same old vested interests which had allied with Fascism. But Badoglio placed the country under Martial Law and took severe measures to prevent the people from acting, and while he said Italy was being purged of Fascism, he was merely replacing it under the guise of Military rule. His aim was to prevent a revolution and save the structure of the State while taking the country out of the war. The allied aim too synchronised with this except for the insistence on unconditional surrender. Thus while the American Office of the War Information was blaring through the radio, "The essential nature of the Fascist regime has not changed . . . and the war against the Moronic King and Badoglio, the high-ranking Fascist, is to go on," General Eisenhower in Algiers was commending the House of Savoy ; and it is said that the OWI was taken to task by President Roosevelt for its premature comment which "had imperilled the most difficult of international negotiations." That the British policy was also in line with this was made clear by Mr. Churchill's announcement in the Parliament that he did not wish to "break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian State." President Roosevelt clarified this even further by expressing his willingness to deal with any element which "was not out and out Fascist and could prevent the country from plunging into anarchy." Instead of a swift purge of the Fascists and Collaborationists, they were put into positions and the trial of several people was categorically forbidden by the Allies, as that would have implicated their present associates, especially the Monarchy and the Generals ; and the purge itself was just a mock-show. In the meantime, the Vatican had been busy too. It had submitted through the Archbishop of New York a plan for getting Italy out of the war and for collaboration with the Allies. It provided that "In the present Italian regional prefects, for the purpose of civil administration would not considered to have been active party supporters would in their turn be subject to the orders of an A Commission in Rome, a ten-year plan of pol metamorphosis would be immediately introduced Civil administration to be handed back to the p by certain well-defined stages. The Fascist Party as to be abolished." So while the party as such wa be disbanded, elements such as the prefects and o who up to the fall of Mussolini had been the back of the party, were to be bolstered up. What is mor ensure their continuation in office against any po upsurge, the Allies were to be asked to stay guardians under the bogey of a threat of a red lution. Although the existence of any such plan vehemently denied by the Vatican official spokes when the American Army "Special Investigators" i cepted a Vatican mail bag, documentary evidence found in it to prove that the Vatican was aggress supporting the House of Savoy through the Chris Democratic Party front. The Italian people reminded by the Archbishops :

> "Remember that the pledge of National is the Monarchy of the House of Savoy."

The Vatican had supported Mussolini while he in power and now it sought to bolster up the R House, the Kernel of the Conservative Social Cla It was because of this Monarchial backing of Muss that the Resistance Movement had failed so long come into the open, not because of weakness. Ya was with these very elements that the Allies chos collaborate. Sir Richard Acland addressing the Pa ment on May, 1944, said :

> "There is not one man in any influential pos in the Allied Military Government whose past rec shows that he understood and opposed Fas before 1939 . . . The first thing they do is to hold of the Carabinieri Reali, who of all Ita organised bodies, has the highest record of comp collaboration not only with Mussolini but with H and the Nazis. The complete administration of whole district is then handed over to the nom of the Carabinieri Reali, and now Italy has fa into the hands of the most disreputable Fas gangsters."

The very associates-in-crimes of the Fascist reg were accepted in preference to the Partisans, the C mittee of National Liberation, the real enemies Fascism. For while the Royal family and the s Generals were deserting Italy and seeking their safety, a determined band of patriots had taken up fight. These were not men who had served Fascism they saw it about to fall and hurriedly jumped on the Allied bandwagon, they were men and women had for 20 years opposed and struggled against Fasc It was this integrity which gave them the natural lea ship. While the regular army was disintegrating popular army of hundreds and thousands under leadership took the field, and according to Gen Mark Clark they liberated more than 200 to including Venice, Milan, Turin, Genoa, etc., and 25 died in that struggle. The Americans commended th partisans as one of the best disciplined popular a General Clark also characterised the Cimmittee liberation as an example of able administration".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bore the responsibility not only of directing the fighting but also of solving serious political problems, settling differences between various political groups represented in it, setting up administrations in the places liberated, etc. As one Florential paper described the local Committee as the "embodiment not only of existing authority but of a new factor in Italian history . . . the first foundation of that new political structure that is the result of the people's collaboration and not of an arbitrary *coup d'etat*." According to Field Marshal Alexander the Italian Resistance had been most effective against Germans. Many thousands joined Marshal Tito and won his warm commendation ; nearly 50,000 joined the Maquis in France. But it was not with these that General Eisenhower signed the Armistice. It was with Badoglio and his kind, for they fell in line with the role which the Allies had assumed to play in the post-war Europe, of deflecting it from its natural swerve to the left. It was for this very reason that later they objected to Nenni becoming Premier, and even opposed Count Sforza becomlng foreign Minister on the sole ground that they were opposed to the Monarchy. But Churchill and his kind had always minimised their strength and effectiveness because of their anti-Monarchist character, while he had taken every occasion to praise Prince Umberto, a sworn adherent of Mussolini, and praised the King and Badoglio. It was obvious that what the Allies wanted was a reversal to the pre-Mussolini period of bourgeois-democratic capitalistic state, economically weak and therefore at the mercy of England and America, its social forces maintained at a precarious equilibrium so that England may always have the controlling voice. In short, the very situation which caused the emergence of Fascism was now sought to be preserved by the Allied forces. Just as the old ruling class and big interests could stay in power through the coercive machinery of Fascist dictatorship, it could do so now with the help of the Allied Commission. Again and again in city after city, where a local Committee of Liberation fought and expelled the Germans, established a clean administration purged of all Fascist forces, the Allied Commisson even refused to deal with the Committee and merely rewarded the brave partisans by disarming them. Finally even when a six-party cabinet replaced the old Military regime, it was still under the aegis of the Allied Commission, and it had to swear an oath of fealty to the Crown under Allied compulsion. They had to seek permission even to go into certain parts of the country and then too on condition they made no speeches. Once the Vice-Premier narrowly escaped arrest while his companion was led off to jail, *for addressing a meeting*. Therefore, instead of the logical inevitability of the power being transferred to the people, even after two years this could not be realised and some of the Left groups had to finally withdraw from the Government in protest. As recent as early September, Hune McCormick, the wellknown American journalist, in a dispatch from Rome wrote :

> "There is no doubt we are ruling Italy. Somewhere in the picture is an Italian Government. So far the Ministers are pretty helpless . . . this is true in the economic as well as the political field. We froze the stockpiles . . . and no factory can be reopened and no goods released without an Allied permit."

It threatened to cut off coal and other supplies if its wishes were not strictly obeyed. The Provincial Governors (prefetti) were an integral part of the Monarchist block, and they came to enjoy almost dictatorial powers. They named the Mayors, the City councils, the Commissioners of the towns and villages of that province, controlled the police, held the economic strings, the approval of the Allied Commission giving legality to all acts outside their normal jurisdiction even. As *New Statesman and Nation* reported :

> "Already a year ago the people were singing in the Churches of Italy : 'And from Amgot (Allied Military Government) deliver us O Lord'."

The following item from the *La Voce* in Naples, reproduced in one of the American papers, speaks volumes :

> "A commemoration of Matteotti by the Socialist Party was due to take place at the Garibaldi Theatre. When the ceremony was to start and the public was filing in, an Allied officer came to warn that the commemoration had to be non-political in character . . . The Socialist Party preferred not to commemorate."

Events in Greece were a corollary to this. In fact quite a few warnings were sounded that negotiating with Darlan and collaborating with Badoglio would naturally have disastrous repercussions in other countries, for these two names stank in every decent European's nostrils. The above events spelt civil war in almost every liberated country, for while it heartened the Rightists, it struck apprehension into the Left. As the yard-stick of British intentions changed from words to deeds, leaving no room for guessing a cleavage came to be created. The Left in Greece did not want to be caught napping as their comrades in Italy. So they decided to strike before the reactionaries and collaborators could sail back into power under the weight of the British fleet. Already Churchill's declaration in the Parliament as early as August, 1943, that he hoped to see the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia "restored to their thrones by the free choice of their liberated peoples," had come to give considerable reality to their fears. It is not surprising, therefore, that under the circumstance, the Left and the Centre diverted their strength against whom they believed to be menacing the State afresh. They were in complete control when the British "Liberators" took over Athens. In fact it was only when General Scobie ordered them to withdraw from the city that they did. Even the shaky exiled Government was welcomed by the people. Greece seemed well on its way to a peaceful future. But that obviously did not suit Churchill and his imperialist designs. So the inevitable "divide and rule" policy went into effect and there began the usual round of clashes and shootings. The vicious circle had already started when the British nominee, Papandreou, was made Prime Minister, for he was a Monarchist, pledged to the return of the King and all that that regime stood for. Papandreou is supposed to have said that if he did not get the full support of the opposition, he would seek allied armed intervention. And now the people's worst fears seemed to be coming true. The first act of the British Command was to bring back the anti-republican Mountain Brigade, and Papandreou rejected the demand for its dissolution on the ground the British would not agree. When popular demonstrations started, Papandreou's police and British Military were called out and the latter began to shoot down those very comrades who but a little

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

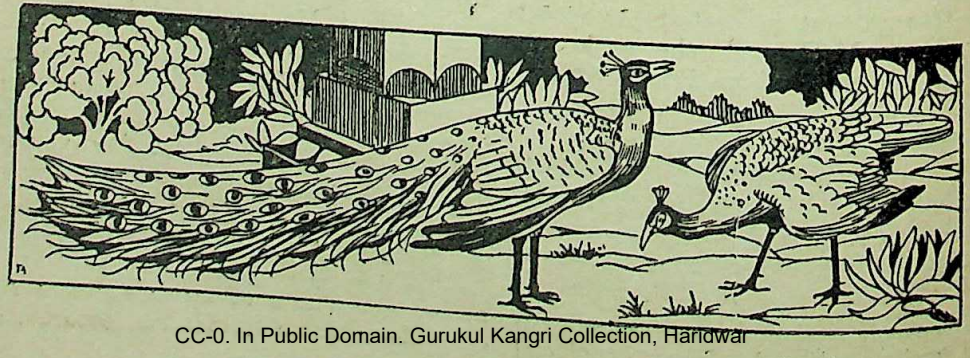
while ago had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against Germans. All these sombre facts stressed the apprehensions of the Greek patriots that Churchill and his colleagues were determined to once more place their oppressor on the throne. In truth King George had ceased to count as a political entity in the eyes of the people, except the few upper classes and vested interests, to whom he had become a symbol of reaction to rally them. An important point to bear in mind here is, that the kernel of the present resistance group is really the old underground which originally coagulated to operate against the old Metaxas regime which King George was responsible for. King George is as inextricably bound up with dictatorship in Greece as Victor Emmanual in Italy. When the Germans came to occupy Greece, the island dungeons in which the political prisoners were kept, were turned over intact to the Nazis by King George's Ministers ! That the abolition of monarchy and establishment of democracy is the real issue has been amply borne out by the Varkiza agreement which ended the open hostilities in Greece. It ran as follows : At the earliest date there should be conducted, with complete freedom and with every care for its genuineness, a plebiscite which should finally settle the constitutional question, all points being submitted to the decision of the people.

For the time being however, Greece became a British Colony. British officials exercised a veto on all Governmental decisions, no high appointments to be made without British sanction. The Greek army was reorganised with British Military aid, so as to methodically weld it into an effective political weapon, loaded with royalists from the ranks to the top Command, with Monarchist brigades and battalions incorporated *en masse*. Terrorism on a wide scale was carried on against the Left and people with republican sympathies, by the notorious gang called X, after the two crossed Gammas which are the initials of George and his Glucksberg dynasty. This has also resulted in adding to the general economic deterioration, 4/5ths of the industrial workers being idle and agricultural production down by 40 per cent. Transport is practically paralysed. Without a stable Government, these needs can't be tackled, and no stable Government is possible while the Monarchist issue hangs fire.

Let us now look at Central Europe, such as Bavaria or Austria. The first symbol of this policy were the appointments of Minister President of Bavaria and the Police President of Munich, both the nominees being drawn from the reactionary clerical forces, the former post going to a Frederich Schaeffer, one of the leaders of the reactionary and clergy-controlled Bavarian People's Party, and one who prevented the party's alignment with the other progressive parties against Nazism. Even worse is the political background of other official, Police President Colonel Von Seisser was one of those who stood beside Hitler on the Hall platform from which the Nazi Reich was augurated, and was named Reichsminister of Police Hitler. What makes these appointments even dubious is the fact that the American boss in Ba Colonel Keegan, stated that he would have no with any anti-Fascist groups or leaders as he want political activities at this time, and so was sele these two strictly "unpolitical" personalities ! This practically meant the turning over of Bavaria to cl reactionarism which had opposed the birth of the Ge Republic in 1918 and called the then revolution pe and treason, and to a group of Monarchist democrats whose responsibility for the rise of Hitl is too wellknown to be glossed over. The Allied tary Government continued to retain former Nazi cials who were in authority, sometimes as many 90 per cent, with the result capable young ge anti-Nazis could not find their way into the adm tration at all. What was even more sinister was background of the man who was in charge of the psy logical warfare, Brigadier General Robert McClare. was he who headed the reactionary censorship in Al when the Allies landed, and would not let it be k that there was not the slightest need or occasion using the good offices of Vichy or the services Darlan. In this characteristic tradition he suppre local papers and public gatherings. Merely a strin negative regulations circumscribes the lives of t people now under Allied control, such as the st policy of non-fraternisation, and not a single po to set these bewildered people opportunities for d cratic conduct.

In Belgium the same game was being played, ultimately led to the development of a major c as a result of the attempts to force the restoration King Leopold to the throne in the teeth of pop opposition. The entire cabinet threatened resigna labour came out to demonstrate its determination use every means in its power to oppose the reaction manoeuvre involved in Leopold's return", and British Government responded to this popular fe by firing on the peaceful demonstrators for their of anti-fascism.

Nor are these "mistakes" in Allied policy by chance. They are the result of a deliberate policy, d mined by the Imperialist interests of the Allied c tries. They are no more an accident than the cur military operations in the countries of South East A To be sure this policy like the war aims is embroi with fine phrases, but they can mislead no one in face of grim experience.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SWISS SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS APPLICABILITY TO INDIA

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

The present Constitution of Switzerland is based upon the scheme of government adopted there in 1848, as subsequently amended in 1874 and also afterwards. In this article[1] I propose to deal with some of the salient features of this Constitution, and also to consider how far the Swiss system of government can be profitably introduced into our country. Before, however, I deal with Swiss political institutions, I should like to say a few words in regard to the nature of Swiss Federalism.

"Switzerland", says President Lowell,[2] "may be considered the ethnological as well as the geographical centre of Europe, the place where the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Po take their rise and the races meet together."

The population of the country, therefore, is not homogeneous. There are differences in it of race, of language, and of religion. Among the races, the Germans "preponderate heavily".

In 1930 about 72 per cent of the population spoke German, a little over 20 per cent French, about 6 per cent Italian, and the rest Romansch and some other languages.

"A considerable majority both of German-speaking and of French-speaking people are Protestants, the rest (mainly) Roman Catholics."[3]

In 1930, the Protestants were about 57 per cent of the total population, the Roman Catholics about 41 per cent, and the Jews 0·4 per cent. Further, there are differences amongst the inhabitants in respect of their occupations, the external conditions of their life, their character, their ideas and their habits of thought.[4] Yet, in spite of all these differences, the Swiss—a little over four millions in number—are, says an American writer,[5] "a united people and form a small but coherent nation." And "what is more they are probably the most patriotic people on the European continent."[6] And Bryce has gone so far as to say that democracy in Switzerland is "more truly democratic than in any other country in the world." Perhaps the Swiss system of education is largely responsible for this.

"The constant teaching in the schools of civic duty and the inculcation of the best traditions of national history is", says Bryce,[7] "a wholesome feature of Swiss life. In no country does one find that the people know so much about and care so much for their historic past."

This may have materially contributed to the growth of nationalism in Switzerland in spite of the differences of race, of language, and of religion in it.

Switzerland is composed of twenty-two Cantons—or rather, to be more accurate, nineteen Cantons and six Half-Cantons. Although it is called a Confederation, it is by nature really a Federation—a true Federal State—like the United States of America. The use, in the Swiss Constitution as originally drawn up, of the term "Confederation" in reference to the Swiss Union as well as the use therein of the term "Sovereign" in reference to the Cantons of which it is composed, was a nominal concession, at the time of the formation of the Union, to the sentiments of the particularists or anti-federationists in it. The retention of the terms in the Constitution even now does not and cannot, alter the real character of the Swiss Union. Article 3 of the Swiss Constitution says :

"The Cantons are sovereign so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal Constitution, and as such they exercise all rights which are not delegated to the Federal Power."

It follows from this that the term "sovereign" has been used in reference to the Cantons in less than its strict sense, and that the Cantons only enjoy autonomy in respect of the matters of administration which have not been specifically vested in the Swiss National or Federal Government.

The principle of distribution of powers between the Federal Government and the Cantonal Governments is as follows. The Federal Government has certain "exclusive powers". Besides, it has "some concurrent powers exercisable conjointly with the Cantons". But, in respect of a "concurrent" subject, the federal law is to prevail over a Cantonal law in case of a conflict between the two. Matters of administration outside the exclusive federal list belong, subject to what I have just said in regard to concurrent powers, to the Cantonal Governments. In a sense, therefore, the authority of the National or Federal Government is, as Professor Dicey has put it, "definite", and that of each of the Cantons is "indefinite". And it is evident from this that the "residuary" powers of government belong to the Cantons. This is also the case, in regard to the residuary powers, in the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia, but not in the Dominion of Canada in which "the authority of the Dominion, or Federal, Government is," to quote Professor Dicey again, "indefinite or undefined", and that of the Provinces "is definite or defined, and indeed defined within narrow limits."

Among the exclusive powers of the Swiss Federal Government, mention may be made here of the following :

The Federal Government "has the sole right to declare war and conclude peace, and to make alliances and treaties, particularly customs and commercial treaties, with foreign States."

There is however, one exception.

The Cantons "retain the right to conclude treaties with foreign States in respect of matters of public economy and police and border relations." But "such treaties must not contain anything prejudicial to the Swiss Federation or the rights of other Cantons."

It may also be noted in this connexion that the Constitution forbids "all separate alliances and treaties

---

1 Based upon two "talks" broadcast from Dacca (and with due permission).

2 *Greater European Governments*, p. 311.

3 Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 370.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 371.

5 Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 728.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of a political character between Cantons." The Cantons, however, "have the right to make agreements with one another on matters of legislation, administration and justice ; but such agreements must be communicated to the Federal authority, which may prohibit their execution if they contain anything pre-judicial" to the Swiss Federation or "the rights of other Cantons."

Further, the Federal Government has an exclusive jurisdiction over customs duties, posts and telegraphs, aerial navigation, coinage, paper money, the monetary system, the system of weights and measures, and the manufacture and sale of gunpowder. Moreover, it "determines questions as to the meaning and construction of the Constitution, including cases in which a canton is alleged to have transgressed that instrument."[8]

It may be worthy of note here that no Canton or Half-Canton can maintain more than 300 men as a permanent military force (excluding police) without the permission of the Federal Government ; and that if, in case of an internal disorder, a Cantonal Government is not in a position to summon federal assistance for any reason, the Federal Government "may intervene on its own initiative, and is bound to do so if the disorders endanger the safety of Switzerland."

There is one peculiarity of Swiss Federalism to which reference may be made here. There is in it a combination of "legislative centralization with administrative decentralization, the federal laws being carried out as a rule by the Cantonal authorities."[9] That is to say, the laws duly made by the Swiss Federal Legislature are mostly executed by the officials of the Cantons. The Federal officers only inspect and supervise their execution. Subject to what I have shown before, certain subjects, however, such as foreign affairs, customs, posts and telegraphs, the telephone service, and arsenals, are directly within both legislative and executive jurisdiction of the Swiss Federal authorities.

In regard to the rights and obligations of the Swiss people, the Constitution lays down that "every citizen of a Canton is a Swiss citizen"; that "all Swiss people are equal before the law"; and that "in Switzerland there are no subjects nor any privileges of rank, birth, person or family". Further, "liberty of conscience and creed is inviolable" and "the free exercise of religion is guaranteed within limits compatible with public order and morality." At the same time, no person "may refuse, on the ground of religious opinion, to fulfil any obligation of citizenship", and "every Swiss male is liable for military service". The Constitution has provided for a federal guaranty to the Cantons of their territory, their autonomy, "their Constitutions, the liberty and rights of their people" and "the constitutional rights of the citizens." If a Canton demands the fulfilment of this federal guaranty to its Constitution, the demand must be satisfied by the Federal Government, provided that the Cantonal Constitution "contains nothing contrary to the provisions of the Federal Constitution."

Before July, 1937, there were three national languages in Switzerland, namely, German, French and Italian. Since then, however, Romansch has been made the fourth national language of the country.[10] Members of the Legislatures may now speak, therefore, in any of the four languages, German, French, Italian, and Romansch.

The Swiss Federal Legislature, called the Federal (or National) Assembly consists of two Chambers: The National Council and the Council of States. It is, as Professor Dicey has said, "certainly modelled to a certain extent on the American Congress." The National Council corresponds to the American House of Representatives and "directly represents the citizens". The Council of States corresponds to the American Senate, although much less influential than it, and "represents the Cantons." The two chambers select their respective Chairman and Vice-Chairman. Their powers are in law equal ; but, as a matter of fact, the Council of States is, according to Bryce, "rather the weaker of the two, men of energy and ambition preferring to sit in the National Council." Except for the exercise of certain electoral and judicial functions, when they meet in a joint session under the presidency of the Chairman of the National Council, the two Chambers meet separately. Their meetings are normally open to the public. The attendance of an absolute majority of the total number of its members is necessary for the valid transaction of business by either Chamber, and in both the Chambers questions are decided by an absolute majority of those voting. In case of an equality of votes in either Chamber the Chairman has a casting vote.

The National Council is now composed of deputies elected by the Swiss people for four years, "in the proportion of one member to each 22,000 of the total population." Fractions "greater than 11,000 are reckoned as 22,000" for the purpose of election. Each Canton, and in the divided Cantons, each Half-Canton, elects at least one deputy. A federal electoral district cannot "cross Cantonal boundary lines and include territory in more than one Canton." There is practically a universal manhood suffrage in Switzerland. Every male citizen, not otherwise disqualified, "who has entered on his twenty-first year" is entitled to vote, and every voter, who is not a clergyman, is eligible for the membership of the National Council. The term of life of the National Council is now four years. Its members "are paid from Federal funds at the rate of 30 francs for each day on which they are present", besides travelling expenses.

The Council of States is composed of forty-four deputies from the Cantons, each Canton electing two deputies and each Half-Canton one. The mode of choice of a Deputy, his term of office, and his allowances are left to the discretion of the Canton he is to represent, or represents. As a result, in some Cantons deputies are elected by their people, and in others by the Cantonal legislatures. The term of their membership varies from one to four years. Their salaries are paid by the Cantons they represent. No person can be a member of both the Chambers at the same time. And a deputy in either Chamber is free to vote as he likes, "without instructions."

The Federal Legislature is empowered "to deliberate on all matters" which the Constitution has placed within the competence of the Federal Government, and which are not assigned by it to any other Federal authority. In addition to the general provision, the Constitution has placed, however, some specific matters within its competence. We shall see later on how far its authority is "liable to be negatived and even superseded by the direct popular action of the electors."

8 *Bryce, op. cit., p. 383.*
9 *Lowell, op. cit., p. 324.*
10 *The Statesman's Year-Book, 1941, p. 1322.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I shall now deal with one or two other important Swiss political institutions before passing on to consider how far the Swiss system of government can with advantage be introduced into this country.

The Swiss Federal Executive.—The executive power of the Swiss Federation "is vested not in a single person, as under a monarchical or a presidential government, but in a board of persons." This board—the Swiss Federal Executive—is known as the Federal Council. This Federal Council is really a unique feature of the Swiss Constitution.

"In no other modern republic", says Bryce,[11] "is executive power entrusted to a Council instead of to a man, and in no other free country has the working Executive so little to do with party politics. The Council is not a Cabinet, like that of Britain and the countries which have imitated her cabinet system, for it does not lead the Legislature, and is not displaceable thereby. Neither is it independent of the Legislature, like the Executive of the United States and of other republics which have borrowed therefrom the so-called "Presidential system", and though it has some of the features of both those schemes it differs from both in having no distinctly partisan character. It stands outside party, is not chosen to do party work, does not determine party policy, yet is not wholly without some party colour."

The Federal Council has been empowered by the Constitution to exercise "the supreme directing and executive power" of the Swiss Federation. It consists of seven members, elected, normally, for a term of four years by the two chambers of the Federal Legislature sitting in joint session as the Federal Assembly. It is "entirely reconstituted" after every general election to the National Council, the popular branch of the Federal Legislature. Thus its term coincides with the term of the National Council. The individual Councillors, however, although ordinarily elected (now) for a period of four years, are eligible for re-election, and are generally re-elected. As a matter of fact, a member of the Federal Council "may normally expect to serve several terms" and the Council as a whole "is always certain to contain men of ripe political experience."

"The consequence is", says Professor Dicey,[12] "that a man may hold office for sixteen years or more, and that the character of the Council changes but slowly." This virtual permanence of tenure of office, he further observes,[13] "arises from the fact that under the Swiss system there is no more reason why the Assembly should not re-elect a trusted administrator, than why in England a joint-stock company should not from time to time reappoint a chairman in whom they have confidence." Indeed, the Swiss Federal Council is not, Dicey continues,[14] "a Ministry or a Cabinet in the English sense of the term. It may be described as a Board of Directors appointed to manage the concerns" of the Swiss Federation "in accordance with the articles of the Constitution and in general deference to the wishes of the Federal Assembly."

Under the law of the Constitution, every Swiss citizen who is eligible for the membership of the National Council, may be elected to be a member of the Federal Council. But it is an almost invariable practice to select the members of the Federal Council from amongst the members of the Federal Legislature. On election, a member of the Federal Council loses his seat in the Legislature, and cannot, during his term of office, hold "any other Federal or any Cantonal post." Nor can he "engage in any other calling or profession." He is entitled, however, to speak, but not to vote, in either chamber of the Federal Legislature, as well as to propose motions there on subjects under discussion. Thus "when business relating to a particular department is being there considered, the Councillor who manages that department attends, answers questions, gives explanations, and joins in debate."[15] The work of Federal administration is divided among seven departments, namely, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice and Police, Military, Finance, Agriculture and Industry, and Posts and Railways. And these seven departments "are allotted to the (seven) members of the (Federal) Council by arrangement among themselves." It may also be noted here that not more than one member of the Federal Council can be chosen from any one Canton. Thus the seven members of the Council "must represent seven of the twenty-two Cantons" of which the Swiss Union is composed. By usage, however, the two largest Cantons—Jurich and Bern—"are always represented in the Federal Council"; and the remaining seats are, according to Professor Brooks,[16] "distributed among the smaller Cantons, one or two usually going to those in which French or Italian is the predominant language." If a vacancy occurs in the office of a Councillor within the normal period of four years, it is filled in the usual way at the next meeting of the Federal Legislature for the remainder of his period of office. The vacancy is generally filled "by the election[17] of a man from the same Canton or the same linguistic division of Switzerland, and also from the same political party" to which the former Councillor belonged. Every year the Federal Legislature elects one of the members of the Federal Council to be its President, and another its Vice-President; but "neither may be re-elected to the same post for the following year". As a matter of practice, however, the Vice-President of one year is elected President in the following year. Under the Constitution the President of the Council is also the President of the Swiss Federation. But in the latter capacity he does not occupy the same position of weight and authority, and does not wield the same kind of power, in the Swiss Constitution, as the President of the United States does in the American Constitution, or as the Prime Minister does in the British Constitution. He is not "the Chief Executive" of the Swiss nation, although he is its first citizen and "represents it on all ceremonial occasions." In the Federal Council, the President "has no more power than his colleagues, and is really only their Chairman."[18] There is only some additional prestige attaching to his office. He gets a little more salary than his colleagues. All decisions emanate from the Federal Council as a single authority. The President is "simply *primus inter pares*"—the first among equals—in the Federal Council. By custom, however, he "has become a sort of general overseer,

11 *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I. pp. 393-94.
12 *The Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., p. 520.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 488.
14 *Ibid.*
15 Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 394.
16 *Government and Politics of Switzerland*, p. 106.
17 *Ibid.*
18 Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

responsible for inspecting the work of the administrative departments, and the Federal Council may authorize him to act in its name."[19]

A special feature of the Swiss Federal Executive is its composite character. It is "not based upon a party majority" in the Federal Legislature. "The strength of the various parties in the Federal Council" does not even always correspond "to their strength in the Legislature." The members of the Council "are elected not only from different party groups but from party groups fundamentally opposed to each other."[20] Although this may occasionally cause a sharp difference of opinion within the Council, it does not seriously matter. Above the Federal Council, there is the superior authority of the Federal Legislature. And as soon as the latter reaches a decision on any point at issue, the Council bows to its will.

> "If unity", says Professor Brooks,[21] "is not attained within, it is thus enforced from without the executive commission. Nor does any personal ill-feeling ever seem to result from these open clashes between its members."

Among other things, the Federal Council is responsible for the safety and security of the Swiss State as well as for the maintenance of its internal peace and order. Besides, it gives an account of its work to the Federal Legislature in each ordinary session, presents to it a report upon the internal condition and foreign relations of the Swiss Federation, and recommends for its consideration such measures as it thinks useful for promoting the general welfare of the Swiss State. Moreover, it "makes special reports" whenever the Federal Legislature or either Chamber thereof demands them. Finally, it administers the finances of the Federation, prepares the budget, and submits accounts of its receipts and expenditure to the Federal Legislature. But there is no such thing in the Swiss Constitution as Ministerial responsibility in the British Parliamentary sense. There is no liability of the members of the Federal Council to lose their offices if they cannot retain the confidence of the Federal Legislature and have their own way in it, or if the measures or policies advocated by them are altered or rejected by the latter. "Defeat in the Legislature does not at all affect their tenure" of office. Although elected by the Legislature, they hold office for a definite term of years and cannot be dismissed or removed by it therefrom. On the other hand, the Federal Council cannot dissolve the Federal Legislature or either House of it, and "appeal to the electorate for a decision in its own favour." In a sense, the Council is the Executive Committee of the Federal Legislature, is controlled by it, and must obey its will.

I have dealt in some detail with the position and powers of the Federal Council as it is in fact, to quote the words of Dicey, "the centre of the whole Swiss Federal system." There is nothing particularly striking in the Swiss Federal Tribunal. It is rather a poor imitation of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, without the weight, authority, and dignity of the latter. Unlike the Supreme Court, it is not co-ordinate in rank with the Federal Legislature. Its judges are appointed by the latter. While the Supreme Court of the United States is "the final interpreter" of its Constitution and "the ultimate arbiter of all matters affecting the Constitution", the Swiss Federal Tribunal is bound by an express provision of the Swiss Constitution (Article 113) "to treat all federal legislation as valid", although it can "treat Cantonal laws as unconstitutional, therefore invalid."

A remarkable feature of the Swiss Constitution is its provision for direct popular legislation through the institutions of the Referendum and the Initiative. It "opens a window", to quote the words of Bryce, "into the soul of the multitude". Considerations of space do not permit me to go into details in this connexion. In essence, the Referendum means "the submission to popular vote, for approval or rejection, of a measure passed by the Legislature." In effect, therefore, it is "a nation's veto on laws" passed by the Legislature. The initiative, on the other hand, means the right of a prescribed number of citizens to propose or originate legislative measures "to be enacted by a vote of the people." Both these institutions in Switzerland point to the existence and exercise of the "ultimate, uncontested sovereignty" of its people.

> The idea underlying them is, as Professor Dicey has nicely put it, that "the nation is monarch," and that "the Executive and the members of the Legislature are the people's agents or ministers."

I shall now say a few words as to how far the Swiss system of government will suit Indian conditions. So far as federalism is concerned, I fully agree that the future Constitution of India must be federal in character. And I also assume that the future form of government of this country must be an All-India Federation, as this alone can satisfactorily meet the needs of the Indian situation. In this All-India Federation there should be a Supreme Court of Judicature, built not on the Swiss model but on the American model. This Court will act, as in the United States, as the guardian of the new Indian Constitution. Next, I do not think that the introduction of the Referendum will be a practicable proposition in such a vast and populous country as India. It is not likely to work satisfactorily here. And without the Referendum, the Initiative will not effectively operate either. So far as the executive government is concerned, I would combine for India some of the features of the Swiss system with those of the British system. That is to say, there should be in India a statutory coalition (or composite) executive, representative, as in Switzerland, of all important parties in the legislature, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, together with ministerial responsibility on the British lines. But this executive should not be "plural" or "collegiate" in character as in Switzerland. I should like to give an honest trial to this plan of government for, say, a period of ten years. I make this suggestion, especially, in view of the fact that we have become, to some extent at least, familiar with the working of the parliamentary system of government in this country ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. If, however, this plan does not work satisfactorily, particularly from the point of view of minorities, we may later on go in entirely for the Swiss system of executive government both for the Centre and for the Provinces. We should honestly and seriously try the coalition principle first, on parliamentary lines. About one thing, however, I am definite, and I have held this view ever since 1940. Government

19 Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 739.
20 Brooks, *Government and Politics of Switzerland*, pp. 124-126.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by a single party, however good it might be in theory, is not suited to the present circumstances of India, or even to the immediate future as far as I can foresee it. It will in effect be, thanks to our electoral system, government by one particular community or another. And that will in practice mean the virtual "dictatorship of communal cabinets" with all its concomitant evils. *Coalitionism,* on the other hand, will mean government by "reasonable compromises and adjustments of view," and this is exactly what we need in India to-day.

———:O:———

PROBLEMS OF MODERN ARTISTS IN INDIA AND CHINA*

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

I am grateful for the privilege extended to me to come here and meet the members of this Fine Art Society and exchange views on questions of common interest to the artists of China and to the artists of India. You may well ask what qualification I have for this responsible task of discussing the vital problems which confront the art and the artists of the Eastern countries of China and of India to-day. I have come here to lecture at the Chinese National Universities with the pretensions of a scholar, with the ambition of an historian to trace and expose the evolution of the history of Buddhist Art through the many stages of its development. But is an historian, with his gaze fixed on the past and his head immersed in the dusty and faded documents of bygone ages, qualified to deal with the problems of today or to advise on the happenings of to-morrow? And, again, an historian is primarily busy with dates and dynasties and counting the ages of old monuments. How can he be trusted to cast the horoscope for the future life of Art? What has an historian to do with the art-practitioner of today with his new hopes and his new fears, with his novel plans and newer ambitions?

I may, at once, allay your fears and answer your questionings by making a frank admission that I have not come here under any false pretences. I know full well that a professor's robe is not a proper passport for an entry in an assembly of artists. I am perfectly aware that artists belong to a new kingdom of culture which is far away from the culture of the learned men —many thousand miles away from books and cyclopaedias. Indeed, Art begins to speak when all the arrogance of words and book-learning have silenced their voice. Artists speak in the dumb and silent language of form and colour, and can say more, and in a more eloquent tongue, than the tongue borrowed from our dictionaries; they can, and, they do, indeed, express thoughts and ideas which are too deep for the spoken and the printed words. As our Chinese proverb says:

"A picture is worth more than ten thousand spoken words."

Indeed, artists should be proud to claim that they belong to the University of the Illiterates and the word "Illiterates", inscribed on their brow, is the most shining banner of challenge to the tyranny of the spoken and the printed words—a challenge to the claims of the apostles of book-learning to represent and interpret the *whole* of human culture. And when some of our learned men in the proud arrogance of their bookish learning look down upon the artist, the humble wielder of the brush, from the lofty pedestals of their piles of books, I always love to point out that the words of the learned men's dictionary are quite inadequate to fathom *all* the treasures which are hidden within the bosom of the human soul. There are many thoughts, many ideas, many emotions, many philosophies, which push their heads out of the still waters or the agitated depths of the human mind, which cannot be put into the forms of our spoken vocabulary, and they have to seek the aid of the visual artist to express and interpret ideas which are inexpressible in terms of the words of our dictionary. In this way more than half of human culture has been expressed and recorded in the illiterate words of the painter, the sculptor, and the builder of temples.

And he who is under the delusion that books are the only repository of knowledge will deprive himself of more than half of the richest treasures of the human mind, of the most valuable expression of human culture, of human knowledge.

Indeed, from my personal experience, I humbly claim that the little bits of knowledge that I may have been able to gather, have come to me through the study of pictures, of images, and of temples, rather than through books and cyclopaedias. And I am proud to claim that I am still an humble student in the great and populous University of the Illiterates, seeking my education and edification through the illiterate pages of paintings, through the hieroglyphics of drawings, through the lights and shadows of statuary, through the mysterious dynamics of architecture.

I may also confess that during my school and college days, I have frequently strayed from the lessons of the printed books, and dabbled in brushes and colours, to express my thoughts and to interpret my experiences of life. And I have occasionally ventured to send my experiments with colours to picture exhibitions and sometimes earned the praise of connoisseurs and prizes and certificates of honour.

And, since false humility is genuine arrogance, I should make another admission. I have been intimately connected with the modern movement in Indian Art, a movement which while it began by gathering threads of the traditions of ancient schools of painting and of sculpture, have attempted to develop the old traditions on novel lines in a truly eclectic spirit not disdaining to benefit by the lessons derived from a study of the Western schools of painting, but at the same time refusing to imitate slavishly the conventions and manners of European artists. The idea has been to assimilate the new points of view and to adapt such methods, technique, and conventions which could be harmonized with the traditions and the national genius and character of Indian painting evolved during the course of more than two thousand years.

* Being a lecture delivered on the 2nd December, 1945, before the China Fine Art Association of Szechwan at Chengtu, under the presidency of the Commissioner of Education, Chengtu.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yet, when the new ways of painting pictures, of treating forms were introduced into India by contact with examples of European painting, executed in realistic and naturalistic style, a very sad and tragic thing happened in India. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Indian artists, particularly those who were separated by long distances, had lost contact with the old traditions of Indian painting. The Mughal Emperors of Delhi and Agra were great patrons of Indian painting and the best master-painters gathered from all parts of India were assembled in the Imperial studio at Delhi, and the practice of painting and the connected arts were centralized and developed through frequent criticism by trained connoisseurs in sympathy with the artists. The Emperors of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had made large collections of paintings by the best masters which were available for study and the art of judging productions of art was maintained at a high level of standard. But with the fall of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi, the imperial studio was broken up, the collections of masterpieces were dispersed and the practice of art was disintegrated, and, the patronage of the Emperors having ceased, the practice of the artists became detached from valuable traditions and Art descended on a downward and decadent slope. In the nineteenth century, Art lost its moorings, lost its direction, and wandered aimlessly, like a ship without a rudder. It was at this juncture that the Western schools of painting, very tempting in their new way of using colours and the attractive manners of realistic renderings of lights and shadows, attracted the attention of the artists in India, who had forgotten the glorious traditions of the ancestors, and, the Indian artists of the early nineteenth century succumbed to the temptations of accepting and copying the manners and mannerisms of the realistic methods of the West. Having lost touch with their own Indian standards they had no standards by which to judge, critically examine and appraise the new methods of painting introduced from the West. In such places where there were artists still in touch with the traditional Indian methods, there arose the inevitable conflict between the Old and the New, and many of them succumbed to the temptations of the New. Abandoning the old language of Indian pictorial art some of the Indian artists of the late nineteenth century adopted in *toto* the realistic language of the pictorial art of the West. The impact of the culture-forms of the West was too much for them. They were too weak to resist the onslaught of the West. They were not prepared for the attack which came all of a sudden and swept them off their feet. Like the unexpected force of an inundation or a flood, the deep surging waves of Western culture carried away the small trees and plants which had no deep roots driven below the earth. It is only a few intellectuals of experienced wisdom—the tall big trees—who kept their heads over the waters of the flood, because these wise thinking men had their root-ideas deeply imbedded in the solid foundations of their own old, well-tried, native cultural traditions. There is an old Chinese proverb which says :

"No matter how high the rain and the flood, sit tight on the fishing stone."

Well, following the wise principle of this proverb, a few wise men of India, in the latter part of the nineteenth century 'sat tight on their high fishing stones', and were not carried away by the impetuous impact of the culture and civilization which invaded India and threatened to submerge and conquer the native culture. When the flood comes, it overflows the banks of the river, and, drowns the crops and the plants on the banks, everything appears to be obliterated for the time being. The water subsides, presently, revealing a few strong plants which have survived the onslaught of the flood. And the receding tide leaves on the river-bank valuable deposits of mud which richly fertilize the land over-run by the flood.

The culture and the civilization of the West have likewise left on the barren parts of the Indian soil rich useful fertilizing seeds to yield a new variety of crops never raised on Indian earth, in the past ages. In this way, modern Indian Art, Literature, and Drama have been richly fertilized by the inundations of culture imported from the West, and many news forms of Art have cropped up during the early part of this century which have revealed new colours, new flavours, new tastes, in which the best elements of Western culture have been assimilated and made parts of Indian cultural expressions without the undesirable features of a crude, clumsy, slavish or mechanical imitation of Western forms. In this assimilation of the healthy and useful items of Western art-forms, the fundamental principles of Indian traditions have not been sacrificed or neglected. New ways have been discovered to present old eternal ideals, solidly standing on the bed-rock of their own foundations, for as another Chinese proverb reminds us :

"Mountains do not turn, but roads do."

Principles of beauty are eternal and unchangeable but the ways and methods of presenting it differ from age to age, from place to place. Yet exotic manners, foreign methods, alien conventions, can be usefully borrowed from extra-national sources, if we know the art of using and adopting new ideas, new conventions, new manners without injuring the basic principles of one's traditional art. A hybrid form is a monstrosity, an assimilated form is a unity. So that in any field of art, it is no use gulping down one's throat any ideas that come in our way, without properly chewing, munching, and digesting the materials one wants to absorb. So that, in receiving any new ideas in the realm of art, one must carefully and critically study the same, analyse and dissect the elements, discriminate between all that is good and useful in them, and reject and eliminate all that is useless, or inimical to the spirit of one's own ideas, antagonistic to one's racial temperament. We are at liberty, of course, to welcome with open arms, any guest that knocks at our door, but before we can give him a warm corner in our heart, and elevate him to the position of an intimate friend we have to test him and probe him to find out if he possesses genuine and sterling qualities of head and heart. In this way, the clash between the Old and the New, the familiar and the unfamiliar, the known and the unknown, confronts us not only in the domain of the intercourse and exchange in the practices of art but in all the avenues of life. Then again inside the same orbit of life, there is a further conflict between Age and Youth, the Old and the New. Old age, with its accumulated wisdom, with its sweet as well as the bitter experiences of life and with its spent-out energy is inclined to be conservative, pessimistic and lazy, not willing to make any new experiments, or to tread on any new path. Youth, on the other hand, is impetu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

energetic, liberal, anxious to undertake new adventure, and gain his experience of life through mistakes, and risk his life in order to know the unknown, to progress and to make new discoveries.

The wisdom and the experience of life, the advice of the old and the mature is as much necessary as the energy, the adventure, and the new discoveries of youth. The fears and the pessimism of age are as much necessary as the hopes and aspirations and the optimism of youth. The two should be allied and linked together, so that the current of human culture may run in an uninterrupted course in one uniform unity. This is very well expressed in a verse of Rabindranath Tagore :

Tomar holo suru, amar holo sara,
*Tomay amay mile emni ba'be dhara.**

The old man addresses the young man : "My dear boy, you have started the career of your life whereas I have brought my life to its termination, our united and combined efforts, you and I, taken together, shall augment the current of existence and keep alive the eternal flow of life.

The truth that emerges from this discussion is this : that there is really, and there should be no real conflict between the Old and the New. We need both, to realize, to fulfil, to perfect the culture of life, the wisdom of age and the dreams of youth. Now let us see how these generalities can be made, to apply to the problems of modern art, to the dilemmas of the modern artists.

Your problems and the state and conditions of art in China have been somewhat better than those prevailing in India about the middle of the nineteenth century. Whereas Indian artists have been cut off from their old traditions of art, and forgotten their national language of expression, the artists of China have not lost contact with their own valuable artistic heritage. Ever since Hsie Ho formulated in the sixth century the six fundamental principles or limbs of pictorial art, the artists of China have upheld in practice, throughout the centuries, the excellent principles enshrined in theory.

We, Indians, had also our six principles, canons, or limbs of painting, known as *Sadanga,* but practitioners of Indian art had forgotten these principles, which were re-discovered by a research scholar about twenty years ago.

Now, in the present predicament we have to consider if the manners and methods, the techniques and conventions of Chinese painting have become too old, effete, and worn out or lost their energy. It must be remembered that principles are universal and eternal, they never change, but their application and practice may change under new conditions, under new demands, under new environments. The physical and the material paraphernalia of life get worn out, decay, and die. And in such cases you have to abandon them, and replace them by new ones. Thus, our clothes frequently get dirty and are torn into tatters. Sometimes, if the piece of drapery is of a valuable fabric or is a valuable heir-loom, the gift of parents or friends on happy occasions, we do not readily discard it, we repair it, and restore and renovate it, and still cherish it as a valuable possession. But if it becomes too much damaged, too much torn in tatters, and too much dirty, we have to discard it. Such is also the rule with many of our social and family customs and manners, many of them change with changing times except those which are imbedded in principles of universal morality, the fundamental codes of human and spiritual life.

In the realm of Art, methods and techniques are sometimes abandoned even when they are fundamentally sound and based on right philosophical principles, and even if they have not lost their energy and wearing qualities. Because, owing to changing social conditions, and psychological states of the human mind, old but sound principles of Art lose their uses, their meanings and significance.

When the dawn of Renaissance lighted the art of Italy in the fourteenth century, the methods of the old Byzantine paintings and of the Italian primitives of Duccio and Margaritone, were discarded in favour of the newer methods of Giotto, Uccello, Cimabue, Raphael and Botticelli, of Michael Angelo and Da Vinci.

Some of the change was inevitable owing to the change of psychology of the Christian devotees. The strange, fantastic, and exaggerated forms of the Italo-Byzantine primitive Frescoes of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and the mosaic pictures of Ravenna and other centres, overpowered and held in chain, more through fears than of hopes, the illiterate, uncultivated and primitive minds of the simple devotees and peasant pilgrims of the pre-Renaissance periods. But present rationalism and intellectual questionings enlarged the boundaries of the outlook of the simple folk and the primitive paintings had no more any charm for them. The Italian primitives, therefore, lost their significance, and survived their usefulness and were replaced by the new kind of pictures with correct anatomy, with rules of perspective, and the use of chiaroscuro, that is, the realistic use of high lights and shadows, yet our modern critics are insisting that it was wrong to abandon the sound method and manners of Italo-Byzantine primitives pulsating with the ring of simplicity and rich in the expressive powers of their lines and the inventive and imaginative treatment of form, unhampered by false and scientific notions of correct anatomy and so-called accurate representation of human form.

Our modern critics after a thorough analysis of Renaissance paintings, assert that the application of the scientific principles of perspective and of the optical rules of light and shade, was a matter of greatest tragedy to the fundamental principles of pictorial art considered as art, that is to say, art as truly conceived as imaginative use of form.

Yet, we, oriental artists, have fallen victims to these two fascinating temptations of Western painting of the Renaissance period, namely, the use of scientific perspective and optical application of lights and shadows, and are anxious to import these scientific appanages which are strictly speaking not applicable in the domain of art.

Having found out the fallacy of applications of these scientific principles to the practices of pictorial art, the ultra-modernists of the Western studios have gone to the other extreme of banishing all principles of perspective and of chiaroscuro—in fact all the apparatus of realistic and naturalistic paintings—and are going back to the methods and manners of the primitives, imitating the technique of El Greco of Duccio and other anonymous artists of the school of Avignon. And from this point of view, Asiatic artists

* तोमार हलो सुरू, आमार हलो सारा।
तोमाय आमाय मिले एमनइ बहे धारा।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are attempting to drape and dress their art with the discarded and cast-off clothings of European studios.

It is useful to remember that the fundamental difference between Western and Eastern painting lies in the emphasis given by Eastern artists on the value of lines, and in the imaginative, as opposed to the scientific use of form. These principles are very sound and universal and we find the study of Far Eastern painting by European artists has led to the artists of the West borrowing and adopting sound pictorial principles practised by Chinese, Japanese and Indian artists.

Thus it will not be wise for our modern Chinese artists to abandon sound and eternal principles, which lie imbedded in their traditional inheritances of art. They should not be discarded because they are old. I firmly believe that these old Chinese pictorial traditions have not yet lost their uses, nor their vitality or energy. If they were dead and decaying carcasses, I cannot advise you to stick to them or to revive them, for dead things cannot be brought back to life. As a Chinese sage has said :

"You cannot set free a salted fish."

But I firmly believe that, the traditions of Chinese pictorial art have not survived their uses, they have *not* certainly reached the futile state of the 'salted fish' or the 'dead mutton', Chinese art tradition is still a living dragon yet to impart the dynamic energy and spiritual inspiration to the art-practices of to-day and to-morrow. Even if I am wrong in my assertion that the traditions of old Chinese art are still a living force, and not a spent-out fire, if the forms and conventions of artistic productions have grown too old and have become dead carcasses, still the ruins of old traditions confer valuable riches. To cite a Chinese proverb, again :

"A worn out boat has still 3,000 nails in it."

And if it is necessary to abandon the old boat we m... not forget to collect the bags of nails, as they m... help us to build a new boat for our new adventu... across the uncharted seas to the new ports, to the n... continents of Art.

In India, we have a similar proverb which says:

"A dead elephant is worth a million dollars."

For, if it can no longer carry you on your path ... progress, its shining tusks will provide for the pri... for the ransom of princes. As a matter of fact, t... tusks of elephants have been turned and carved i... wonderful works of art.

To the young artists of China with ambition ... produce works of art to surpass the old masterpie... I will remind them of the saying, "One has to gr... his eye-brows before he grows his beard" and that "t... eye-brows of youth cannot compare with the beard ... age."

But, by this, I do not mean to discourage h... ambition, or discount the value of his new and youthf... experiments. All I wish to suggest is that the futu... cannot be built by despising the past, or neglecting t... present. And 'if there are three roads it is best to ke... in the middle one', for, it is risky to incline towa... the extreme edges.

If we critically study the trends of modern art ... modern Europe, we find that in the admiration a... worship of the art of the primitives, the moderni... of the West are coming back to the point from wh... they had originally started. The curve has turned a f... circle, the serpent is biting its tail: And nothing is ... out of date as the moderns.

For the history of human culture in all its deta... has always demonstrated that

The New is in the Old contained,
The Old is in the New fulfilled.

———:O:———

JASHN AT KABUL

Afghanistan's Independence Day Celebrations

By Prof. PARSHOTAM L. MEHRA, M.A.

So here at last, it was Kabul.

For two days on end, interrupted by a bare eight-hour night halt, we had driven along bleak, barren, inhospitable rocks in the hot, sultry July sun. Here and there the barrenness of the rocks had yielded place to a dash of a green stretch, inevitably a valley watered by the nearby babbling stream. From Peshawar we had sped past a Jamrud, a Landikotal, a Landikhana, a Turkham, a Dakka, a Jalalabad, a Duranta—each a name to conjure with, replete with a thousand and one historical associations, rich with past deeds in the chequered story of Anglo-Afghan relations.

At about 4 p.m. Kabul time (it was at Turkham, the Indo-Afghan border post, that we had the pleasant sensation of being able to gain two hours, the hands of every watch had moved back, with a smile) we entered the capital through a huge gate decorated with what we came to know later, the Afghan national colours. For the next hour or so we drove almost triumphantly through a metropolis in the height of excitement, bunted and beflagged to a degree. Time and again we passed arches and gateways with the Afghan black, red and green fluttering in the breeze, with huge Welcomes a... Long Lives for their beloved king.

What was that ? Revelry and enjoyment—festi... carousals. Kabul wore a gala appearance. Yes inde... for the Independence celebrations were close at han...

For six days in the year, every summer, Afghanist... celebrates her Jashn-i-Istaqlal with regal pomp a... imperial grandeur. The Jashn commemorates ... assumption of sovereign authority and absolute do... nion. Pacing the corridor of contemporary events nea... a quarter of a century back, the Afghans' sudden dec... ration of war with the prompt march-down of her troo... through the passes of the north-west, precipitated t... third and the last of the Anglo-Afghan wars. The att... though repulsed with exemplary agility (for not o... did Indo-British troops hold back the advance, th... even defeated the Afghans at Dakka and Spinbuld... all the more remarkable for a government fully p... occupied with World War I) demonstrated the Afg... capacity to stand up, against odds, at isolated poin... Tahl, Wana, Paiwar Pass. Of these the most famous w... the success at Tahl of the late King Nadir Sh...

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

then a general under Amir Habibullah. Here, with unflinching courage, in face of the serious Afghan reverses on all other fronts and the air attack on Kabul which had completely unnerved the government, Gen. Nadir Khan had held out.

This event, above all else, is associated in the Afghan mind with their victory, their Istaqlal. For the war resulted in a peace, the Treaty of Rawalpindi, which by discontinuing the annual stipend to the Amir for control over his foreign policy, was a recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence. She was a free country, master of her own destiny. That year the Afghans raised their Minar-i-Istaqlal, the Column of Independence. It stands near the Wazarat-i-Harbia, the Ministry of War, a tribute at once to the brilliant achievement of the 'liberator' Nadir, and a handsome memorial to Afghanistan's national glory.

On Tuesday, July 24, the 1st of Asad, the Jashn celebrations commenced with a speech by the king. Addressing his ministers and notables in fluent Pushtu, King Zahir Shah stressed Afghanistan's past greatness. He laid due emphasis upon her policy of strict neutrality in the world conflagration, leaving no doubt in those who heard him that his government was determined to defend her national independence against any aggressor. Emerging from this assembly the king drove along a road lined with thousands and thousands of cheering crowds to inspect his armed forces, assembled in the vast grounds in front of the stadium. Later, from a vantage point he took the salute as the infantry, the cavalry, and the gunnery marched past, headed by the War Minister. In the early hours of a pleasant, clear day, the mammoth gathering, (many of them hailing from the most distant provinces) stood in pin-drop silence for the three hours that the march-past lasted. The pin-drop silence was, however, punctuated by an infectious loud clapping as now and again a particular unit would catch the public fancy, or evoke a sentiment of deep respect. It was an impressive array revealing an army remarkably well-equipped with the latest weapons in modern warfare. Just then the roar of a dozen or so aeroplanes up in the skies above the stadium came as a grim reminder that the Afghans had by no means neglected this most potent adjunct of a country's fighting forces.

After the march-past, His Majesty drove to the nearby hillock to pay his homage at the mausoleum to the memory of his late lamented father, king Nadir Shah. In the evening that day there were horse races. Of these, that which excited the greatest interest was the hurdle race. In the protruding porch of the stadium the king was present to witness these wonderful feats of Afghan horsemanship ; the wings on either side were jammed to capacity with distinguished foreign visitors and the doyen of the diplomatic corps.

The highlight of the following day's programme was the State opening of the Nandertavan, (Pushtu for Exhibition), by the king. Accompanied by the Prime Minister, H. R. H. Sardar Hashim Khan, the War Minister and a host of high ranking officials, His Majesty wended his way through the different sections. Almost everywhere he had questions to ask, in almost every branch of his country's rapidly marching strides towards industrialisation he evinced the keenest interest. A feature of the exhibition was that the articles exhibited were not for sale, which was to be effected on the closing day of the Jashn. Priorities, however, could be registered. To visitors, on the opening day, a copy of the king's photograph in full martial uniform and a small booklet in Persian, detailing exhibition particulars, were distributed free.

On this occasion half a dozen teams in Hockey and Football had been invited from this side of the border. And day by day, to the accompaniment of martial music, the Peshawar Wanderers or the Delhi Mughals or the Aligarh Eleven would pitch themselves in battle-array against the Nijat Maktab Hockey or the Ariana Football. At these crowded evenings the king or the prince would be the most interested spectator and nearly all Kabul seemed assembled there to boost and buck up the rival teams.

Just across the road, in the valley below the hillock where the late king's mausoleum is being built, stands a beautiful lake. On its either side are grassy plots and dainty little flower-beds. The lake, none too deep, provides, to the adventurous in spirit, a lovely couple of hours in boating, where the sight of the rower with the boat upside down seems too familiar to occasion much laughter. The lake, the grassy plots, and the dainty little flower-beds to the accompaniment of a gentle breeze promise the visitor an excellent evening in the lap of nature, pure and undefiled. Here, in a tent, of an evening, the rival teams that had played that day would be entertained to a most sumptuous tea. And oft-times I recollect that never-to-be-forgotten moment, as I sat reclining in an armchair, hardly a foot or so from the lake, the breeze blowing in the face and causing the ripples which gently lapped the banks, whilst the hot 'divine leaf' cup lay on the marble table in front.

Scarcely had the golden disc gone down in the west after the day's labour across the sky, when the stadium and the entire 'Chaman' were flood-lit. It was a treat indeed to walk down the Chaman, that tastefully decorated and lavishly illumined more than half a mile long road, lined with tea-shops and cafes. Packed to the full each advertised its best singers, a Nahu Khan or a Qasim Beg, to attract the largest crowd. This feast of lights and music seemed eternal. For even as the midnight oil burnt or the candle wheezed out its last gasps in the distant hills, the Chaman lights shone with unusual brilliance. And even in the small hours of the early morning the horses' hoofs tramped the road and the pedestrians shifted this way and that as a car whizzed past.

An interesting feature of the Jashn celebrations is the fact, that except for the essential services almost all the government offices, schools and colleges remain closed for an entire week. Until last year the *Islah* and the *Anis,* the two national dailies of the capital, suspended their publication during these days. This year, however, the *Anis* brought out special Jashn editions. Invariably during these days it is a real holiday mood which takes hold of nearly everyone in Kabul. But, it needs hardly be emphasised that there is a complete absence of any levity ; on the contrary, almost a religious sanctity seems to pervade the occasion. For tinged with pleasure and enjoyment is the grim realisation of the warding off of any possible danger to Afghan independence, from whatever quarter it be.

Though many a one even from the remotest provinces of Herat and Mizar-i-Sharif trudges his weary way to Kabul to witness the regal grandeur, in the provincial capitals too the Jashn-in-miniature is not neglected. While in Kandahar on our way back to India,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the provincial Governor took us around to a vast ex panse of garden and grounds wherein, he reminded us, the Jashn was celebrated with all ceremony. Kandahar, we were told, observes a three-day holiday. And this French-speaking, ex-Afghan minister in Rome and Berlin, so thoroughly versed in his country's ways was at pains to assure us that even in the farthest village in the countryside and in the humblest cottage the Jashn occupies a place all its own. So we thought it does.

———:0:———

LITTLE INDIA IN MAURITIUS

By S. A. WAIZ

Mauritius—home of the extinct bird Dodo—lies in the Indian Ocean, 1400 miles from Africa, 600 miles east of Madagascar and 2,000 miles from Ceylon. Its area is about 720 sq. miles. Although Mauritius lies within the tropics the climate is mild and equable.

The total population of Mauritius is estimated at about 415,000 of whom about 275,900 or about 70 per cent are Indians. These Indians are descendants of immigrant labourers from Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar. There is a sprinkling of traders from the Bombay Presidency.

Nothing is known of the early history of the island. Probably it was known to the Arabs in the 13th and 14th centuries but there is no trace or record of settlement by them. The Malays who colonized Madagascar visited Mauritius in 15th-16th century. It was discovered by the Portuguese on their way to India in the beginning of the 16th century but it remained without inhabitants until colonized by the Dutch in 1638. For over a century and a quarter the vicissitudes of the island were limited to changes of name. The Dutch called it "Maurice" in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau. The French took possession of the island in 1715 and called it "Ile de France." It was ceded to the British in 1814 when the change of name to Mauritius was effected.

In 1835 slavery was abolished. The emancipated slaves refused to work on plantations except on their own terms. The planters resorted to the introduction of indentured labour from India which commenced in 1842 and continued without interruption until 1910.

Before the advent of Indian labour a few sugarcane plantations were on the verge of ruination. The greater part of Mauritius was a vast forest. But Indian labourers by their united efforts and by dint of their innate, atavic virtues of industry, frugality and thrift converted Mauritius into a flourishing colony. They are the pioneers of the tobacco industry of the island. The great majority of Indians are engaged in agriculture whether as planters or labourers on sugarcane estates.

Indians have done well in all spheres of life in Mauritius. There are a number of important Indian firms who have extensive dealings in grain and cloth trade. In not a few cases, Indians whose forefathers went out to Mauritius as indentured labourers without any means whatsoever have amassed considerable fortunes; and Indian owners of land and plantations now number several thousands. There is, however, poverty among Indians but on a smaller scale and less obvious than in India.

Indians enjoy full equality of political status with the rest of the inhabitants. But as they are not politically conscious, they have not yet availed themselves of the opportunity. There are two nominated Indian members of the Legislative Council.

The official languages are English and French and though the former is widely understood, French is the principal language of social use. All educated Indians and professional men speak and write French. Hindustani is largely spoken by Indians but Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu are also current.

The Indians, the French, the British and others live amicably without any distinction of race or colour. Their social relations are very pleasant.

There are a number of hospitals, dispensaries, schools and orphanages financed and conducted by Indians. The Arya Samaj and the Sri Ramakrishna Mission and the Tamil Association are rendering useful service to the people of the Colony. The Ramakrishna Mission has an Ashram (Monastery), a Reading Room and Library at Port Louis. It has an Orphanage at Vacoas nearly 14 miles from Port Louis. They give free medicines to all at their dispensary. Their Institute of Culture conducts night schools for adults and children for teaching Indian languages of which Hindi is the principal one. There are other charitable institutions such as Dharamsalas, Yatim Khanas and Madrasas. There are a number of Indian Cricket and Football clubs.

Indians are thoroughly assimilated in Mauritius and take pride in calling themselves Indo-Mauritians. Though they are cut off from the homeland as there is no direct regular steamship service between India and Mauritius, they tenaciously cling to their ancestral traditions. Very few Indians have embraced Christianity. The Hindu festivals—Dassera, Holi, Divali, Shivratri, etc.—are celebrated with the same enthusiasm, delight and eclat as they are done in India. Temples, Shivalayas and shrines are found all over the island. The itinerant priest or Sadhu is almost as common and as welcome on the plantations as in the villages in India. Recitations from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana have the same fascination for these simple, God-fearing folks as they fascinated their forbears in days of yore. In fact religion still dominates their lives. The caste system is retained in a modified form and untouchability is gradually disappearing. In big towns trousers (western style) have replaced the dhoti but the majority of labourers still adhere to the ancestral costumes, though "shorts" are becoming more and more popular. The Sari seems to be irreplaceable.

It is amazing how these people whose forefathers left India almost a century ago and who were born in a foreign country and were brought up under strange surroundings often in the face of adverse circumstances have succeeded, to a remarkable degree, in preserving their ancestral heritage and national culture. They still worship the very name of the country of their origin—India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECENT STATEMENT OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, m.a. (Cal.), ph.d. (Lond.),
Lecturer in Political Science, Dacca University

Following in the trail of Lord Wavell's last declaration we have had yet another statement on India made simultaneously in both Houses of Parliament on the 4th of December last, by Lord Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Herbert Morrison. It is an authoritative and important document in the sense that it represents an agreed decision of His Majesty's Government about their Indian policy. Beyond that it has no other significance. It does not mark any reorientation in their Indian policy. It breaks no new ground whatsoever. It reiterates the same old policy and objective and even reaffirms the procedure through which the objective is to be reached. There are only two new features about the statement : the first is the proposal to send a representative British Parliamentary delegation to India to contact leading Indian political personalities, and the second is a sort of veiled threat that firm action would be taken to put down any prospective subversive popular movement that might be launched. To all appearance, the statement is a sequel to and the British Government's reaction to the mass agitation and demonstration sometimes taking the form of a surging popular upheaval as in the recent disturbances in Calcutta and Bombay and the speeches of many released political leaders particularly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with their direct mass appeal. These seem to have upset the mental equilibrium of the British officialdom in India at whose insistence the British Government seems to have been persuaded to show up their hand. Otherwise perhaps they would have kept silent at least till the elections were over. Considering the nature of the statement, its hollowness and lack of substance, it cannot be explained except on an assumption like the one made above.

The statement begins by reiterating and justifying the steps contemplated by His Majesty's Government to be taken to promote early realisation of full self-government in India as announced by Lord Wavell last summer. The reason adduced for making the present statement is that the full significance of the proposals in question does not seem to have been properly appreciated in India and further that the discussion with representative Indians after the elections contemplated therein have been misrepresented in certain quarters as a fruitful source of delay. So it became incumbent on the British Government to remove all suspicions and misunderstandings. The Secretary of State observed :

> "I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution-making body, by which Indians will decide their own future, and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency."

With that end in view and as an earnest of good faith and sincerity of purpose of the British Government it is proposed to send a Parliamentary delegation to India to utilise the opportunities of personal contact between representatives of the two countries afforded by such procedure. The purpose of the delegation would be twofold—firstly, the members of Parliament constituting the delegation would have an opportunity of meeting leading Indian politicians to learn their views at first hand and, secondly, the former in their turn "would be able to convey in person the general wish and desire of the people of this country that India should speedily attain her full and *rightful position as an independent partner state in the British Commonwealth* and the desire of Parliament to do everything within our power to promote speedy attainment of that objective." It should be noted that the political status that is envisaged here for India is that of a partner state in the British Commonwealth, which might be regarded as denying her the choice to remain within or to secede from the British Commonwealth. But the position was made clear by Mr. Herbert Morrison in reply to a question in which he stated that there was no such intention. He said :

> "I do not think there need be any misapprehension about that, the offer of 1942 to include the provision of a treaty contemplated between a new self-governing India and His Majesty's Government would not impose any restriction upon the power of India to decide her future relationship with the remainder of the British Commonwealth. His Majesty's Government stand by that position, though it is naturally our hope that India will remain of her own free will within the British Commonwealth."

There was some discussion in Parliament about the exact status and functions of the delegation. The original proposal set forth in the statement was for sending a Parliamentary delegation under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, an unofficial body. The delegates were to be selected by the Association in consultation with Parliamentary representatives of the chief political parties of Britain. In answer to questions the matter was further elucidated. The delegation was to be something of the nature of a good-will mission. It was not to submit any formal report, but on its return the delegation may have an opportunity of conferring with His Majesty's Government in order to express its views and impressions. The feeling in the House of Commons was in favour of giving a more official status to the delegation than was provided through the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association. In deference to the wishes of leading members of the House the Government ultimately agreed to give up the auspices of the Association and to give it a more official status by forming the delegation direct from members of the two Houses representing the different parties. The functions of the delegation were to be mainly exploratory in character, directed towards understanding each other more clearly than is possible through official reports etc., by means

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of personal contacts and ultimately to place at the disposal of the Government and Parliament the views and impressions as also the considered opinion of the delegation which are to serve as a basis for the eventual settlement between the two countries.

So much about the Parliamentary delegation. To come now to the "threat" part of the statement. It was stated by the Secretary of State that

> "During the period of transitions towards complete self-government, the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility which rests upon it and upon all provincial governments in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve constitutional issue by force. . . . His Majesty's Government could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty and the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force."

As was to be expected Mr. Eden and the Earl of Munster on behalf of the Tories gave their immediate blessings to this part of the statement. The suggestion of a Communist Member that this part might be left out was met by Mr. Morrison saying that he did not detect any threat in the statement. It simply meant that the Government of India had responsibilities of Government and it must govern. But however much Mr. Morrison may try to represent it in a different light its character as a threat cannot be camouflaged in any way and it was but natural that Indian leaders like Moulana Azad and Pandit Nehru reacted to this part of the statement as such. What little, if any, was there in the first part of the statement by way of a gesture of goodwill was completely neutralised by this show of the "mailed fist". Looking at the matter even from the angle of the British Government it seems to us it has been highly impolitic to associate this threat with the other proposal. It was simply needless to throw out this challenge at this stage, when they know they have the power to use force to meet any possible emergency, should it arise. At any rate this was not a fit occasion for advertising in advance the policy to be pursued by the Government in the event of any attempt in India to precipitate the pace of advance by threat of force. If the purpose was to cow down Indian leaders by a warning it has failed to be effective as is evidenced by the reaction of Indian leaders to this part of the statement and it was only as expected. But what is worse still is the fact that the whole object of sending the Parliamentary delegation, the spirit of conciliation in which it seems to have been conceived for otherwise there was no point in making this statement at all—have been completely frustrated by this part.

In the concluding part reference is made to "the great need of India . . . to raise the standard of life, of education and of health of the masses of the people" and of pushing forward boldly conceived plans of improving social conditions along with the introduction of self-government. It is very difficult to find out the relevancy of this matter to the other parts of the statement unless the intention is to divert attention in part from political to economic issues as has been the tendency in British official circles for some time past with regard to India. Indian politicians also have ne minimised the gravity of India's economic proble only they have placed priority on the issue of politi freedom which to them is the master key to all o problems. In their view, only a national governme enjoying the confidence of the people can take the b measures that are necessary for the economic regene tion of the teeming millions of India. So they plead the first things first—Indian independence before a thing else.

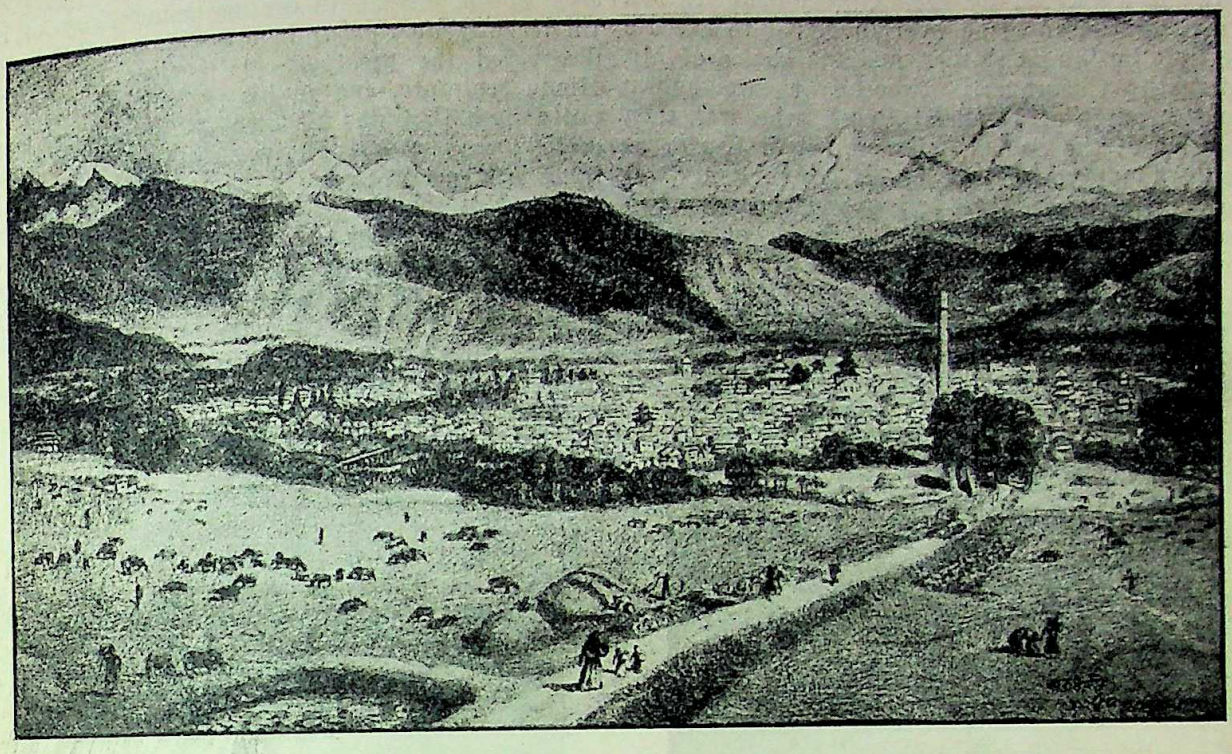
From what we have seen above it would be qu clear that the statement made in Parliament has served any useful purpose ; on the contrary, it has in way done more harm than good in so far as it clearly revealed that the advent of the Labour Gove ment has not marked a change of heart on the part the British Government towards India or a reorientati of their Indian policy. At any rate it is not expect to lead to an improvement of relations with India. course, time is long gone when Indian people bu expectations as to political advance on a change ministry at home. Yet in view of the tall professio of the leaders of the Labour Party of sympathy for t cause of Indian Independence and even their electi pledges it would not have been anything silly if India had built high hopes about India's future on t advent of the Labour Party to power. But this sta ment would bring disillusionment to those, if the were any, who had any illusions about the promises Labour leaders in regard to India. If the Labo Government were really sincere in their professions sympathy for the freedom of India and if they mea business they would have easily realised that th device of Parliamentary delegation would not be of a avail towards the end in view. At least it may cau some delay. Indians have had enough of Delegatio Committees and Commissions. Facts of the India situation are all there and nothing new requires to explored through these agencies. As Prof. Laski h very rightly observed :

> "I do not think the all party delegation to Ind will do any harm, but I am not satisfied that it w necessarily do good. I am not content with th policy of the British Government in India and regard the conferment of Self-government upon Ind as the acid-test of the Labour Government."

What is now wanted is a bold policy in the sha of an immediate declaration of Indian independen by the British Government on the basis of the cons tution to be framed by the Constituent Assembly th is going to be set up after the elections. It would betraying a sad lack of imagination and political wisdo for British statesman to view the problem of India isolation. It should be viewed as a part of the big problem of the whole of Asia in the setting of t ferment and upheaval that is evident from one end Asia to the other and the surging national conscio ness of the Asiatic nations who are not prepared a longer to submit to exploitations of the West nations. The situation in the East is explosive and if th victorious nations do not rise to the occasion a thi World War with its epicentre in Asia is unavoidab and that would mean perhaps the end of civilisation. high responsibility rests on the Labour leaders tod If they take the initiative in India, all the other pro blems may perhaps be easily solved on this exam and thus save the world from destruction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Kathmandu, the picturesque capital of Nepal
By Sunil Paul

A YOUNG INDIAN SCULPTOR

Sunil Kumar Paul

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
Professor, Calcutta University

The city of Kathmandu, the picturesque capital of Nepal, like the other towns of Nepal valley, has got its *Tundi-Khel,* an open grass-covered *maidan* or field where military parades and manoeuvres are regularly held. The Nepal Government evidently intends this plot to be surrounded by statues of its rulers, to form an area which would recall the old Sigesalee of Berlin, or nearer home, the Red Road of Calcutta. Along the west side of the *Tundi-Khel* are bronze equestrian statues of four of the Prime Ministers and Supreme Commander-in-chiefs of Nepal—Maharaja Bir Shamsher, Maharaja Chandra Shamsher and Maharaja Dhir Shamsher, and the great Maharaja Jang Bahadur (the last resembling in style John Henry Foley's well-known statue of Outram on the Maidan at the head of Park Street in Calcutta). A bronze standing statue of Maharaja Joodha Shamsher (who has just abdicated, in the time-honoured manner of Hindu rulers, who are expected to retire into a life of religious calm when feeling too much the burden of state in old age) terminates the fine new street named *Joodha Sarak* which was built during his rule after the earthquake of 1934.

All these statues, and a few more in Kathmandu, are works of British sculptors. But the latest statue decorating what may be called "the Street of Statues" to the west of the *Tundi-Khel,* is one done in quite a different style. It is a figure of the reigning king of Nepal, His Majesty Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Sah Dev, slightly bigger than life, which stands in quiet dignity under a tasteful *chatri* in the Indian style at the crossing to the south-west of the *Tundi-Khel.* It is the work of a young sculptor from Calcutta, Mr. Sunil Kumar Paul, who was commissioned by the Nepal Government to execute it from life and to cast it in white cement. The effect of it is like marble : and it is a standing testimony to the artistic powers and technical skill of the young artist who was responsible for it. The statue was set up in its place in December, 1944.

Sunil Kumar Paul was born 25 years ago in Calcutta in one of its old and highly respected families. The background on which his childhood was passed was that of the typical Bengali Hindu boy in Calcutta, in which *Pujas* with clay images of Gods and Goddesses and exhibitions of clay figures as part of religious festivals have a great part. After a few years' schooling at a local high school in North Calcutta (except passing the Matriculation, he did not take any university examination), Sunil Kumar joined the Government School of Art in Calcutta in 1935. From his second year he took up sculpture as his special subject, joining the Modelling Department of the school then under the direction of Ramendranath Chakravarti. After five years' study, he was given the school diploma in 1940 on the result of his examination ; and after this, he elected to stay at school, to take the Art Teacher's diploma for which there was a two-year course. In 1942, the Nepal Government wanted a promising young

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

artist, to be selected by the Government School of Art in Calcutta, to come over to Nepal to execute some portrait busts and statues, and the choice of Mr. Ramendranath Chakravarti (himself a well-known artist and a pupil of Nandalal Bose), who was then Head Master of the School, fell upon Sunil Kumar as the most brilliant young man of his group. Paul went to Nepal in December, 1942, and stayed there for two years, with an occasional break of a couple of months in 1944 when he came home to Calcutta.



His Majesty the King of Nepal (1944)

This gave our young artist a unique opportunity, not only to show his powers, but also to lay by a fund of observation and experience in that home of old-world Indian artistry, the valley of Nepal. With its wonderful architectural and artistic treasures and with the exceedingly picturesque and unsophisticated life of the people, in its four towns which are veritable treasuries of art—Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Kirtipur—all set in the emerald green and the enamel reds and blues and yellows of its foliage and flowers and fruits, with the towering background of the eternal snows of the great Himalayan range to the north, Nepal valley forms a real paradise for the artist and the man of imagination and taste. After his formal and orthodox training at school in Calcutta, this sojourn in Nepal, during which he responded with all his being to the appeal of both Nature and Art, both of which are irresistible in their gorgeousness and spontaneity, is bound to prove of far-reaching consequence in the development of our artist's powers.

Sunil Kumar did some good student's work while at school in both modelling and sketching, and drawing and painting. Some of his school essays are in the usual style of the nineteenth century romanticists of Euro... till recently *de rigueur* in art schools. But he quick... discovered the greatness of ancient and medie... Hindu sculpture, and in his portrait studies he stru... out a path that was his own—which did not aim a... meticulous photographic verisimilitude, but sought... bring in a certain formal or symmetric vigour and st... grace. Not that he eschewed realism altogether—... of his early work (*e.g.*, the *Head of a Faqir*, 19... shows a robust realism which has even a certain Go... quality about it. In his bas-reliefs and decorative co... positions with Indian themes, he could not, natura... enough, escape the mannerism and the idiom recei... from Classical Hindu Sculpture as well as decayed ... moribund Folk Art. But the patent sincerity of ... effort helped to endow many of these compositions w... a certain dignity and seriousness, which we may n... in a figure like the one I have called *Sita with her T... Babes* (1938).



Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamser (1943)

When just out of school, Sunil Kumar took a ha... at decorating with bas-reliefs and panels a cinema ho... in Calcutta, the *Minar*, owned by one of his uncl... (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that another un... of his is Mr. Santi Paul, well-known champion ... swimming, who is also a poet of distinction). Apa... from some small panels, the most noteworthy things ... this decoration is the group of three figures, ... *Gandharva* and two *Apsaras*, celestial beings of Indi... mythology, who are sweeping down from the high... regions to earth (1942). These, in duplicate on either ... flanking the auditorium in a remarkable way,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In Nepal, Sunil Kumar busied himself in executing the portrait statue of His Majesty the King of Nepal, and in making portrait busts of His Highness the Maharaja, Sir Joodha Shamsher, and other notabilities. He made excursions to all the important shrines and centres of art and crafts in the valley of Nepal, took sketches, and observed the methods followed by the wood-carvers, ivory-workers, metal-casters and other craftsmen of Nepal who have made the art of the country famous in the world ; and he also took his fill of the beauty of living in the country, among both

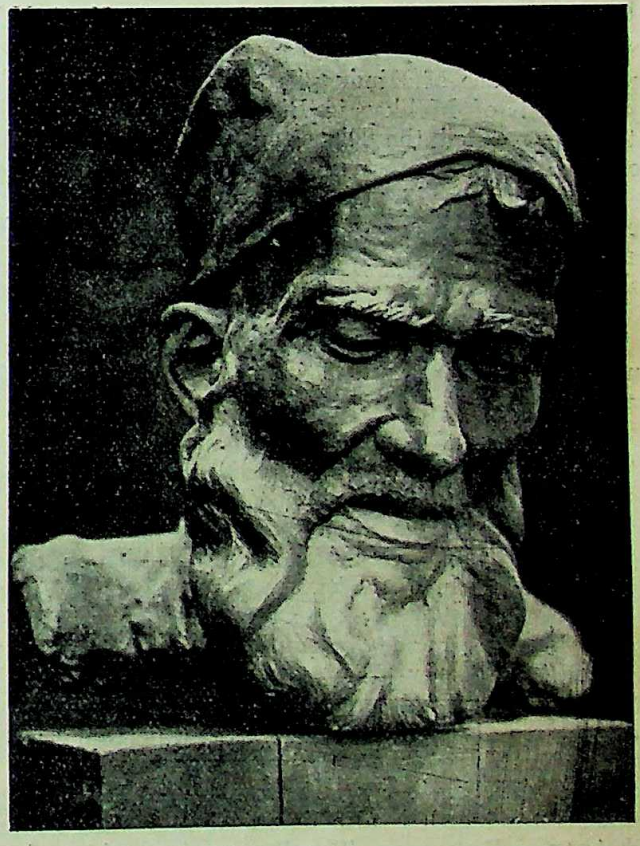


Sita with her twin babes, Laba and Kusa (1938)

Brahminical Hindus and Buddhists, in their numerous festivals, processions and temple-worship. The main work for which he was called to Nepal he has accomplished to the satisfaction of all, the statue of the King of Nepal ; and incidentally, he was able to draw out his talents to their full maturity as a portraitist. Among his other successes are the fine portrait bust of Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamsher, and a most beautifully done bust of a young Nepali nobleman, Colonel Shanta Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana. Some fine paintings and pencil sketches of Nepal scenes and sights form part of his other artistic work while in Nepal. Incidentally, the new Museum Building at Kathmandu, erected by Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamsher, under the supervision of the Curator of the Museum, Mr. Siva Narayan Sen, was also decorated by a gateway with a series of reliefs in cement by Sunil Kumar.

Sunil Kumar Paul is now back in Calcutta and has set up as a sculptor and artist in his ancestral house. In Calcutta he has done a few good portraits and has received some commissions. A series of panels for the *Durga Puja* ceremony show him in the characteristic style he is developing. He does not disdain to be eclectic, if it gives him the needed articulation. The image of Durga on her lion slaying the demon Mahisha is vigorously and convincingly executed—it is, of course, not done in the traditional style sanctified by centuries of association, in which images meant for worship for a few days only and then for casting away in the waters are made, but it is a piece of artistic work we would like to retain. The language of Assyrian sculpture in accentuating the muscles gives an additional vigour to the composition.

A national movement in Art in India began in Bengal when Abanindranath Tagore became Vice-Principal (during the principalship of the late E. B. Havell) of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, and his pupils Nandalal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, and the rest strengthened this movement which spread all over India by members of the Calcutta School going to other provinces as Art Teachers (*e.g.*, Asit Kumar Haldar at Lucknow, Sailendranath Kar and Kusal Mukherjee at Jaipur, Pramod Kumar Chatterji at the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala at Waltair, the Ukil brothers at Delhi, Samarendranath Gupta at Lahore, and other members of the Calcutta School and its development the Santiniketan School in other centres of education and art: *e.g.*, the Rajkumar College at Raipur, the Aitchison College at Lahore, the Doon School at



Head of a Faqir (1937)

Dehradoon, etc, and by students from other provinces coming to Calcutta and Santiniketan, some of whom have now come to the forefront as the best exponents of present-day art in India (*e.g.*, K. Venkatappa from Andhra-desa, P. Hariparan from Kerala, Masoji from Maharashtra, and Kanu Desai from Gujarat). These were mostly artists ; the revived Indian School in Calcutta did not go in for sculpture, although Nandalal Bose trained some of his pupils in modelling, who like Ramkinkar Beij and Sudhir Khastagir have shown very

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

great promise. Following the European model and technique, Maharashtra gave to India a number of distinguished sculptors, like Mahtre, Wagh and Karmarkar. Traditional methods are still followed by sculptors and modellers in the Tamil country, in Mysore, in Orissa, in Rajputana (Jaipur specially), here and there in Northern India (*e.g.*, Benares, Gaya, Bengal), and in Nepal : but there has been no attempt to pool together this reservoir (now fast drying up through want of proper support) of Indian artistic inheritance in sculpture. Bengal gave to India one great sculptor who has acquired a pan-India distinction—Devi Prasad Ray Chaudhuri—now Principal of the Government School of Art in Madras. It requires only the support of the people and the state to bring about the much-needed revival of sculpture all over India.

The Pala period of Eastern Indian (Bihar and Bengal) history from 740 to 1150 A.D., roughly, witnessed the birth and development of a very noteworthy school of sculpture in Bengal which had far-reaching influences within India and beyond India. The sculpture and painting of Nepal and Tibet are directly derived from the Pala Art of Bengal. Pala influences penetrated into China and Japan, and into Burma and Indo-China, and Java in Indonesia. We have names of some of the Pala masters preserved to us, in epigraphy as well as in literature : Vitpalo (or Vita Pala), Dhiman, and Sula-pani. Sunil Kumar's surname Pal or Pal (*i.e.*, Pala) recalls that of the Pala emperors with the glorious artistic atmosphere of their age. His studio in Calcutta I have named the "Rupa-pali", "a Fostering Centre of Plastic Art': and I hope that the young artist with the growing unfoldment of his artistic gifts, as the years and decades pass, will be able to assist in making his province Bengal, and his country India, a domain of art, even as they were a thousand years ago.

———:O:———

LONAR

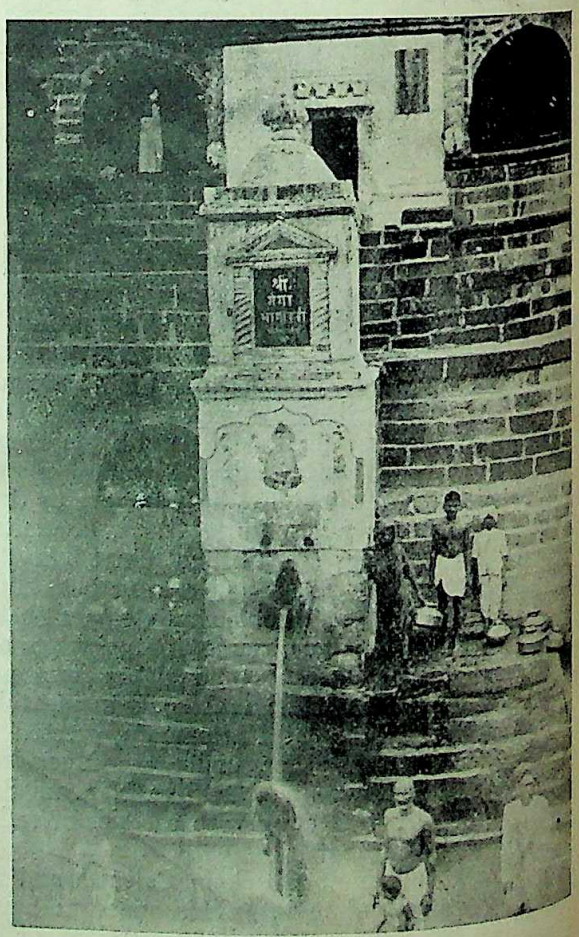
A Salt Lake in Berar

V. G. KAVIMANDAN

Lonar is a place of Hindu pilgrimage situated 15 miles to the south of Mehkar in Berar. It is famous for its water spout called the Dhar and Salt Lake. It is connected with the nearest railway station at Khamgaon by a metalled road which passes through Mehkar. Mehkar is also famous for its idol of Vishnu which was unearthed and installed at Mehkar in 1888. The idol is ten and a half feet high and a very beautiful piece of architecture. Lonar has got a Dak Bungalow overlooking the lake and specially in a moonlit night you can have a very beautiful view of the lake and its surroundings.

The history of Lonar is shrouded in mystery and it is to be unearthed from various sources. It is described in the Skanda Purana as Virja Teerth and there is a special chapter in this Purana called Viraia Mahatmya. Legend about this Teerth is that one demon called Lavanasur was troubling the people and so God Vishnu rescued them by killing the demon who concealed himself in a cave. God Vishnu is said to have opened the cave by His toe. The salt lake is said to be the cave in which the demon concealed himself. Gangabhogawati was brought in the form of a perennial water spout to wash His toe. This legend is also depicted in the form of a carving on the canopy of Daityasudan temple. Virja teerth is also described in Padma Purana and Ananda Ramayana. The Puranas are said to have been compiled in a period ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 8th century A.D.

Later on, Lonar is mentioned as a sacred place of pilgrimage in Mahanubhao literature. Swami Chakradhara, founder of this sect, had visited this place in 1255 A.D. and 1272 A.D. Both these visits are described in *Leela Charitra* by Mahindra Bhat. The book describes the itinerary of Chakradhar Swami. In *Leela* 51 it is described that Raja Krishnadeo Yadao with his brother Mahadeo went to Lonar. They bathed in the Dhara teerth. They met Chakradhar Swami and the Raja donated gold coins to the Swami but the latter did not accept them. So the Raja got the temples of Kamalajadevi, Kumareshwar, repaired and the ghat of Dhara teer-



Dhar—the perennial water spout of Lonar

constructed with that money. This visit of Raja Krish-deo Yadao of Deogiri to Lonar is ascertained by D-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

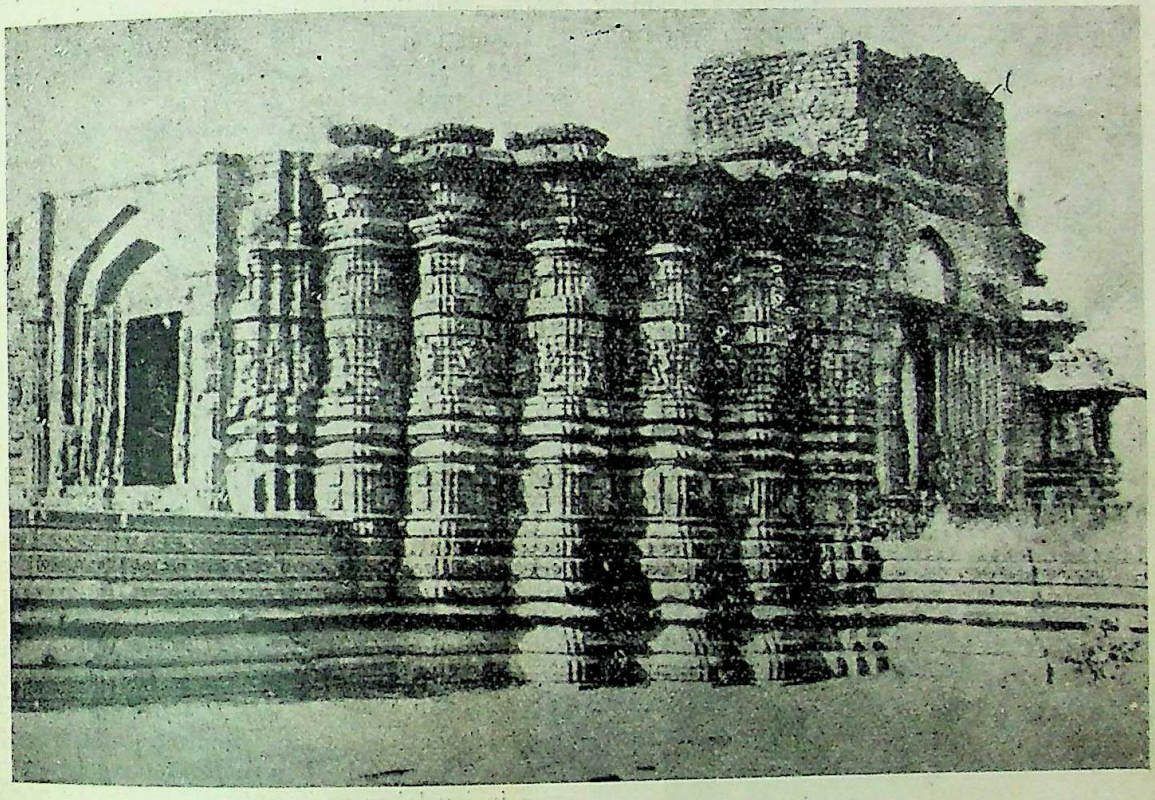
Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal and according to him it took place in 1255 A.D.

The second visit of Swami Chakradhar is said to have taken place in 1272 A.D. when he bathed in Dhara teerth along with his two female disciples. *Leela Charitra* is written in a code language called *sakal* script but it has been deciphered by scholars.

Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl gives the description of the Salt Lake and Dhara teerth. Dhara teerth is described by him as Bishan Gaya. (English translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Jarrat, Vol. II, Edn. 1891, pp. 230-231). Abul Fazl was a minister of Akbar and a great scholar. He accompanied the then Subedar of the Deccan and stayed for some time in Berar and personally visited all these places. He prepared a statistical account of Berar in 1596-97 A.D.

The Dhar is a perennial water spout coming from an unknown source though the Hindus believe that the water comes from the Ganges. Water falls from a height of 10 to 12 feet in a Kund which is surrounded by steps on three sides. This water is used by pilgrims for bath and drinking purposes. The water then passes through the Kund to the south into the famous Salt Lake area. This water is used by cultivators for irrigation purposes and on both sides of this water current there are plantain and vegetable gardens. They use this water by rotation both by day and by night. There is a temple of Kumareshwar 100 feet below the Dhar in this area. In the extreme south of the Dhar towards the other end of the tank there is a temple of Kamalaja Devi and a well in front of it. The forest area around the lake is infested with tigers and there is good sport for shikaris.

The circumference of the Salt Lake is about 3 to 4 miles. There are various salts in the water of this tank and formerly these salts were used in manufacturing soaps and bangles. These cottage industries vanished long ago because of foreign competition. Recently attempts are being made to exploit these salts for industrial purposes but these attempts have not yet borne fruit.



Daityasudan Temple

In the centre of the town there is an ancient temple of Daityasudan which is built in stone and is in the Chalukya style of architecture. It is said to be the finest specimen of early Hindu architecture in Berar. It is built in solid stone in the form of an "irregular star, the exterior walls being covered with carved figures". This temple is worthwhile a visit by pilgrims.

This town is a seat of Hindu-Muslim trouble but recently the Nagpur High Court held that the Dhar is a Hindu Devasthan.

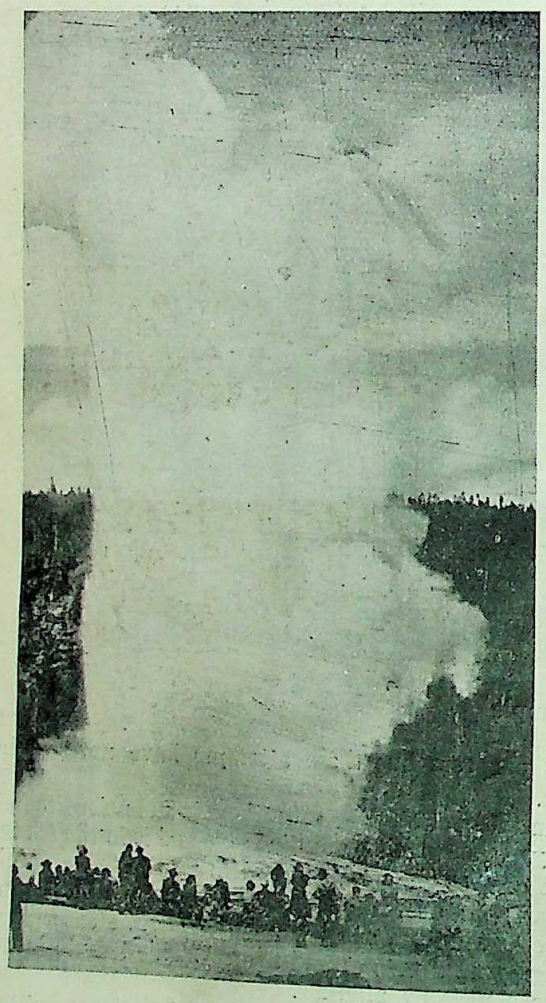
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

First and Largest of America's National Parks

LONG-HAIRED, leather-garbed scouts and trappers who ranged westward in America during the nineteenth century sent back incredible tales of a land high in the Rocky Mountains where the earth boiled under foot, where spouts of scalding water as tall as a flagpole came roaring out of the trembling ground, and where a whole valley resembled the infernal regions steaming with sulphurous fumes and plumes of vapor rising from the ground.



Queen of all the geysers in Yellowstone National Park is "Old Faithful" which rises to a height of about 150 ft. and which has been erupting day and night, winter and summer, ever since its discovery in 1870

These explorers told of "petrified birds" who sang "petrified songs" on "petrified trees" and of petrified sagebrush bearing diamonds, emeralds, and ruby fruits as large as walnuts. Aroused by these tales, the United States Government sent an expedition westward in 1871 to explore the area. Although many of the reports were found to be myths, the members of the expedition saw the country that was indeed wonderful.

The expedition found an amazing region, where 3,000 hot springs and geysers steamed and spout and mud volcanoes bubbled and boiled near an lake. If there were no petrified birds or precious jew there certainly were great petrified forests, layer layer of them, forming a cliff 2,000 feet high. In Grand Canyon a waterfall nearly twice as high Niagara Falls leaped over a cliff into a gorge thousand feet deep lined with yellow stone. There a river that was hot on the bottom, not as the trapp had thought "because it ran so fast," but from springs in the bed. There was a mountain of black gl and a mountain of sulphur and a mountain that grow continuously from the steam vents near its summ And all these wonders were in the heart of a vast spoiled region of mountains, lakes, rivers, and fore teeming with thousands of wild animals and birds.

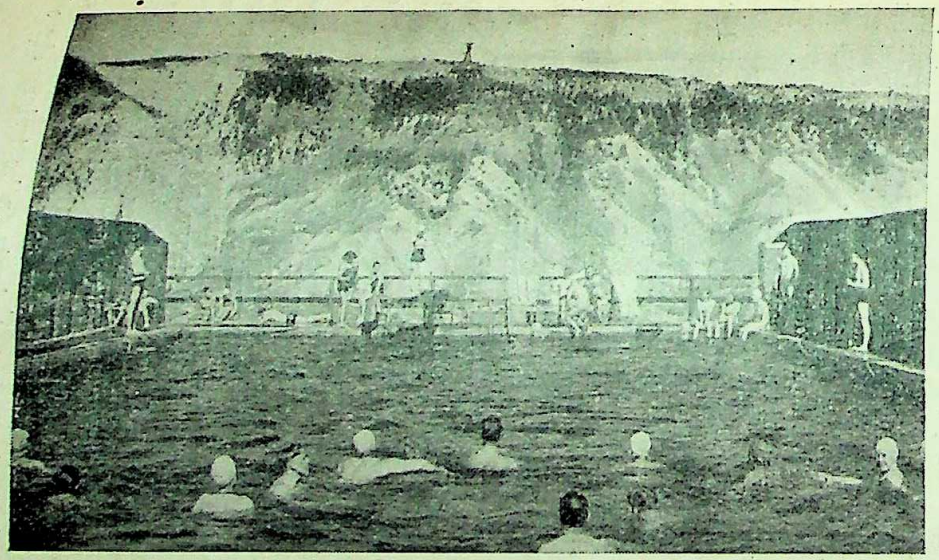
The reports of the excited U.S. Government par led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park, the western state of Wyoming, in 1872 as a "pleasur ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people the first and still the largest of the 26 national par that exist in the United States today. The park n covers 3,472 square miles, an area nearly as big as th states of Delaware and Rhode Island combined.

Nearly half a million visitors flock to Yellowsto National Park every year to see for themselves th wonders that bewildered and amazed the early pioneer Far from the milling crowds of the great cities in th United States, these visitors find peace in the ancie rock-ribbed hills and changeless forests. They fish lakes stocked by the U.S. Government. They ri horseback or tramp over wooded trails, taking pictur of the wild animals that roam freely in the park. The swim in icy lakes or in natural swimming pools warm by the waters from nearby hot springs. In winter visito toboggan or ski down the snowy slopes of the gre mountains. Forest rangers teach them the rich histor and geology of the region on guided tours. At night th visitors sleep in comfortable hotels or housekeepi cabins or pitch their own tents on the park's fre camp-grounds. The park offers excellent accommodation to nearly half a million visitors every year. Nation Park authorities have established a system of fine hotel free campgrounds, and housekeeping cabins. Guests ma eat at one of the park restaurants or cafeterias or co their own meals over open campfire. Boats may b rented to explore the many lakes, and horses are f hire to penetrate the forests over numerous woodla trails.

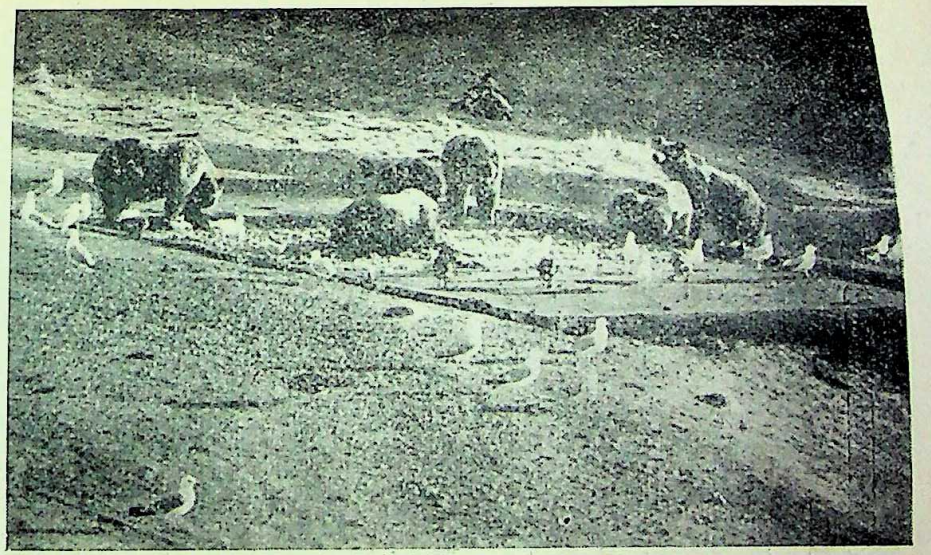
Large government-operated fisheries at Yellowsto Lake attract fishermen from all over the nation w have their choice of pitching tents on the free camp grounds, staying at one of the many fine hotels renting a cabin.

During the war, visitors are limited mainly to wa workers living in the region of the park who spend their brief vacations there, and to members of th United States armed forces returning on furloughs. No the park is host to hundreds of thousands of peopl from all over the world.—*USIS.*

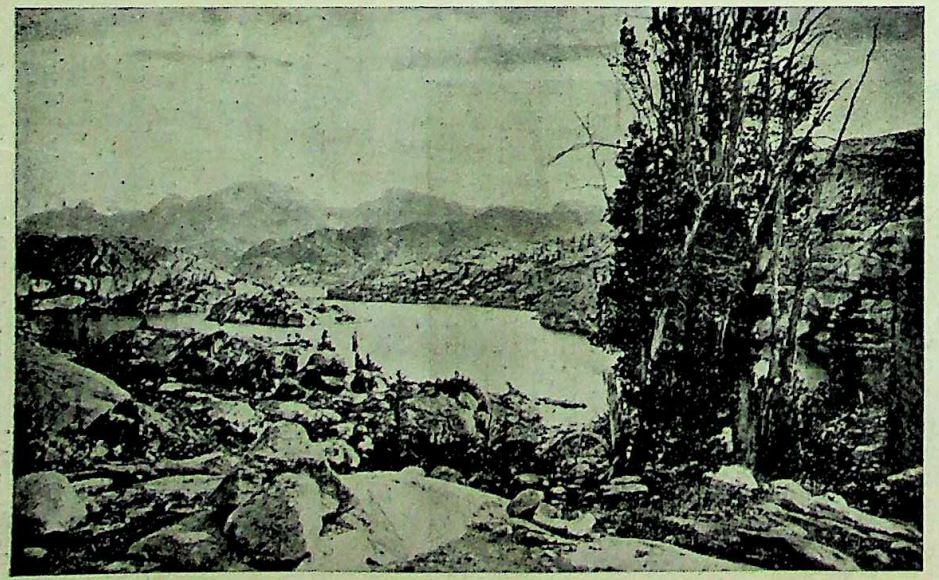
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



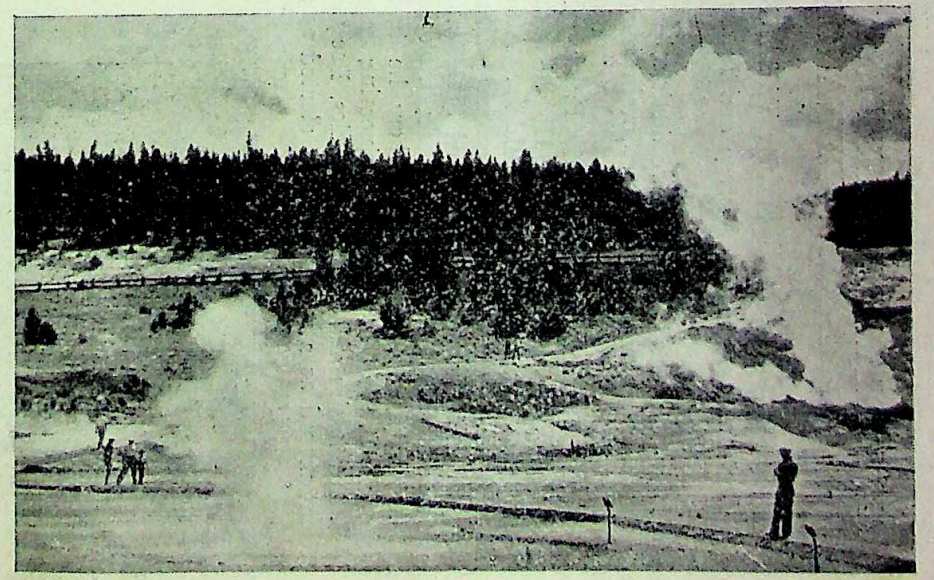
Visitors to Yellowstone National Park swim in a pool of naturally warm water which flows from one of the hot springs in the park



Bears and birds roam freely, protected by law in Yellowstone National Park which is one of the largest animal-life sanctuaries in the world



Spawned by the great volcanoes of the past, these austere and rugged hills and this blasted rocky earth and a river exposing the layers of a dozen petrified forests piled one on top of the other, are typical of the grandeur of Yellowstone National Park



American vacationers follow the trails among the seething pools, bubbling hot springs and spouting geysers of Yellowstone National Park

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

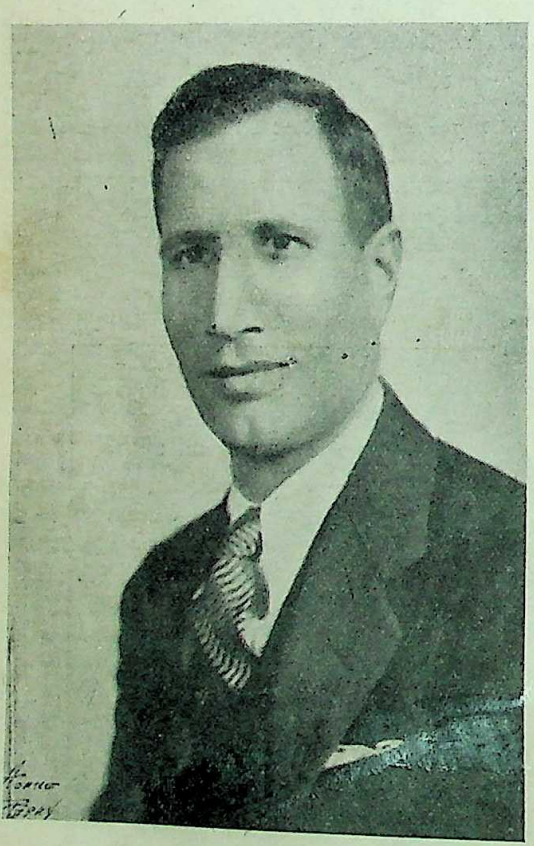
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AN INDIAN SCIENTIST IN AMERICA COMMENDED BY U. S. ORDNANCE OFFICER

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.,

Special Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations, College of the City of New York

In the United States several Indians have distinguished themselves in their professions and Dr. Surain Singh Sidhu, Associate Professor of Physics and Director of X-ray Laboratory, of the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania is one of them. He was born on June 8, 1902 at Shamnagar, Amritsar, India. After finishing his high school education at Government High School at Amritsar, he came to the United States and joined the University of California and later took his admission to University of Pittsburgh, where he took the degrees of B. S. in Electrical Engineering and Physics, M.S. in Physics and Ph.D. in Physics. Because of his excellent record as a scholar he was elected as a



Dr. Surain Singh Sidhu

member of *Sigma Pie Sigma* (Physics Honorary Society) and of *Sigma Xi* (Scientific Honorary Society). Because of his professional success, he is counted as one of the American Men of Science and his name is listed in the National Roster of Scientific and Specialised Personnel, prepared by the Government of the United States. Dr. Sidhu is a member of various Scientific Societies : American Physical Society, American Society for X-ray and Electron Diffraction, American Institute of Physics, American Industrial Radium and X-ray Society, American Association of University Professors, American Association for Advancement of Science, Consultant X-ray Physicist for Radiological Society of North America, etc.

Dr. Sidhu has risen to his present position of responsibility in the University of Pittsburgh by his ability. He began his career in this great institution as Graduate Assistant in Physics in 1925. After three years of service he entered into Industrial field as Research Physicist, with Union Switch and Signal Company, Swissvale, Pennsylvania (1928-32). He became Lecturer in Physics at the University of Pittsburgh in 1933 and was promoted to the position of Instructor in 1938. In 1941 he was made an Assistant Professor and in 1944, he was promoted to the position of Associate Professor and Director of X-ray Laboratory, University of Pittsburgh, and also elected as a member of the University Senate.

It may be of interest to the Indian public that Dr. Sidhu, during the last world war has played his part effectively in the field of scientific and industrial research, and in the training of specialised personnel. Major George H. Knode, Chief of Engineering of Pittsburgh Ordnance District of U.S.A., in a letter to Dr. R. H. Fitzgerald, the Chancellor of the University commends Dr. Sidhu's work as follows :

> "For the past four years I have had many occasions to consult with Dr. S. S. Sidhu who heads your X-ray Section. He has spent many long hours teaching our men the use of X-ray equipment, especially in steel castings. Practically every foundry now has this equipment which is operated by students who have received their instructions from Dr. Sidhu.
>
> "When first coming to Pittsburgh, I inquired as to the man who was best versed in this subject and everyone agreed that Dr. Sidhu was the one who should be contacted.
>
> "Will you extend to Dr. Sidhu our appreciation for the work he has done for the war effort. It is the co-operation of men like him that has made this country the Arsenal of Democracy."

The above is a very high compliment extended by the U. S. Ordnance Officer to an Indian scientist, so India should be justly proud of Dr. Sidhu, who by his work is demonstrating that an Indian scientist, given an opportunity, can contribute effectively in the field of National Defence, in this age of Atomic Bombs.

Dr. Sidhu is deeply interested in the promotion of scientific and industrial research, and education in India and thus raising the standard of national efficiency. Thus the Watumull Foundation has selected him as one of the members of its Advisory Board. In one of his recent letters to me he has given his views on raising the standard of Indian universities which may be of interest to Indian university authorities. Dr. Sidhu writes :

> "I fully agree with you that India cannot afford to send all deserving students to be trained abroad

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As far as that goes no other country can do it either. It is neither economical nor practical. They should and will have to raise standards of their universities. Wherever they lack faculty for certain type of training, for example, faculty to teach radar or applied nuclear physics or any other new field, they should send abroad a few qualified young men to study just these subjects, and then have them teach these subjects. The other alternative would be that they can hire a qualified person from abroad for certain length of time to teach such subjects. It will benefit a larger number of students and will be more economical in the long run."

The University of Pittsburgh (as well as Carnegie Tech.) is located in one of the most highly industrialized districts in the world and is one of the best in the United States for technical education, although it is not so well-known in India. First class graduate students from India will find excellent opportunities for higher studies in this institution. But it is my earnest hope that none but the very best type of students should come to the United States for higher education ; and none should ask for any special favour from an American institution. In the United States men of merit receive recognition they deserve ; Dr. Sidhu is one of the best examples of deserving Indians receiving recognition in the United States, in their respective fields.

———:O:———

GROW BETTER CATTLE

By P. J. KAYANDE, B.A., J.D.

India has to fight many problems in the post-war period. One of them is the problem of cattle production. It is essential for Indian agricultural development that India should have live-stock which is better in milk-yield and working capacity than the present one. The rapid improvement in cattle-breeding is possible in India if we realise the immense practical potentialities of the art of artificial insemination.

Artificial insemination differs from natural service only in so far as the spermatoza or the male seeds are introduced into the female passage by means of instruments instead of by the male himself. It is not a new thing. The Arabs were quite familiar with the art of artificial insemination which they practised in the breeding of horses in the middle ages. It was left however to an Italian named Spallanzani to make a scientific approach to the problem. He practised this art for the first time in a scientific way (in 1780). Progress was very slow until World War I. After World War I, rapid development was made in the technique of artificial insemination especially in Russia. By its introduction in practical husbandry immense progress was made in improving the cattle and its quality in Russia. The Russian experiment was emulated by many European and other countries and much research was done concerning the technique of artificial insemination. In England researches of far-reaching importance were done with great zeal at the Cambridge University by Dr. Hammond and Dr. Walton.

Although the lead has been taken by India late, it has not been a silent spectator in this respect. The Government of India have recognised the value of the art of artificial insemination. In 1942, a scheme was sponsored by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for special study of this science with special reference to Indian conditions at the Imperial Veterinery Research Institute, Izatnagar.

It has been already realised that this method can be adopted with advantage in the future animal husbandry system of this country. In India valuable sires are very few and small herds innumerable. So the extension of the services of these few sires will be very valuable and this can only be derived through the use of artificial insemination. A tube of preserved semen is evidently more handy than a travelling sire. Progeny can thus be obtained from outstanding animals separated by long distances. Higher fertility can be achieved because of the regular supervision by the technical staff.

The collection of semen, its distribution and preservation and its subsequent insemination cover the technique of artificial insemination. At the Imperial Veterinery Research Institute, Izatnagar, research is being done in all these branches and the results are striking. In one instance, one-sixtieth fraction of a single collection was enough to result pregnancy in a cow. Pregnancies have been obtained from six days preserved bull semen and ewes inseminated with seven days preserved semen have dropped lambs.

It should not however be presumed that the employment of this method will work wonders like the wizard's wand. There are many handicaps in achieving the ultimate in the utilization of this method due to the peculiar difficulties existing in India. Many factors like the conservatism in the Indian farmers, their ignorance about the functions of the reproductive organs, lack of transport facilities, bad insanitary conditions in villages, etc., are some of the handicaps under which the village extension work of the Institute is being carried on. To find how far these difficulties will limit its applicability in India and how best they can be removed, the Institute has resolved to contact and organise villages on a regional basis and to open a few centres for this purpose in different parts of India the work of which will be supervised and co-ordinated by the Animal Genetic section of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar. It is to be hoped that with Government help and co-operation of the farmers many of the above-mentioned difficulties will be surmounted and the way paved for progress.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

It seems that there is going to be a big change in the Anglo-Indian relations in the near future. It only seems to be so, because no one can definitely say what shape it would take or if any shape it would at all assume. We have been led to think as living in an atmosphere where Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Members of the Parliamentary Delegation in India, the Viceroy Lord Wavell, down to the self-seeking, freedom-scared members of the British mercantile community in India have been, as if, dying to transfer power to the Indian people. To quote only two relevant responsible utterances on the point, I would very naturally give preference to one by the Secretary of State for India which he was pleased to broadcast on the New Year's day :

> "I want you to realise that I myself, the British Government . . . desire to see India rise to the full and free status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth."

And again,

> "We will do our utmost to assist India to attain that position ; there is no longer any need for denunciations or organised pressure to secure this end."

There have been many paraphrases of such sentiment here and there and the latest is attributed to Maj. Woodrow Wyatt, a member of the Parliamentary Delegation given in an interview on January 18 last at Bombay :

> "The idea of domination has vanished. Some Indians with whom I have talked seem to think that Britain is not sincere about Indian independence. There could be no greater mistake."

And about another mistake which the Indians are prone to commit, he said :

> "If the people of India think that the British people are not sincere about their desire for Indian independence, I regret to say they are making a great mistake."

Before passing on to other topics I would point out that there is no unanimity about the nature of the power which the British people are going to transfer to India. The Indian demand is 'Quit India'. The Secretary of State wants India to be "an equal partner in the British Commonwealth" and Mr. Wyatt speaks about "the sincere desire" of the British people "for Indian independence." He is very explicit on this point and his remarks satisfy the "sincere desire" of the Indian people and when the "sincere desires" of the two people meet on a common plane it can create an atmosphere of lasting peace among two great nations of the world. Says he :

> "The idea of domination has vanished . . . It is not weakness that is behind the British desire to transfer power to India. It is the realisation that in the world of today *domination of one nation by another is more harmful to the nation that dominates than to the nation dominated.*" (Italics mine)

If the reason for the transference of power to India is exactly what Maj. Wyatt says and if this spirit imbues the British Parliament then there is hope of India's aspiration being realised in the near future. Otherwise, no other sentiment can prompt the British people to lose the brightest and the most coveted jewel in the crown of the English monarch.

II

But can the British manoeuvrings inspire any hope of an early settlement even if utterances of some British statesmen do ? The transference of power, according to them, depends on all classes, sub-classes, communities, political and religious groups, vested interests, etc., coming to an *agreement*. The Congress must agree. The Hindu Mahasabha is not taken into account but the other communal organisation, the Muslim League, which is given a greater prominence than its position warrants, must agree. It has been proved that intransigence of one man can torpedo all efforts at political settlement. Nothing can be done, should be done if the Princes do not agree. The clauses relating to commercial discrimination in the statute book, Sections 111-125, cannot be removed unless the British merchants agree and so on and so forth. And yet the postulate stands that there can be no settlement until all parties agree ; as if the Labour and the Tories agree on the question of nationalization of the Bank of England and of the coal mines; or they do agree on all matters of policy and in their mode of approach to the world problems. Why was it at all necessary to go to the polls if there was and is agreement between the different political parties in the U. K.?

III

While laying enormous stress on the communal agreement, the British Government through their accredited representative the Viceroy of India holds up to ridicule the method adopted by the Indian National Congress for attainment of its cherished goal. It is presumably with an idea of weaning the sympathies of all potential agitators that Lord Wavell does the annually before a picked gathering of his own countrymen. If it had been a gathering of Indian intelligentsia with liberty to speak out the mind, then Lord Wavell would have been able to gauge the feeling that his bantering remarks engender in Indian minds. In 1944 on December 14, said Lord Wavell before the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta :

> "If I may be permitted to assume for the moment the role of medical adviser to politics in India, my advice would be something like this : I do not believe that your condition calls for a serious operation, I should certainly try all other remedies first. But I do not think that "Quit India" mixture or those *Satyagraha* pills have done you much good. I should suggest your leaving off medicines altogether and you may find that you are not as ill as you think."

His Excellency seems to have been overjoyed at his own discovery and he repeated the recipe of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

previous mixture just a year after and before the same gathering on December 10, 1945, by saying that

"'Quit India' will not act as the magic 'Sesame' which opened Ali Baba's cave."

In other material points regarding political settlement he was the same in 1945 as in 1944 with the material change that in 1945 His Excellency said that the Indian people is to have *a Government or Governments of their own choice* which in 1944 was to the effect that His Excellency did not believe *"that your condition calls for a serious operation."* Has not a patient the right to choose his own medical adviser if he finds that the one which he is confronted with changes his mind very often ?

IV

There has been a serious attempt to stop all future major political upheavals by good counsel, by threat, by action and by all possible means. Everybody in India has by now become conversant with the legal actions, more active measures in the shape of declaration of unlawful assembly, 'Section 144', restrictions, curfews, martial laws, *mild* (and also vigorous) *lathi charge,* firings and all like that. Persuasion *cum* threat meant for Indians are broadcast in plenty and naturally they assume different shapes. In the interest of all concerned this aspect should be discussed in greater detail.

The most mild form of advice was tendered by His Excellency Lord Wavell to the Indian people through his English audience on December 10, 1944, when he prescribed 'a faith cure' *i.e.,* 'a belief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement' and it was His Excellency's "earnest wish and endeavour to give India freedom, but *we cannot abandon our responsibilities* without bringing about some reasonable settlement." (Italics mine). Until such happy days arrive the people must be waiting in faith because 'Quit India' problem "cannot and will not be solved by violence." In His Excellency's view

"Disorder and violence are in fact one thing that may check the pace of India's progress"

and therefore the minions of law and order in India with Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the C.-in-C. as the exalted heads of Indian administration should be allowed to forge a reform of purely British manufacture and the people of the land should hold their breath in suspense.

V

The great all-India Services are not to be disturbed in any way because that would surely check the smooth progress of India towards the realisation of her goal.

About the all-India Services His Excellency was pleased to say on December 10, 1945 :

"The welfare of the people, the greatness and prosperity of a nation depend on the efficiency and devotion of its Services—the Civil Service, the Police and the Armed Forces—who must be servants of the Government, not a political party. There could be no greater disservice to the future of India than to endeavour to undermine the confidence of the Services or to draw them into the political arena."

Here Lord Wavell did not stop and went on saying :

"I can assure the Services, . . . that they will receive all support in the proper fulfilment of their duty."

The same thing was told by Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords on December 4, 1945, which runs as follows :

"No greater disservice could be done to the future Indian Government and to the cause of democracy than to permit the foundations of the state to be weakened and the loyalty of its servants to those who are in authority to be undermined before that new Government comes into being. Therefore, the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility which rests upon it and upon all Provincial Governments in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve constitutional issue by force . . . H. M. G. could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative Services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty, and that the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force."

Round the above statements a whole world of controversy —a controversy of a conquered and helpless people and their domination by foreigners holding the keys of the Government—resolves. What should a man belonging to the services do when he is confronted with the dilemma of looking to the interests of his own self, on his friends and relations, his society and the nation to which he belongs and of a demand on his allegiance or 'loyalty' to the Government whose interests are oftentimes in conflict with that of his own ? It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter into such a controversy ; it is just intended to deal with facts as they are.

VI

Firstly I shall deal with the question, what is 'proper' duty the 'fulfilment' of which will 'receive all support' of Lord Wavell. The public may remember that General Dyer was allowed to go home peacefully by the Government of India perhaps with a suitable pension and was rewarded by a grateful British public with a sum of about £30,000 for the discharge of his 'proper' duties and making the empire secure for British Imperialism. I would like to repeat some of the answers of Brigadier General H. E. H. Dyer, C.B., to the Hon'ble Lord Hunter, the President of the Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee, in his evidence on November 19, 1919 because they disclose the working of minds of officials faced with a difficult situation. Most of these are known to the readers of *The Modern Review* but they have a grim relevancy to the present setting.

General Dyer admitted that though every government order or news spread very rapidly in places like that but at the same time, there might have been a good many who had not heard the Proclamation. At the time it did not occur to him that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the Proclamation. He merely felt that his orders had not been obeyed, that martial law was flouted, and that it was his duty to immediately disperse by rifle fire. Martial law had not been proclaimed before he took that step but he did not consider about the propriety of consulting the Dy. Commissioner who was the civil authority responsible for law and order. There was no Dy. Commissioner *there* to consult at the time. Neither did he think it wise to ask anybody further. He had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made up his mind immediately as to what his action should be. He considered from a military point of view that he should fire immediately, that if he had not done so, he should be failing in his duty. Before firing he did not ask Mr. Rehill (the Dy. Commissioner) who was present while the firing was going on, whether in Mr. Rehill's judgment it was necessary to fire. His mind was made up as he came along in his motor car—if his orders had not been obeyed, he would fire immediately. In firing his only object was to disperse the crowd. The crowd began immediately to disperse as soon as he fired. Though the crowd was going to disperse he did not stop firing because he thought it was his *duty* (please mark, Lord Wavell !) to go on firing until it dispersed. If he had fired a little, the effect would not have been sufficient. If he had fired a little he should be wrong in firing at all. (Italics mine.)

Asked Lord Hunter :

Q. What reason had you to suppose that if you had ordered the assembly to leave the Bagh they would not have done so without the necessity of your firing, continued firing for a length of time ?

A. Yes : I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed them perhaps even without firing.

Q. Why did you not adopt that course ?

A. I could not disperse them for some time ; then they would all come back and laugh at me, and I considered I would be making myself a fool.

As regards the measures which he adopted in the discharge of his *proper duties* such as curfew order, crawling order, public lashing, recruitment of special constables, etc., I would request the kind readers, Lord Wavell and the Hon'ble Members of the British Parliament forming a non-official Delegation now in India to go through the evidence of this gallant General and form their own opinions regarding the meaning of 'proper duty' in the context of Indian climate.

I have given the nature of the duty performed by the great General of immortal fame in a little detail only to show that such duties have been performed from time to time by most officers in the Police and Military Services with or without the aid of the Civil Authorities up to the time when firing was resorted to in the Dhurrumtollah Street on the evening of the 21st November, 1945. The following days found a method of quelling mob violence by firing on unarmed and unsuspecting general public without any notice to disperse, without any order restricting people from moving out of their houses at periods when armed police and military personnel might go round the streets of Calcutta, and even without declaring a chance collection of four or more persons an unlawful assembly. Verily a British officer writing home from Calcutta on November 22, 1945, said that the "British authorities used Fascist methods against peaceful student demonstration in Calcutta." The *New Statesman and Nation* in which extracts of the said letter appeared further quoted :

"Last night in one of the main streets of Calcutta there was a procession of young students marching to hold a protest against the trial of the I.N.A. men. The police barred the way so they just sat down hundreds of them, peaceably, on road, blocking the traffic. They were like that prolonging time ; I am watching them.

"Then the military police moved off all service-men—presumably authorities do not want to any unnecessary witnesses of their Storm-troop prowess—so unfortunately I was unable to w developments. Apparently from what I gath today the deadlock continued for some time, stu leaders asking permission for the procession to on and the police refusing.

"Finally students tried to march on and police charged with their lathis ; mounted p also charged and seized nationalist banners, ca casualties with their lathis and rode over the pe with horses. Students threw books and anything had at the police ; shortly afterwards a police was set on fire. The police then opend fire upo completely unarmed crowd of young students k at least one and wounding over 60, some serio A sad comment on how we maintain order all South-East Asia."

VII

Perhaps no comment is necessary except tha the advice often tendered to us by Lord Wavell forgive and forget. His Excellency asks us to forget injuries, mental, moral and physical, inflicted o just a moment past. We have not yet heard L Wavell teaching us the Christian virtue to forgive events of Sathazari at Chittagong and to receive offenders with open arms !

We do not know if the persons responsible for "wheeled blackhole", for adopting inhuman meas for the suppression of the non-co-operation, civil obedience and the 'Quit India' movements, acted w the 'proper' sphere of their duty to the State. Case arson, loot, homicide, rape, cruel tortures, etc.— of the most heinous offences against humanity, h been attributed to the government officers high low and still there has been no open enquiry, no against those who are charged by the public openly. third degree methods adopted in the Lahore Jail, D Fort and at other places put the horrors of Belsen i insignificance. The Bahadurgarh Camp incident th lurid light on the administrative system of India. T has been no enquiry into these serious allegations. aggrieved have not been allowed to legally proceed their own responsibility and we do not know wh the caressing arm of the British Government is extending, as the Secretary of State says, "full sup to the Government of India in securing that servants are protected in the performance of duty."

It is one thing to support an officer who exercised judgment and acted within limits of the and *moral* code of the land and it is another thing openly support any act that offends against provis of civilised law and principle of morality simply bec it has been committed by one of the officers of State in the discharge of his duties, (im)proper otherwise. We may remind Lord Wavell and the Se tary of State that if they think of preventing un mining of the loyalty of the services by threatening people and supporting their officers without pro and impartial enquiry, undermining of the morale the services can be checked for a time, but in fact support is bound to encourage irresponsibility in off and to undermine more and more the foundation of relations between the two nations and also the fou British Empire in the East.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VIII

Then there is another question relating to this subject: *Who undermines?* It is said that whom God wants to destroy, He, in his benign Providence, confounds them first. It is unthinkable that an intelligent people like the British, instead of going into the root cause of the whole trouble try to salve the sore, which burrows deep into the marrow and to the bone, on the surface, and then rest in peace. In all the Services in India, racial discrimination more than anything else has eaten into the vitals and any national upheaval is bound to create repercussions in the minds of the Services' personnel. Besides, as human beings, of being Indians first, every self-respecting man and woman is bound sometimes to react in a manner not quite palatable to the taste of their British masters. Racial discrimination is a canker in world politics, in the relation between people and people; and it is extremely harmful to the body politic of a nation when the members of the Services smart under it every moment of his official career. About the evil effects of 'racial discrimination' a man of the eminence of Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, who is known to have cherished no feeling of support for the political movements of India, was constrained to say at the Commonwealth Relations Conference in London on March 5. 1945:

> "For the Commonwealth to continue as a Commonwealth at all, it is essential that there should be no racial discrimination in any shape or form. So long as there is practice of the idea that any race has a right to dominate another race, there are bound to be wars, San Francisco notwithstanding. The only difference between us and the Nazi theory of 'racial superiority' is that Nazis profess and practise it openly, while we want to practise it but do not want to profess it."

I would request Lord Wavell and the British Government to please read this sentiment in the background of Indian service conditions and to find out the causes of chance defection or general discontent—divine or not—in the hearts of the members of the all-India Services.

Look at such 'giants' in the Indian Civil Service, *viz.*, Sir K. G. Gupta and Sir A. C. Chatterjee. Both of them became entitled in the course of their respective careers, to the Governorship of Indian provinces. One was shoved to the post of President of the Fisheries Commission, a line with which he was hardly conversant, and Sir Chatterji was shunted to the post of High Commissionership of India in England. What was the feeling of his Indian juniors in the chain? Excepting Lord Sinha, nobody has been allowed to occupy the Governor's musnud permanently even for a short time. We had had Messrs. Tambe, Raghabendra Rao, Sir Usman, Nawab of Chhatari, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, etc., serving the purpose of a plug in the interim arrangement for a period extending from a few weeks to a few months. They never belonged to the Services and the real man is Sir C. Trivedi. Sir Chandulal is anxiously waiting for the Orissa guddi where an obscure Mr. Dain was once unsuccessfully thrust from his position of a Divisional Commissioner. As regards the regime of Lord Sinha of Raipur, we have on the authority of the Editor of *The Modern Review*, that His Excellency's life was simply miserable, buffetted as he was by his able white Secretaries of the Indian Civil Service and he had neither time nor opportunity, and ultimately lost all inclination to delve into the deep matters of statecraft. He returned home broken in health, a sadder but a wiser man.

Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha, a safe and sober man from the official point of view, expressed his opinion in the following language at Cuttack on November 2, 1945, on the conditions prevailing in the services that particularly relate to his own countrymen:

> "I can tell you from my experience that there are, in almost every province, public men and others, who had been members of the Central or Provincial Government, and who have lived to see not only Secretaries, but even Under-Secretaries, to Government, in their time, elevated as members of the Government of India, and even to the rank of Governors in various provinces while they themselves (in spite of their knowledge and experience gained from inside, of the working of the administration) had been ploughing the sands, or at best, the lonely furrow, since their retirement from office."

About the post of Governors his remarks were:

> "Except once (in 1921) and that for less than a year, no Indian has been appointed a permanent Governor of an Indian province, and the recent photographs taken of the Governors' Conference at Delhi—the Viceroy sitting in the midst of eleven Governors not even one of whom was an Indian—which has appeared in the Press, had evoked feelings which I have no desire to describe."

His remarks regarding men and policy of the state and the inevitable conclusion it suggests support my contention and I make no apology for quoting a further passage from his speech:

> "Those amongst us who repeat the slogan that it is not high offices that matter, but it is the constitution alone which does, have yet to learn that it is men who mould systems and transform even defective ones to subserve the end in view. All these facts clearly point their own moral, if they do not adorn a tale. A system of administration so galling and humiliating to the self-respect of the people of this country, as the one that obtains at present, carries condemnation on the very face of it, and the point needs no elaboration at my hands."

IX

The British Government ought to remember that young men who join the Civil Services come of well-to-do families having a charm for high government posts. The recruits are themselves highly educated and it is a great slur on them to say that they are likely to be influenced by agitation-mongers and that they allow their morale to be undermined by political happenings in the country until and unless they themselves are convinced of the righteousness of the cause or their self-respect prevents them from keeping their connection with the services any longer. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose (Netaji, as he is now) a beaming bright young man, still in the midst of his post-graduate studies in experimental psychology, took into his head to sit for the next I.C.S. Examination in London for which only nine months remained to be held. Impressive in appearance, dignified in stature, rather grave in his mien, he was then not known to have actively taken

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

part in any political upheavals of the days of his youth. Intense love for his country found expression more in his dress and private talks than in any active participation in open movements and excepting that he became involved in a small incident which gave birth to an English word, *viz.*, 'Oatenise', he left the country for London to qualify himself for the heaven-born service, the 'steel-frame' of the British Empire. He resigned while he was still in England and nobody was there to influence him to sever his connection with the Civil Service. Nobody ever undermined his faith in the British dispensation of justice and good governance of his country. It was a high degree of self-respect which transcends the lure of lucre and influence and a sense of wrong under which his country had been smarting that led him to embrace a course that brought him into constant conflict with the Authority of which he was about to become a unit and an escape from which or rather a sincere but abortive attempt to bring it to an end has brought him eternal glory. Others followed. Messrs. Kamath, Patil, Moon and Bose (R.), and it is travesty of truth that anybody had tried to undermine their loyalty to the services. Ask them, they are alive, and have the answer.

The British Government ostrich-like, want to keep their eyes closed to ominous portents appearing all round. Nobody has said anything about happenings in a still higher sphere. The times are such when Hon'ble Members of the Viceroy's Council can kick at their chairs and come out. Therefore, it is wrong to accuse the innocent public when the whole administrative machinery is at fault.

X

About the tampering with the loyalty and devotion of the Army it is not necessary to say many things at the present moment. The revolt is nearly hundred years old, thanks to the racial discrimination policy of the British Government. The first fight for freedom, miscalled Mutiny, showed to the world that the Indian Army, specially its Indian element, was not dead to the demands of national honour and national sentiment. The ordinary criminal law of the land (Sec. 131 I.P.C.) runs :

> "Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier or sailor, in the Army or Navy of the Queen, or attempts to seduce any such officer, soldier or sailor from his allegiance or his duty, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to fine."

There have been very few cases in India under this section and yet there was and is grave discontent in the Indian Army. It has been contended by responsible Indians that the Indian soldiers are mere mercenaries and had their stomach been full there would have been few recruits to fight Britain's battle under a false slogan of *Democracy in jeopardy*.

Wrote Mr. David Carpenter, a British Army Officer in the London *Tribune* in the second week of October, 1945 :

> "A transcendent feature of the political situation in India is the volcanic hatred that one finds in the people's hearts for England and everything English . . . Nowhere is this hatred stronger than among the officers . . ."

In case of another civil turmoil of great magnitude breaking out in India again Mr. Carpenter says,

> "Then the rank and file of the Army will side with the people and the officers will lead the rank and file."

About the attitude of the Army towards the British he says :

> "Though their experience in the Army has not taught them to hate the enemy less, it has taught them to hate the British more. I hope *they will leave the Army embittered by discrimination and by the superior attitude of their British fellow officers*, confident in their own ability to administer and command and passionately determined that India must govern herself and equally determined that India must be united so that she may be strong." (Italics mine).

By the way, did Mr. Carpenter have an opportunity of talking to the members of the Azad Hind Fouz? Otherwise how could he analyse the mind of the Indian army men so minutely and the political situation so critically and write his impressions in such a prophetic strain ?

Maj. General Shaw Nawaz has had long connections, through generations, with the Indian Army and the whole crux of the situation will become evident from the statement which he made before the Delhi Court Martial on December 7, 1945. He was inordinately vehement against differential treatment in the Army and amongst other causes for joining the 'Fouz' he said :

> "When I thought of the starving millions who were being ruthlessly exploited by the British and were being deliberately kept illiterate and ignorant to make this exploitation easier, I developed a great hatred for the system of rule in India, which to me, it seemed, was based on injustice and to remove this injustice I decided to sacrifice my everything—my life, my home, *my family and its traditions*." (Italics mine).

About the mean suggestion that they joined the I.N.A. for comparative ease and also to save their skin, Shaw Nawaz said :

> "I wish to bring to your notice and to the notice of my countrymen that no mercenary or puppet army could have faced the hardships as the I.N.A. did. We fought only for India's independence."

Capt. Sehgal has his own views. His statement runs thus :

> "Lt.-Col. Hunt, as the representative of the British, handed over the Indian officers and men to the Japanese like a flock of sheep. This came as a great blow to us all. The Indian Army had fought bravely against the heaviest odds, and in return the British High Command had left them completely at the mercy of the Japanese."

There is queer coincidence of a charge and its reply being made on December 10 and Dcember 7, respectively by Lord Wavell and Lt. Dhillon of the I.N.A. It seems strange that Lt. Dhillon's statement, chronologically, comes earlier than Lord Wavell's charge. Said Lord Wavell before the Associated Chamber :

> "Whatever your political views, if you cannot acclaim the man who prefers his honour to his ease, who remains steadfast in adversity to big pledged

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

faiths, then you have a poor notion of the character which is required to build up a nation."

This is what Lt. Dhillon said two days before Lord Wavell spoke and it must be that by this time His Excellency's speech had been prepared. In the Chetwode Hall in the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, are engraved the following words :

"The honour, welfare and safety of your country comes first, always and every time. The comfort, safety and welfare of the men you command comes next. Your own safety and comfort comes last, always and every time."

May we ask His Excellency, whose honour and the welfare and safety of which country is referred to here and also in Lord Wavell's speech ?

Lt. Dhillon became apprehensive of the fate of his own people in case Japan invaded India and

"It was at this time that I got to realise the full significance of the havoc done to my unfortunate country by the one and half a century of British rule. While the British, I thought to myself, had exploited all our material resources for their own benefit and had freely drawn upon our manpower to fight their own imperialistic wars, they had not only done nothing to prepare us for the defence of our motherland in case of need but had in order to keep us in bondage for all time to come completely emasculated us."

It is needless to dilate the point any further but it is necessary to impress upon the authorities who may be still ignorant of this big event that, according to the Lucknow correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* (*vide* issue of January 5, 1946), the release of the I.N.A. heroes was demanded by the Indian Army. The C.-in-C. who is its head, generously, and intelligently too, acted according to its wishes.

XI

About the police service, the British Government should remember that racial discrimination is more rampant here than anywhere else. White colour brings more opportunities, priviliges, pelf and position than the coloured personnel in the same rank. The police service is extremely large and it is likely that some relation, it may be a son, has suffered some *disability* through the indiscretion of our British masters. They are liable to be influenced by the conduct of common people who suffer extreme physical pain from police lathi charge but do not retaliate ; thanks to the non-violent technique of the Mahama ! There are points—very large in number—when the 'political agitator' and the common policemen are in agreement. The Garhwali Army desired by the authorities to act as police, refused to fire upon unarmed demonstrators at Peshawar. Cases have been there, and they are more frequent with every new movement, when Indian constables fail to discharge their 'duties' in the manner in which the authorities desire them to perform. In the recent Dhurrumtolla disturbances, Indian police were conspicuous by their absence and during the 1942 August movement some constables acted in such a manner that their case had to be brought before the ordinary court of law.

XII

It is better for all concerned that the Britishers should leave us alone to work out our own destiny. We have begun looking at things from different angles and whatever they say, even if it is for the benefit of India, we at once become suspicious. Mahatma Gandhi has said that if the British Parliament cannot find any solution, they should not wait here to prevent civil war ; they should leave us to anarchy if to nothing else. We have lost five millions of human lives from Famine in Bengal alone. You have taken a few more lakhs to safeguard your interest in the world. We cannot lose a larger number through civil war. Even that is dying for a cause. It is much better than death through starvation. It passes one's comprehension when Britain has not been able to restore permanent peace in Europe why should she be so solicitous for the peace of a country which is as big as Europe minus the U.S.S.R. Prof. Albert Einstein rightly said on January 12 last from Washington :

"Trouble making is a British enterprise. It is my impression that Palestine is a kind of a small model of India."

No greater condemnation can there be on British rule in India !

The solution lies in what Sir Frederick Whyte, formerly President of the Indian Central Legislature, says in *The New York Times* in its issue of January 13, 1946 :

"I suggest China will reach her own conclusion more quickly and more effectively—even at the cost of some bloodshed—if all United Nations, especially the United States, will consent to leave the Chinese to make their own Government in their own Chinese way.

"It is obvious that the same principle applies throughout Asia today, including British India. The sooner the Western Powers can transfer effective authority to the people themselves, the sooner those peoples will settle down to the essential task of creating political institutions of their own.

"Your own history in England shows that people don't and cannot name a Government of their own unless and until they take charge of it themselves. They say : until you clear out, we shall not settle down to the real task of fulfilling our own purpose."

My request to the Britishers, and Rev. Sorensen agrees, please name a date and quit India. Even, if the various communities fight amongst themselves for political supremacy, so far as you are concerned, you will enjoy friendship and confidence of all and will be able to carry on with your trade unhampered.

Mahatmaji has given his final verdict on the matter on January 24 last at the Constructive Workers' Conference in Madras and it is well for the Britishers to follow his advice. Said he :

"We want the British rulers to quit in a friendly spirit. If they do that, it will augur well for them, for India and the world."

No more camouflage please !

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JOURNALISM

The Free-Lance Variety

By C. L. R. SASTRI

As a free-lance journalist for more years than I care to remember I suppose I ought to be able to speak on that branch of journalism with authority, and not as the Scribes. But, before doing so, I should like to warn my readers of the many snags and pitfalls with which it is surrounded. Contrary to the common belief it is not all gas and gaiters. Free-lance journalism, as I understand the term, is a very real and a very honourable part of journalism ; and, as one of that brotherhood (howsoever insignificant), I do not think that those practising it need bow their heads, or bend their knees, before their fellows of the other kinds. Comparisons, I am aware, are said to be odious : nor is it my purpose here to indulge in them—certainly not if I can help it. But the indisputable fact remains that free-lance journalism "takes it out of us", as the phrase is, more than the regular variety, and receives much less in return. The free-lance journalist suffers all the disadvantages of journalists in general without, at the same time, enjoying any of the latter's undoubted advantages.

As a paying proposition Indian journalism, as everyone knows, has almost become a byword : though it would be only fair to acknowledge that, of late, there has been an appreciable change for the better—especially among the top ranks. It would be idle to deny that some of our "high-ups" in the line are quite well off according to *any* standards. Four-figure salaries are not, by any means, uncommon, and even those who have not the good fortune to belong to that favoured fraternity cannot, legitimately, complain that their profession has been to them as "a stony-hearted stepmother", as De Quincey lamented that London's Oxford Street had been to him in his early days.

Not "Waifs and Strays"

This myth should be dispelled now. Indian journalists are no longer among "the waifs and strays" of our society. Probably, if the truth is to be told, they never had been such even "in the dark backward and abysm of time". Let us remember, in this connexion, that while our country could boast of lawyers, doctors, engineers, businessmen, administrators galore from *auld lang syne* journalists were rather belated growths on the body-politic, suffering the natural disabilities of all late-comers. That was why, at the beginning, those whose eyes were glued to the main chance, the glittering prize, who regarded life as worth living only if it could, by a stroke of rare luck, be turned into "a gilt-edged security", were careful not to knock at a newspaper office's door : for that way lay penury (as *they* judged penury), all kicks and no ha'pence. But some few there were who looked on journalism as a sort of life-mission and, gazing from that "Pisgah-height", could reconcile themselves to a Spartan existence, an existence devoid of any frills and far-belows. It was these dedicated spirits who, scorning power and pelf, raised their profession to its present eminence ; and their guerdon would have been the satisfaction that, as the Athe[nians] put it, they left their patrimony, not worse, but a l[ittle] better, than they found it. Every noble endeavour, [of] necessity, rests for its success on such fine spirits. [The] religion, for instance, could have been founded if th[ere] had not been forthcoming persons who were absolu[tely] disinterested, who despised low joys, low gains,

"Disdained whatever Cornbury disdained."

But that formative period is, fortunately, over; a[nd] Indian journalism (thanks be !) has firmly come into [its] own. It is no longer the Cinderella of the profess[ions]. It has reached "man's estate" and can claim to [be] treated accordingly. There are in our midst seve[ral] journalists whose inherent worth has, at last, b[een] assessed at its proper monetary value and who can [be] numbered, from that point of view also, as being amo[ng] "the Captains and the Kings". This, of course, appl[ies] only to the regular journalists—that is, to those w[ho] have a place reserved for them in a newspaper offic[e] all the more so as not a few of these latter are, at th[is] hour, owned by one or other of our celebrated financ[ial] magnates, who can afford to scatter largesse among th[eir] employees with both hands, and have, in fact, scatter[ed] them without stint—with abandon even.

British and Indian

The general improvement in the standards [of] journalistic employment, however, has not affected th[e] free-lance journalists : or, if it has, has affected the[m] only perfunctorily. Free-lance journalists, it is evide[nt] are not among the favourites of fortune : revolutio[ns] pass them by without making any appreciable impress[ion] on their placid lives. This is not so in England : *the* free-lance journalist is not unhonoured and unsung having, in sober fact, its appointed niche in the temp[le] of fame. There is, indeed, a definite meaning in writ[ing] at length on the British variety : there is not much descanting on its Indian counterpart. I stated in m[y] book on *Journalism* that Indian journalism is but offshoot of British journalism and that it has a lot leeway to make up even now. My contention gains force if it is construed as applying to *free-lance* journ[al]ism. Nothing less, it seems to me, than the whole w[ide] of the heavens separates the parent from the child this respect. I am thus tempted to take the line of l[east] resistance and expatiate to my heart's content on former. If, therefore,

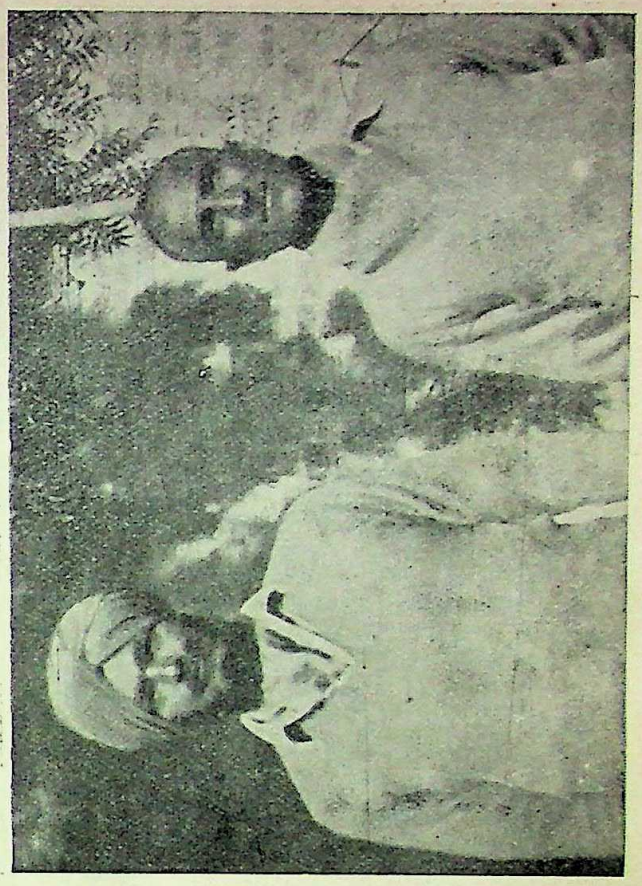
"From the soul's subterranean depths upborne,
As from an infinitely distant land,
Come airs and floating echoes"

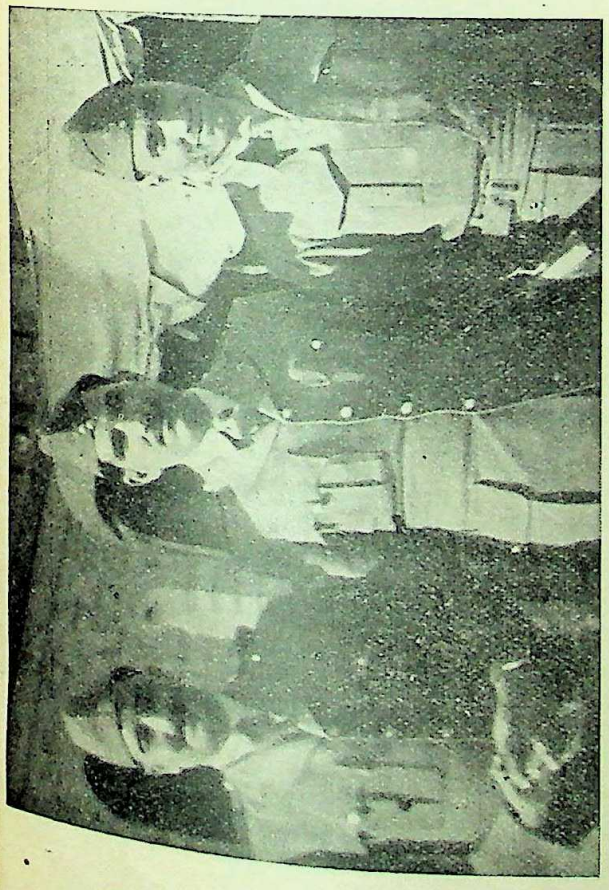
in what follows of the profession as it is to [be] encountered on the banks of the Thames and of [the] Mersey, and not as it is to be found on the banks [of] the Jumna and of the Sutlej, I must plead two excuses my slant of mind as well as the dictates of [ne]necessity.

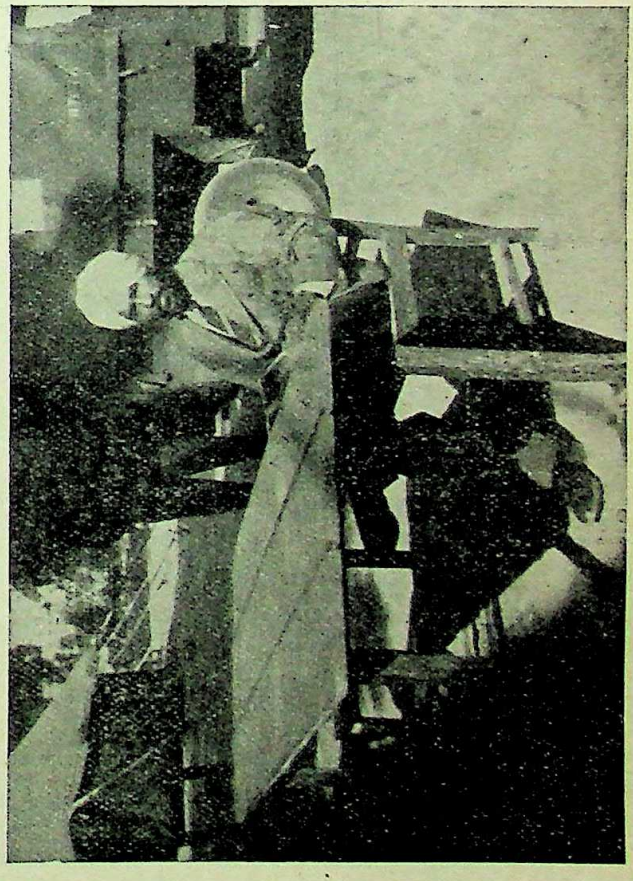
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri









Top : (*left*) Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan, Col. P. K. Sehgal and Col. G. S. Dhillon : (*right*) Lt. Col. Burhan-ud-Din
Bottom : (*left*) General Mohan Singh : (*right*) Maj. Shingara Singh and Maj. Fateh Khan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri









Top : (*left*) Maj. Gen. J. K. Bhonsle : (*right*) Col. K. Roy
Bottom : (*left*) Col. S. M. Hussain and Col. Habib-ur-Rahman : (*right*) Col. S. A. Mallik

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Serving Many Masters

But before plunging into my subject *in medias res*, I should give a description of what free-lance journalism is. The gist of it, it is clear, is that it postulates burning incense before many deities, the votary being, so to speak, extremely broad-minded in this matter and not a whit parochial : there is, obviously, no place in it for those who, to use modern terms, are inclined to "cut their ethical corners rather fine." In other words, it does not cater for the high-hats, for the exclusive sets. There is no point in dubbing that votary as serving both God and Mammon, as serving more than one master, because, by the very nature of the case, he serves a multiplicity of masters : he is an opportunist if there is one. It is not that, like the Apostle, he is all things to all men—or, rather, to all editors. He may send his contributions impartially to all papers, but that by no means implies that he is a turn-coat or a waverer, that he has no centre within himself, no inward monitor to refer to on questions of principle. It indicates only that he has a right of way over all editorial demesnes. The ideal free-lance journalist sits at home—preferably in a sun-lit verandah—writing as the mood prompts him and taking his time over it and addressing the finished product to the proper quarter : because it is of the essence of his trade to "study his market", and not to waste precious stationery by misdirecting his effusions.

Studying the Market

Those who have read Mr. P. G. Wodehouse's interesting story, "The Inferiority Complex of Old Sippy" (*The Jeeves Omnibus*), will understand what I mean. Bertie Wooster's friend, Oliver Sipperley, is the editor of a small society paper, *The Mafair Gazette* ; but he experiences the greatest possible difficulty in rejecting the articles of the "head" of his old school who, every now and then, weighs in with scholar'y stuff on "The Old School Cloisters" and "Some Little Known Aspects of Tacitus". At last, however (thanks to the immortal Jeeves), getting rid of his accursed inferiority complex, he becomes the master of the situation and tells old Waterbury to his face, *anent* his latest effort on the Elizabethan dramatists :

> "No earthly use to us. Quite the worst sort of stuff. This paper is supposed to be all light Society interest. What the *debutante* will wear for Goodwood, you know, and I saw Lady Betty Bootle in the Park yesterday—all that kind of rot . . . You want to study your market. Keep your eyes open and see what editors need. Now, just as a suggestion, why not have a dash at a light, breezy article on pet dogs ? You've probably noticed that the pug, once so fashionable, has been superseded by the Peke, the griffon, and the Sealyham. Work on that line and . . . "

Free-lance journalists must *work on that line* if they want to bring home the gravy, to copy another expression of Mr. Wodehouse's. They must know not only what to write and when to write but where to direct the products of their brains. On the one hand, they must put their finger unerringly on the psychological moment : on the other, they must be on equally sure ground about the ultimate destination of their studies or contributions.

Not a Hack Writer

The journalist who is tied down to a particular paper, to whatever eminence he may have attained, is still a hack writer in one sense : he has to write to order, and the treadmill always stares him in the face. In the end it becomes, as Tennyson said of the composition of his poem, *In Memoriam*, a mere

> ". . . . . *mechanic exercise*
> *Like dull narcotics, numbing pain.*"

He has a job to do and he does it according to his lights. If he is an artist, like the late C. E. Montague, he revels in the "mechanic exercise" itself and, by dint of his genius, transmutes it into the finest art—even as Tennyson transmuted his poem into art of the noblest. But your true free-lance journalist is not thus "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd." He is not a slave to the daily task and the common round, having obtained his manumission, as it were, and, thenceforward, being his own master. That is how it comes about that he is enabled to infuse more life into his work than his colleague at the official desk. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and your free-lance journalist is prepared to wait till inspiration comes to him, so that he may soar on its wings—not, indeed, to "the illimitable inane" of the poet's imagination, but to the highest empyrean of success within the resources of his intellect.

Writing against the clock is not conducive to extracting the best out of a man—though it, too, has its uses. There is some undoubted freshness about it. That, in substance, is the excuse that C. E. Montague offers for reprinting his dramatic criticisms :

> "And yet for old theatre notices there may be a kind of excuse. You wrote them in haste, it is true, with few books about you, or moments to look a thing up ; hot air and dust of the playhouse were still in your lungs ; you were sure to say things that would seem sorry gush or rant if you saw them again in the morning. How bad it all was for measure, containment, and balance ! But that heat of the playhouse is not wholly harmful. Like sherris sack in the system of Falstaff. it hath a two-fold operation : 'it ascends me into the brain . . . makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shapes'. At least, it sometimes gives you that illusion ; below yourself in certain ways, you hope you are above yourself in others." (See his "Prefatory Note" to his *Dramatic Values*.)

"C.E.M.", as usual, hits the nail on the head : still, on the whole I am right in saying that, effort for effort, the free-lance journalist is in a better position to deliver the goods. "Sleeping on a thing" is calculated to fetch results that are unobtainable by the other method of grabbing pen and paper and dashing off an article at so many words to the minute. In practice, however, it would be useful to be proficient in both the kinds of writing so that one may employ either at need.

Classification

I have suggested that the free-lance journalist is to be differentiated from the journalist who is tied down to a particular paper. But this statement needs some qualification. Those who are on the staff of a weekly paper are, generally, not in the same position as those working on the staff of a daily. They need not attend

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

office except once in a while and, in their case, there is no question of racing against time, as they have an entire week during which to hatch their products. So far as this is concerned they are to be classed among free-lance journalists. I should like to classify thus :

The ideal free-lance journalist is he who, like the lilies in the field, toils not, neither does he spin. He is a *free lance,* he calls no one his superior, he writes when the mood is upon him and sends his effusions to the paper he likes, and sits back and waits for the cheque, or the return of his effusions, according to his *kismet.* He is not an Apollo serving in the house of Admetus, but an Apollo serving in his own house—and, may be, serving ill.

Next in the scale is the free-lance journalist who is fortunate enough to be commissioned to write *regularly* for the weeklies or the monthlies on the subject nearest his heart. Should his interest, for instance, lie in politics he would be the person to unravel week after week, to his readers the tangled skein, say, of San Francisco or of the Simla Fiasco. Preferably (in the latter event) he would operate from Simla itself, taking his stand alternately at the Cecil Hotel and the Manor Villa, do some hand-shaking and face-reading, attend press conferences and evening prayers, cry a few assorted "Zindabads" in turn, and then write an elaborate account to his paper of his jumble of recollections, not failing to stress the personal note and ending the whole caboodle with this pregnant sentence : "All the parties will see to it that the bus will not be missed this time." The week after the bus *had been* missed, of course, he will delight his *clientele* with an expert *post mortem* on the tragedy, reminding them how all along he alone among the press correspondents had emphasized the snags in the Wavell Plan and the fundamental differences in the idealogies of the parties invited, which, he had anticipated from the beginning, would prevent the Conference from becoming an outstanding success.

Then comes the free-lance journalist who pontificates on different subjects in different papers and even obliges the editor with a leading article on occasion just to keep his hand in, so to speak.

Syndicated Journalism

After this we have to deal with the free-lance journalist who is a "regular" journalist on a particular daily and a "free-lance" in the other papers. *This is the bane of free-lance journalism in our country,* and takes the bread out of the mouths of the *real free-lance* journalists. I am reminded, in this connexion, of the unkind Frenchman who said of New Zealand : "There are no snakes but a great many Scotchmen." I may say of Indian free-lance journalism : "There are no free-lance journalists but a great many regular journalists."

With the growth of "syndicated" journalism things have come to such a pass that a reputed journalist [illegible] "regular" journalist, or a "regular" journalist at pres[illegible] out of employment in the "regular" sense) is permitt[illegible] to write articles that are then *simultaneously* publish[illegible] in several papers. *The space that these occupy is [illegible] much space denied to the genuine free-lance journalis[illegible]* Indian journalism has all along been an extreme[illegible] partisan, personal, partial affair ; with "syndicalis[illegible] added to it the bottom automatically drops out of fre[illegible] lance journalism as such, free-lance journalism *to court.* Indian journalism has never been noted for [illegible] encouragement of the free-lance journalist, and now [illegible] must be still less so, owing to these obnoxious growth[illegible] on its body. The system is pernicious in itself an[illegible] doubly pernicious in India.

Joys of Free-Lancing

The joys of free-lance journalism are immense. Most celebrated authors started in life as journalists and many amongst these as free-lance journalists. Charles Dickens has recorded somewhere, after having bought a copy of the Magazine containing his first appearance in print as an author :

> "I walked down to Westminster Hall and turned into it for half an hour, because my eyes were so dimmed with joy and pride that they could not bear the street and were not fit to be seen there."

Now the paper which opened the fount of these boyish tears, as the late Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch informs us, was entitled "A Dinner at Popular Walk", which its author reprinted as "Mr. Minns and his Cousin" among Sketches by Boz.

In his celebrated Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews University on "Courage" in 1922, the late Sir James Barrie refers to his early free-lance journalism :

> "The greatest glory that has ever come to me was to be swallowed up in London, not knowing a soul, with no means of subsistence, and the fun of working till the stars went out. To have known anyone would have spoilt it. I did not even quite know the language. I rang for my boots, and they thought I said a glass of water, so I drank the water and worked on. There was no food in the cupboard, so I did not need to waste time in eating. The pangs and agonies when no proof came. How courteously tolerant was I of the postman without a proof for us ; how McConnachie, on the other hand, wanted to punch his head. The magic days when our article appeared in an evening paper. The promptitude with which I counted the lines to see how much we should get for it . . . *Oh, to be a free lance of journalism—that darling jade!* Those were days. Too good to last. Let us be grave. Here comes a Rector."

I am proud to belong to that august company!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FATEFUL CHOICE

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

If History be the record of crimes, follies and mistakes of mankind, the war which has just ended has added another lurid chapter to that record. This fresh chapter in the history of mankind is no mere reproduction of any previous one. It contains on the one hand not merely a threat to civilization but to the very existence of the race of *homo sapiens*. It contains not only the record of the most disastrous man-made calamity but also the germ of a calamity far more disastrous than any so far, *viz.*, the extinction of the human race itself. To the cynic it may not appear as a calamity at all but as a cause for rejoicing and he may well gloat over the prospect of the end of a race of idiots who did not know what they were doing. But to the common man who realizes the hardships and pains through which mankind has evolved, the struggles and toils of humanity through millenniums, such a prospect cannot be pleasing. Through all the dark ages of unreason, prosecution and war, men have striven for a better moral and material order ; from all the dust and bog of circumstance they have reached out for the stars ; their toils and sacrifices have lent a meaning to the *raison d'etre* of their race and now all that may be wiped out at a stroke like a brief candle puffed out at one breath.

On the other hand, concealed within the murky inkprints of this chapter may be found a promise of a new millennium, an age of endless beauty, romance and kindness, a golden age far more glorious than any ever imagined by poets and prophets. The secret of new weapons which now loom like a limitless shadow over the future may turn out to be of incalculable material benefits which would transform the present life of toil, misery and fear for two thousand million men. The atom can not only destroy but build and build better and vaster than all our present sources of energy. It can do away with the *raison d'etre* of exploitation of one group of men by another, with capitalism, imperialism, fascism, with superstition, greed and vice and strike out a new moral vista based on material well-being and security of all peoples.

Never was such a fateful choice offered to men ; the choice between extinction and unlimited riches, between utter chaos and unimaginable prosperity, between death and life. What course will battered humanity follow ? What choice will it make ? Will it vote for sanity or rush headlong into the abyss, unable to shake off the shackles and shibboleths of a dead past ? Will men rise above their petty moral stature and meet boldly the call of the future or perish in the coils of their own making ? This is the vital question calling for a decision on which would depend the fate of humanity.

What are the factors which will guide humanity to this decision ? Or to put it more realistically how will those on whom the burden of the choice has fallen behave ? Will they free mankind from the bondage of want and fear or betray humanity once again and condemn it to extinction ? The choice must necessarily be made by the three victor nations, as represented by their respective governments and since men at the helm of affairs are but a part and parcel of the society in which they live the decision taken by them will reflect the attitude of mind and inner impulses of men whom they govern. Now, what is the attitude of men of the victor nations ? How do they view these new developments which are fraught with such revolutionary possibilities ?

At the outset we are met with the fundamental problem of the moral stature of mankind. If the material stature of mankind were represented by a six inch figure on this page, the moral stature will be more than adequately represented by a half-inch figure. It is indeed this difference between moral and material stature of mankind which during the last two centuries of science has been the cause of untold misery all over the world. It is not that science is to blame. The moralists who have condemned science have really gone off the track. Science has brought comforts within the reach of ordinary man such as were beyond his wildest dreams. What has lagged behind has been the moral education while science has progressed full steam ahead. Men who have learnt such difficult things as building bombers, calculating the distance between the stars and splitting the atom, have not learnt or practised such elementary moral principles as love thy neighbour, or that all men are brothers. Again, while science can boast of an endless galaxy of brilliant men standing like giants among pigmies, the moral giants have been but few and far between. How many like Christ and Buddha have taken the poor and the fallen to their bosom ? How many have practised and preached love and charity for all men ? How many like Mahatma Gandhi have taken a vow of voluntary poverty and dedicated their lives to the service of their fellow men ? These moral giants who have realized the conflicts of humanity at different epochs stand like candles lost in the general darkness. Likewise, the spirit of love and kindness has not informed the lives of the masses particularly where the scientific spirit has flowered forth. The men there have shown themselves to be completely oblivious of the implications of the scientific advance and its far-reaching impact on the future of humanity. As long as men have not become aware of their moral responsibility in the light of the changed circumstances, so long will the fate of *homo sapiens* hang in the balance.

The very first step towards a new moral consciousness on the part of victor nations is the recognition of the right of political independence of all nations. Perhaps no generation has paid such a bitter price for political slavery as ours has. Millions of Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Dutchmen, Chinese, and others who were removed from their homelands, had to work like slaves for their captors and undergo tortures that would make the terrors of the medieval inquisitors look like kindness itself. Their countries were plundered, and laid waste ; their moral and economic backbone shattered. In our country the terrible Bengal famine

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which cost us six times the total number of casualties suffered by Britain in the war is a glaring example of the results of foreign domination. We are witnessing the same tale in the Asiatic countries 'liberated' by the Allies. The efforts of the French and the Dutch with the acquiescence and active support of Britain and America to resume their autocratic rule in the countries from which they were ignominously expelled and where they have gone again with the help of Allies, *i.e.*, mainly Indian and Chinese troops, are a disgraceful reminder that nations learn nothing, forget nothing. One should have thought that having tasted the bitterness of foreign domination these nations would be loth to thrust their domination on other peoples. But no ! The licking they have received from the Nazis in their own countries only seems to have strengthened their resolve to out-Nazi their ex-masters. For them the dream of Imperialism is as real as it ever was; for them Berchtesgaden is not yet fallen. But the victor peoples must make up their minds whether they intend to allow the warlords of Britain, France and Holland to precipitate a major crisis in the Far East, the ramifications of which may lead to another war, or whether they intend to put into practice the ideal of freedom of all nations which they have often proclaimed as a major war aim. Indeed the political dynamite which Hitler used with such advantage to himself in Central and South-Eastern Europe and Russia was none other than the slogan of self-determination of small nations ; it was with this bait that he lured to himself the small nationalities of Russia and Europe and succeeded in breaking up the integrity of various surrounding states. History may perhaps repeat itself and who knows but that another unscrupulous would-be-dictator may not arise on the Asiatic scene and use the mouldering fires of patriotism of subject peoples with disastrous results. It is up to the people of Britain, America and Russia to declare themselves unequivocally in favour of the independence of all subject peoples, without reservation and thus avoid the pitfalls of the last peace.

The second step towards a moral regeneration is the bold adoption of democratic ideals at home and abroad, apart from mere announcements and proclamations. As long as genuine democracy firmly based on economic equality, opportunity and security is not established, so long will there be found gangs of unscrupulous men ready to reduce their own and other people to slavery. Hitlerism was born of an economic chaos in Germany. If true democracy had really been in existence in Germany, helped and succoured by other democratic nations the misery of the present war might have been avoided. But true democracy in the sense of economic equality was not in force even in the so-called democracies. Time and again these nations faced ruin because of the failure to take bold decisions and to satisfy the demands of the people. For true democracy to come into being, re-education of the *literati* is indispensable and this re-education into true democratic ways is a task which must be undertaken. Nor must such re-education stop at the frontiers of these nations. Indeed the task of genuine democracy is far more urgent in the enslaved countries. In our own, during the last famine while the bureaucrats and the businessmen made their piles, the vast mass of the middle and lower classes went to the wall. The story of the last three years in our country would make a dismal reading and found to be without parallel contemporary history. The Indian youth of today bowed down not only with burden of the past but shattering helplessness in the face of present and misrule. This sense of frustration has corroded minds and filled us with a general attitude of cynic The youth *knows* that all the moral platitudes bouquets handed from time to time by the rulers the leaders are hollow and that they are talking tongue in the cheek when they talk of the post-plans of a paradise to come. Men who were respons in every way for the tragedy of the Indian famine precisely those who continue at the helm of affairs blow their trumpets loudly for a new post-war hea they mean to usher in. No wonder the Indian yo like his counterpart in Europe is cynical of the tall of democracy and freedom. Unless the youth is gi a substantial opportunity to play its part in rebuild the shattered world and the men who from their rec have proved to be utterly unfitted to do anyth constructive are removed, the process of moral regeneration will be held up indefinitely.

The third step which each nation must take is re-write its history text-books and present history as a glorious isolated venture of its own people but living throb in the world-pulse. History not as the rec of war and aggrandisement but as the picture of eff of mankind through centuries to reach out for the st The present penetration of chauvinism into the edu tional field has become so great as to have beco almost ridiculous. Apart from instilling into yo minds the highly glorified accounts of past dee history text-books of different nations give quite of bewilderingly conflicting accounts of the same eve Every English schoolboy learns at school that in t reign of the good Queen Bess the English sailors de troyed the Spanish Armada which was set out to inva British shores. The Spanish children are equally re giously taught that in the identical year the gall Spaniards put an end to a British Armada set out attack their noble country. This is not the o example. On an examination of the history text-boo of various nations it will be found that practically distinction is maintained between fact and fictio that any attempt to discover truth in them will say the least fill one with despair. One thing at least clear then that untruths regarding other nations whi at present disfigure the text-books of all nations mu be eradicated, and lessons in world history, in additio to, if not in place of national history, should form part of school curriculum everywhere. The youngste must be told that they are no mere part of one nati but the true successors and heirs of the great huma community. The cultural and moral history of mankin should form the principal item in such a history a stories of Buldha, Christ, Confucius and Gandhi, ju main interest and inspiration. Similarly each nati must recast its own history in the light of world event political, economic, moral and scientific. History w then become not a mere record of crimes, follies a mistakes of mankind, as Gibbon defined it, but process of moral education of mankind. If nations hav to avoid the possibility of extinction they must seriously consider the problem of moral regeneration and bridging the gulf between moral and material statur of humanity.

:0:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SAMKARA AND ISLAM

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

It is most surprising that attempts are being made in some quarters to prove the influence of Islam on Samkara, the first great propounder of the Advaita School of the Vedanta. Recently an Indian writer has made the following assertions :

(1) "Few suspect any external influence on the Vedanta of Samkara, and yet there are reasons to suppose that it was a direct outcome of the impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought. Since the beginning of recorded history, all new movements in Hindu thought, all innovations in Indian religion and philosophy had their origin in Northern India. Suddenly about the beginning of the eighth century there is a revolutionary change, and the leadership of Indian thought and life is transferred to the south. Samkara and Ramanuja, Nimbaditya and Ballabhacharyya are all men of Southern India. It is in the south that Vaisnavism and Saivaism rise and flourish. Most historians have been puzzled by this sudden shift in the centre of national activities, but we find a clue to the solution of the mystery if we connect it with the advent of Islam in the south, about the middle of the seventh century. Commercial relations established by Arab traders culminated in the conversion of the last king Cheraman Perumal dynasty and his pilgrimage to Mecca. The ruler of the principality where Samkara was born was also a convert to Islam and in any case, there is no doubt about the extent and depth of the influence of Moslem thought on contemporary life. It was inevitable that an intellect so acute and vigorous as Samkara's should be attracted by this alien mode of thought and absorb out of its elements that suited his own cast of mind. The old religious faith and world outlook of Northern India was tolerant, decorous and contemplative, while the mentality revealed in the new South Indian philosophy of life was aggressive and intolerant in its emotional abundance and intensity. Perhaps each single item in Samkara's philosophy was derived from the Upanishadic sources but the temper and shape of the synthesis achieved suggest the operation of some novel element. Is it fanciful to find in Samkara's fervour and zeal traces of the influence of the revolutionary zeal of Islam ?"[1]

Again, still more categorically :

(2) "Samkara's Vedanta has often been regarded as the supreme manifestation of the Hindu spirit. Scholars today discover in it traces of the influence of Moslem thought."[2]

I

External Historical Evidence

There is absolutely no external historical evidence to show that Samkara was ever influenced by Islam in any way, directly or indirectly. However, for want of space, we do not propose to enter into details regarding this, but only discuss the far more important internal philosophical evidence.

II

Internal Philosophical Evidence

Apart from any historical evidence, what is far more important, there is absolutely no internal evidence from Samkara's system of Philosophy itself that he ever came under the influence of Islam, directly or indirectly. Nay, not only that, even a cursory glance through Samkara's writings, even a general knowledge regarding the main tenets of his system is enough to convince any one that Samkara's Advaitavada is directly opposed to the letter and spirit of orthodox Islam.

Let us consider, in very brief outlines, the fundamental principles of Samkara's system. According to Samkara, Brahman is the sole reality, one only without a second (*ekamevadwitiyam*), pure Being, pure Consciousness, pure Bliss (*saccidananda*), absolutely devoid of all kinds of differences, internal or external (*nirvisesa*), of all kinds of qualities, (*nirguna*), activities, (*niskriya*) and changes (*nirvikara*). An Absolute, Unchangeable, Pure, Perfect Being cannot become transformed into anything else, the Universe cannot be taken as an actual effect, as a real modification (*parinama*) of Brahman—it is but an illusory modification (*vivarta*), a mere false appearance of *Brahman*, the sole Reality. Just as when one mistakes a rope for a snake, the rope appears to be a snake, without ever becoming actually so, so *Brahman* appears to have been transformed into the form of the Universe, without being actually so. Hence, from the standpoint of the individual souls (*Jiva*), who are deluded into thinking that the world does really proceed as an effect from *Brahman* as the cause, their own ignorance (*avidya*) regarding *Brahman* is the cause of this false world-appearance. From the standpont of *Brahman*, again, its peculiar power of producing illusions or false-appearances, its *Maya-sakti*, is the cause of this false world-show. Thus, the world is not a second reality besides Brahman, but is *mithya* or false.

The Advaitavadins speak of three levels of existence, *paramarthika* or transcendental, *vyavaharika* or empirical and *pratibhasika* or apparent. What is absolutely non-existent or unreal is called *asatya* or *alika, e.g.*, a sky-flower, that has never been and can never be perceived to be true by any one. The *pratibhasika satta* or apparent existence comprises ordinary illusions and dream-experiences. These are perceived to be true by *some one* for a time being, but soon become sublated or contradicted by correct perceptions and waking experiences. The *Vyavaharika satta* means the world, which, too is perceived to be true by *people at large* so long as they are ignorant of the real nature of *Brahman*. But on the rise of real knowledge regarding *Brahman*, it, too, is known to be false. The *paramarthika satta* is Brahman and Brahman alone, the Eternal, the

1 "An Essay in Indian History" by Humayun Kabir : *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Annual Puja Number, 1943, p. 94.

2 23rd Session of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference : *Presidential Address* by Humayun Kabir, p. 5, Calcutta, 1943.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ever-True, the Ever-Uncontradicted Being. The world is, thus, neither absolutely *unreal,* like a sky-flower ; nor momentary or short-living like an illusion or a dream ; nor even eternally and absolutely *real* like Brahman. So, it is *mithya* or false, neither real, nor unreal, but indescribable (*anirvacaniya*).

From the higher, absolute standpoint, *Brahman* alone is real, there is no creation, no creator, no world. But from the lower, empirical standpoint, the world is real, creation is real, so a Creator, too, is needed. This Creator Samkara calls *Isvara* or God. *Isvara* is Brahman as associated with *Maya,* or rather, as exercising its illusion-producing power of *Maya.* Such an *Isvara* is endowed with infinite, auspicious qualities ; as the creator of the universe of mind and matter, He comprises individual souls (*Jiva*) and the world (*Jagat*) as His internal differences. He is distinct from individual souls and worshipped by them. In short, from the lower, empirical standpoint, *Isvara* is conceived as endowed with all the characteristics of an ordinary theistic God. But from the higher standpoint, *Brahman* is without any attributes, differences, activities and changes, and like the created world, the creator *Isvara,* too, is negated ultimately.

From the higher, transcendental standpoint, the soul is absolutely identical with *Brahman* and as such all-pervasive, one only, without a second, with attributes, distinctions, activities, changes and limits. But during empirical existence, this eternal, non-material soul becomes associated with certain material limiting adjuncts or *upadhis,* viz., gross body, sense-organs, vital-breaths (*prana*), mind (*manas*), intellect (*buddhi*) and subtle body, and as such becomes subject to birth, growth, decay, and death, innumerable, infinite miseries. Thus from the lower, practical standpoint, the souls are different from *Brahman,* and as such, knowers, agents, enjoyers, limited, atomic innumerable and mutually different.

In the very same manner from the higher standpoint, the material world is but a false appearance. But from the lower standpoint, it is gradually evolved out of *Isvara* according to the process of Quintuplation (*Pancikarana*).

From the higher standpoint, the universe of soul and matter is absolutely identical with *Brahman,* or rather, as from this standpoint, there is only one reality *Brahman,* there is no question of any relation between *Brahman* and the Universe. From the lower standpoint, *Isvara* is both identical with and different from the Universe.

Salvation means realising one's oneness with *Brahman, e.g.,* the ether within a pot, though really identical with the universal ether all around, appears to be different from it through the limiting adjunct 'pot', but as soon as the pot is broken to pieces, the ether within it becomes completely merged in the universal ether, without any trace of distinction. In the very same manner, when the soul gets rid of its limiting adjunct of the psycho-physical organism, it becomes free as one with the Universal soul. Here "getting rid" is not to be taken in a literal sense of an actual getting rid of the physical body. This is called *Jivanmukti*—salvation here and now. Though possessed of a body, a *jivan-mukta* is not any longer affected by its states and conditions—though *in* the world he is not *of* the world.

Salvation, being due to ignorance, can be attained only through the knowledge of *Brahman.* The aspirant after salvation first learns of the great truth of the essential identity of Brahman and the soul indicated through Scriptures. This is called *"Sravana".* Next, he ponders over the matter and considers whether he should accept the truth on grounds of independent reasoning. This is *"Manana".* Next, after having satisfied himself by reason, he finally accepts it and continuously meditates on it for directly realising it. This is *"Nididhyasana".* Thus, performance of good deeds, devotion, worship, etc., are not ultimate or direct means to salvation—they are but preliminary preparations for a higher life. And ultimately, the soul attains salvation through a direct knowledge of identity with *Brahman.*

Such is, in very brief outlines, the system of Samkara, the greatest philosophic genius the world has ever produced. It is impossible to do even a semblance of justice by such a short summary to the very subtle, yet strictly logical, philosophy of Samkara which is really unique and incomparable in the whole history of human thought. But still the above is sufficient to give us an idea of the essentially Monistic character of Sankara's philosophical doctrine. It is a kind of strict, absolute Monism that devours and negates even a strict *Monotheism,* as ordinarily understood by theists. Before comparing this strict Monism of Samkara with the strict Monotheism of Islam, let us consider, as briefly as possible, the sources of Samkara's Advaita-vada.

Though the preposterous idea that the polytheistic Indians learnt Monotheism for the first time from the Moslems and the Christians has been completely exploded by modern research, yet it is strange that even to-day some should continue to cling to this fond delusion. Monotheism in India is as old as the Rig-Veda, the oldest Indian Literature, nay, the oldest Literature in the whole world, as well, so far known. The Vedic Religion is generally supposed to be entirely polytheistic. It is true that the Vedas contain hymns to many gods and goddesses, like Indra, Varuna, Agni, etc. But those deities are not considered to be separate and independent ; on the contrary, they are taken to be different manifestations of One supreme deity. There is absolutely no trace of image-worship in the Vedas. Vedic Religion is really a kind of Nature-worship, a spiritual anthrophomorphism, based on the idea that a Universal Spirit is immanent in the whole world. It is this Supreme Self that animates every grain of dust, every blade of grass, every drop of water; it is this Universal Soul that manifests itself now in thunderbolt, now in rain, now in fire, now in water, now in the sun, now in the moon. Hence, the fire-god, the water-god, the sun and the moon are all not different but manifest forms of the same unmanifest, unseen lying God. We have a famous passage in the Rig-Veda (1. *164.* 46) which declares unequivocally that Reality is one only, and wise men call it by different names like Indra, Mitra, Varuna, etc. In another passage in the Rig-Veda (*10.* 114. 5.) it is said that the very same Being is simply imagined to be manifold. Again, in a Rig-Vedic hymn to *Prajapati* (10. 121), we find undeniable evidence of a very high type of Monotheism. Here, one supreme God is described as the creator of everything, as the support of heaven and earth, as the giver of life and strength, as the God above all gods. In the Vedas, we find strong evidences for not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Monotheism (Belief in one God), but also for Monism (Belief in one Reality). For example, a female seer, named *Vac* (Rig-Veda 10. 125) having realised her oneness with all the gods, all the individual souls, all the world, cries out ecstatically : "How great is my Glory !" The seer Camadeva also declares (Rig-Veda 4. 26) his identity with Manu, Suryya, Kaksavana, Usana, and Indra. Again, the seer Trasadasyu (Rv. 4. 42), too, realises himself to be the lord of the whole universe, as the god of gods, as identical with everything, visible and invisible.

This Monism of the Vedas is fully developed in the *Upanisads*, the later and the philosophical part of the *Vedas*. In fact, the Monism expounded in the Upanisads in their imcomparable language and way stands out as a unique product of human thought in the history of the world. Rightly has it been said that "in the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanisads" (Schopenhauer). It is not necessary to enter into details here. Only a few famous passages are quoted by way of illustration. "In the beginning all this was nothing but the Atman (soul) (Brh. 1. 41.), "In the beginning all this was Brahman (Brh. 1. 4. 10). "He who knows that 'I am Brahman' becomes all this" (Brh. 1. 4. 10), "Brahman is all this" (Brh. 2. 5. 1.) "There is no plurality in it (the soul). He who sees plurality here gets death after death." (Brh. 4. 4. 19.), "All this is Brahman" (Chhand. 3. 14. 1.), "All this has that for its soul. That is true, he is the soul. Svetaketu ! thou art that." (Chhand. 6. 8.), etc. ,

The teachings of the *Upanisads* were systematised and summarised by the *Brahmasutras*. Samkara, the first and the most well-known of the commentators of the *Brahma-sutras*, developed his system from the *Upanisads* direct. He claims no originality for his system, but takes it to be his mission to supply a rational, logical basis for the fundamental monistic ideas of the *Upanisads*, which contain no systematic deliberate attempt at detailed argumentations. Thus, the seed of Monism first sown by the Vedic Seers at the very first dawn of human civilisation becomes a sprout in the Upanisads, and that again under the able supervision of Samkara grows up to be a well-rooted, huge tree in the Vedanta. Taking up the few scattered elements from the Upanisads, this great intellectual giant of India succeeded in building up an entire, logically consistent system of Philosophy, by filling up the gaps, supplying missing links, removing contradictions and drawing logical conclusions from the given premises. No lesser genius could have reached such lofty heights of speculation, no lesser logician could have supplied such a strong rational basis for such a very profound theory.

Now, let us compare the system of Samkara with that of Islam. As pointed out above, Samkara's system is a strict Monism that has no place for even Monotheism in the technical sense of the term. Monism is belief in one and only one Reality. But Monotheism means belief in one God, and not in one *Reality*. On the contrary, Monotheism necessarily insists on dualism—on an eternal distinction between God and man, the worshipped and the worshipper. Hence from the Monotheistic standpoint, there is one and only one God, no doubt, but there must be at least two *realities*, God and man. For, if man becomes identical with God, then Religion in the technical sense of the term, as "Man's belief in a Being or Beings mightier than himself and inaccessible to his senses, but not indifferent to his sentiments and actions" (Flint), becomes impossible. Thus, whether the relation between man and God be a slave-master relation of awe and terror, as in the lower forms of Religion, or a lover-beloved relation of love and intimacy, as in the higher forms of Religion,—an ultimate distinction between the two must be upheld at any cost. In this sense, Monotheism necessarily excludes Monism, which aims at obliterating all distinctions between the two. Strict Monism, on the other hand, seeks to rise above this God-Man duality and merge man completely in God. In this sense, Monism attempts to transcend, and thereby ultimately negate, Monotheism, in fact, Theism of any sort whatsoever, in the ordinary, technical meaning of the term.

It may be urged, of course, that Monism, after all, is not the negation, but rather the completion of Monotheism, properly understood. From Polytheism, we rise to Monotheism, from Monotheism as naturally to Monism. The consciousness of a distinction between many gods is completed in the fuller consciousness of one Supreme God as distinct from man only, and that, again, in the final consciousness of one Man-God, one Absolute in whom man loses his identity. According to this theory, man fails to realise God fully when he remains a separate worshipper, but can do so only when he himself becomes God,—this is the height of all religious aspirations. Now, Monotheism, thus understood as naturally leading to Monism, is what Samkara himself vehemently propounds. He himself emphasises two points: (*i*) The lower empirical plane is not to be ignored simply as a mere empty dream ; on the contrary, it is through this empirical life of work and devotion alone that the soul can ever rise to the level of pure knowledge. (*ii*) The empirical life, though thus important, is only a means to the end, and not the end itself. Thus duality should lead to unity. In other words, Monotheism can be taken to be the stepping-stone to Monism, Monism can be considered as the culmination and completion of Monotheism *only when* Monotheism is admitted to be a lower imperfect stage, needing perfection in a higher, perfect stage of Monism. In this sense alone can it be asserted that Monism is the natural outcome of Monotheism, Monotheism being the first stage of Monism. This kind of Monotheism alone is perfectly consistent with Monism.

But Monotheism, as technically and ordinarily understood, is not at all of this kind. Technically Monotheism is an end by itself—a perfect, completed stage, needing no higher and more perfect stage of Monistic realisation. Not only that, the very thought of an identity between God and man is the greatest blasphemy from this ordinary Monotheistic standpoint. The highest aim of the Monotheist is to love and adore God eternally ; that is, to cling to a consciousness of his eternal distinction from God, however much he may come near God and realise Him directly. Hence, Samkara's strict Monism is directly opposed to this kind of ordinary, technical Monotheism which aims at keeping up eternally, what Samkara calls, the illusion of duality.

Now, Orthodox Islamic Monotheism is a Monotheism in the above technical sense of the term. That is, just as on the one hand, it insists most strongly on the worship of one and one God alone, so, on the other hand, it equally strongly emphasises the eternal distinction between God and man. Man, it unequivocally

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

points out, is for ever the humble servant of God, and however much he may love and come near God, however much God may love and be "nearer to him than his own neck-vein." (Qu'ran 50. 15), man is for ever distinct from God and inferior to Him. In fact, according to Orthodox Islam, the greatest sin, the most unpardonable blashphemy, the most heinous heresy is to think oneself God. Thus, Monotheistic Islam is opposed tooth and nail to that form of strict Monism which seeks to annihilate all distinction between God and man.

In Islam, the monistic trend of thought is found in the mysticism of the Sufis. But though the Sufis themselves trace the origin of their doctrine to the Qu'ran, Orthodox Islam as a class has always looked down upon Sufism as a heretical innovation, opposed to the real spirit of Islam. That is why, Sufis throughout the ages have been persecuted by Orthodox Moslems. The great Sufi Hallaj, for example, was cruelly tortured and put to death for his famous utterance, "Ana'l-Haqq" —"I am the truth (God)". The Monism of the Sufis, of course, falls far short of the Monism of Samkara. The former is a kind of emotional Monism, comparable only to the Vaisnava emotional monism of India. That is here, as in the Vaisnava system, the devotee, though eternally distinct from God, becomes one with Him temporarily when enraptured—in a state of mystic intoxication and strong emotional ecstasy. But Samkara's Monism, as we have seen above, is a purely intellectual rational, logical Monism, where the soul realises its oneness with Brahman through knowledge, and not through emotion or ecstasy, and is for ever identical with Brahman. But as Orthodox Islam cannot even tolerate this comparatively milder Monism of the Sufis, it goes without saying how vehemently must it be against the uncompromising, absolute Monism of Samkara.

Thus, the Absolute Monism of Samkara and the Absolute Monotheism of Orthodox Islam are directly opposed to each other so far as philosophical tenets go. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see how Samkara could have ever been influenced at all, directly or indirectly, by Islam. Had he been really imbued with Moslem thought even to the slightest extent, he would have rejected in horror the very thoughts of "I am Brahman", "Thou art that", etc., as stark, utter blashphemies.

Again, just as the identity between God and man, so exactly that between man and man is equally unthinkable from the standpoint of Orthodox Islam. This, too, is a great bone of contention between Orthodox Islam and Sufism. According to the former, the distinction between a Musalman, or a true believer, and a *Kafir,* or an unbeliever is an eternal one, and can never be obliterated. Thus, though emphasising the brotherhood of man, Orthodox Islam can never take a "Kafir" even under the same category of a "Musalman", far less than identifying the two[3] if necessary. Even two "Musalmans" are not identical. Hence, the oneness of all souls, insisted on by Samkara from the transcendental standpoint, is absolutely foreign and opposed to the teachings of Orthodox Islam. So had Samkara been influenced by Islam in any way, he could have never for a moment entertained this doctrine of the one... of all souls.

Thus, as Samkara strongly insists on a ... obliteration of all distinctions between God and ... and man and man, while Orthodox Islam as ... insists on an eternal distinction between God and ... and man and man, there is nothing in common be... the two systems at all from the transcendental ... point, so that any hypothesis of mutual influen... at once and for good ruled out. If Islam influ... Samkara at all, it must have done so in two ... mental directions—(*i*) Strict Monotheism. It must ... taught him "There is no God but He, the mighty, ... Wise" (Qu'ran 3. 13. and repeated numerous ti... (*ii*) Eternal servitude of man to God. The fundam... precept of the Qu'ran is "Obey God and the Apo... (Qu'ran 3. 298. 20. etc.), "And remember thy L... within thyself humbly and with fear" (Qu'ran 7. 20... 3. etc.). Now, as regards (*i*), Samkara inherited ... Monotheistic idea directly from the Vedas, as sh... above. But he further developed and completed it ... an Absolute Monism. As regards (*ii*), here too, S... kara transcended servitude by oneness of God and ... But if Islam did not influence Samkara in these ... fundamental principles, which are its very life-bl... it is impossible to see how it could have influenced ... at all, as Islam has no meaning apart from th... two principles.

III

From the empirical point, too, there is much d... tinction between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthod... Islam : (*i*) From the lower empirical standpoint, Isv... according to Samkara, is both the material (*upadan...* and efficient (*nimitta*) cause of the world, as souls ... matter are internal powers of God, through manifest... which He creates the Universe of mind and ma... But according to Orthodox Islam, God is only ... efficient and not the material cause of the universe. ... He creates the world out of terrestrial matter.[4] ... Samkara's empirical doctrine is *Parinama-vada,* ... actual transformation of God into the Universe. ... according to Orthodox Islam, God is a transcendent ... Creator, and though nearer to man than his own ne... vein (Qu'ran 50. 15), is not contained by the Univ... and transformed into it. (*ii*) According to Samk... the soul and the world, as eternal powers of God, ... eternal. Hence creation means only manifestation ... not new origination. But according to Orthodox Is... the Universe as a created thing can never be eter... Hence, though man is the crown of creation, ... though even angels were asked to pay homage to ... (Qu'ran, 2. 32. etc.) yet he is a created thing, and ... not co-eternal with God. (*iii*) According to Samk... from the empirical standpoint, the soul and the wo... are both different (in forms) and non-different ... essence) from God. But according to Orthodox Is... the Universe is eternally different from God. (*iv*) S... kara is a staunch believer in the Law of Karma and ... constant process of births and rebirths. But Orthod... Islam rejects this categorically. (*v*) Samkara advo... Incarnation from the empirical standpoint. But ...

3 Qu'ran 9. 23 "Ye who believe, take not your fathers and your brothers for patrons if they love misbelief rather than faith". *op. cit.* 9. 12. "Then fight the leaders of misbelief",

4 Qu'ran 40. 69, "He it is who created you from the earth, ... from a clot, then from congealed blood." *op. cit.* 40. 70 "He ... who quickens and kills, and when he decrees a matter, then He ... says to it 'BE' and it is," *op. cit.* 21. 31., "We made from ... every living thing."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

doctrine is wholly opposed to the spirit of Islam. According to it, even Prophets are men and God's humble servants—they are simply God's messengers on earth, but not His embodied forms (Qu'ran 41. 6. etc.). As such, they are to be highly revered and believed, but never worshipped like God. (*vi*) Samkara admits the necessity of approaching a Guru or Spiritual preceptor as the first step in the moral path. But this doctrine of priesthood is wholly alien to the spirit of Orthodox Islam. According to it, no one can intervene between God and man, and if one wishes to approach God, it is not necessary for him to go through a spiritual preceptor, but only through the Command and Law of God Himself, embodied in the Qu'ran. Saint-worship or Guru-worship is opposed to the fundamental principle of Islam, *viz.*, worship of God and none but God.

Examples might be multiplied to show that even from the empirical standpoint, Samkara propounds numerous doctrines that are not only altogether absent from Orthodox Islam, but are further directly opposed to its fundamental principles. So, the very possibility of Samkara being ever influenced by Islam even in his empirical theories is absolutely and once for all ruled out. Thus, there is no similarity between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthodox Islam from the *doctrinal point of view*, either transcendental or empirical. Of course, from the *ethical point of view*, the two systems are similar in many respects. Truthfulness, benevolence, self-control, etc., are given the highest place in both. But, it is not necessary to discuss this point here. For, (*i*) No allegation has been made here as to the *ethical* influence of Islam on Samkara-Vedanta. (*ii*) Here, too, some peculiarities are found that exclude the possibility of mutual influence. (*iii*) The ethical principles of Samkara-Vedanta are as old as the Vedas ; and in fact, they are, broadly speaking, fundamental ethical codes found in all great religious systems of the world, so that the question of mutual borrowing is meaningless here.

IV

(*i*) Hence, we fail to see how it can be ever asserted that "there are reasons to believe that it (the Vedanta of Samkara) was a direct outcome of the impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought." We do not know, and cannot think or imagine what these reasons may be. But so far as we know from internal evidences of Samkara's own philosophical system, there are not only no reasons to assert any external influence, Islamic or otherwise, on Samkara, on the contrary, there are positive reasons to deny this supposition. As shown above, Samkara's system is a wholly indigenous product, a direct development of the Upanisadic tradition with gaps filled up by his own, original philosophical insight.

(*ii*) Hence, also, we do not see how "scholars today discover in it (Samkara's Vedanta) traces of the influence of Moslem thought." We do not know who these scholars and what their arguments are. But if they do discover in Samkara-Vedanta any trace of the influence of Moslem thought, then surely they cannot be said to have grasped at all the real meaning of Samkara's philosophy. For, as shown above, on the face of this undeniable evidence of Samkara's own writings, the hypothesis of any external Islamic influece is ruled out, completely and for good. Even if we suppose, for the sake of argument, that Samkara directly sat at the feet of a Moslem savant, that must have only led him to reject the absolute Monotheism of Islam in toto, just as he did all other forms of Theism and Monotheism that insisted on eternal duality. That Samkara differs entirely from Orthodox Islam in his empirical views no less, has been shown above.

(*iii*) Further, to say that "perhaps each single item of Samkara's philosophy was derived from Upanisadic sources, but the temper and shape of the synthesis achieved suggest the operation of some novel element" is wholly unwarrantable. First, as shown repeatedly above, all the elements in Samkara's system were derived wholesale from the Upanisads, they are only supplemented and systematised. Hence there is no scope at all for the "*perhaps*"—no doubt can be raised at least as regards this point. Secondly, just as all the items were derived from the Upanisads alone, so all the shaping and synthesising was due to Samkara's inherent philosophic genius alone, not to any external influence. In fact, if every single item be derived from the Upanisadic sources, we do not see how all on a sudden an altogethr alien temper and shape of synthesis could have crept in. The temper of Samkara's system is absolute, non-dualistic Monism, the shape of its synthesis is the synthesis between One and many, the Absolute and God, transcendental and empirical, in which the many is ultimately merged in the one, God in the Absolute, the empirical in the transcendental. But the temper of Orthodox Islam is dualistic Monotheism, and the shape of its synthesis is that between God and man in which man progressively realises his utter dependence on God and God's mercy for him, but never, never rises to be God. But how can ever this "novel temper and shape of synthesis" have anything to do with Samkara ? That the temper and synthesis of Samkara's system from the empirical standpoint, too, are entirely different from those of Orthodox Islam has been shown above.

(*iv*) We do not understand how the "old religious faith and world outlook of Northern India" alone can be called "tolerant, decorous and contemplative", in contrast to the "new South Indian philosophy of life", characterised as "aggressive, intolerant in abundance and intensity." Though, bold in its outlook and outspoken in its utterances, Samkara's system is neither intolerant nor emotional. On the contrary, as emphasising the essential oneness of man, it is tolerant; as strictly logical and rational, it is contemplative. There is absolutely no place for any emotional ecstasy in Samkara's purely rational, intellectual, well-balanced, sober system. Emotionalism is a characteristic of later Vaisnava systems only, never of Samkara's philosophy. However, if as asserted, the new South Indian Philosophy was really aggressive, intolerant and emotional, it is difficult to see how it could have been influenced by Islam. For, we do not think that Orthodox Islam can at all be characterised as emotional. On the contrary, it is marked throughout by a sober, practical tone, at variance with the mysticism, ecstasy, intoxication etc., of the Sufis. The fact is that any "emotional abundance and intensity" is due to conceiving the relation between God and man as that between the Beloved and lover. This is found both in Vaisnavism and Sufism. But, to Orthodox Islam God is both a Merciful Protector and Stern Ruler, and the eternal relation between God and man is that between a Master and a humble servant, and not between two lovers. So, Orthodox Islam insists not only on love, but also on a feeling of awe and respect for God, as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

befitting a humble and obedient servant. Hence, all excessive, gushing emotionalism is foreign to the very spirit of Islam. In fact, if we insist on a similarity between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthodox Islam, it lies in this spirit of soberness and saneness, and not in "emotional abundance and intensity" as implied above. But here, too, there is no question of any mutual influence,—for this spirit, though in effect similar in both the systems, is entirely different as regards its causes. Samkara's soberness is derived from an intense speculative tendency, a relentless logical method, an uncompromising intellectualism that stoops to nothing. But, the soberness of Orthodox Islam is due not to intellectualism, but to practicalism, not to any abstruse philosophical discussions, but to a healthy, realistic grasp of the facts of life. While Samkara-Vedanta is essentially philosophical and anti-theological, in the common, technical sense, Orthodox Islam is essentially practical,—a practical rule and religion of life, rather than any completely and consistently worked out system of Philosophy. So, even here, an inherent difference of spirit cannot be ignored.

As regards the implication that the new South Indian philosophy derived its "intolerant" spirit from the Arab traders of the seventh century A.D., it is for the Moslems to decide whether their own system is really "intolerant" or not. As for Indian philosophical systems, whether northern or southern, we can assert strongly that from the philosophical standpoint at least, they are absolutely free from any intolerance, bigotry or fanaticism. Of course, it cannot be denied that from the practical standpoint, this sublime spirit of tolerance and broad-mindedness has not always been followed.

As regards the "aggressive" character of the new South Indian philosophy, supposed to be derived from Islam, see just below.

(*v*) The writer asks, "Is it fanciful to find in Samkara's fervour and zeal traces of the influence of the revolutionary zeal of Islam?" With every respect to the learned writer, we have to say that it *is* fanciful and entirely so. We do not see why without an iota of evidence of any sort, external or internal, we should all on a sudden suppose that this great intellectual giant of India, this relentless logician, this uncompromising fighter of all sorts of dualism, this bold upholder of the age-old Vedic tradition of Monism, derived his "fervour and zeal" from an altogether alien form of thought, even if he ever came into actual contact with it. Are "zeal and fervour" foreign to the Indian tradition that Samkara, the very soul of intellectual India, had to learn it from a foreign source? Historically, Samkara's philosophy is taken as a direct reaction to the growing influence of Buddhism that threatened to eclipse Hinduism totally. At this juncture, Samkara, the greatest champion of Hindu thought, placed Vedic Hinduism on a solid basis of reason and logic, and thereby reinstituted Vedic tradition, so long left in the lurch by anti-Vedic Buddhism. Hence, "Samkara's fervour and zeal" were due entirely to his desire to revivify Hinduism as against Buddhism, not to any "revolutionary zeal of Islam". If he had to learn "fervour and zeal" at all from others, he had his very own Vedas and the Upanisads to get a direct inspiration from, for every line of the Vedas, every letter of the Upanishads breathes forth such an intense fervour and zeal, such a noble spirit of boldness and frankness that finds no peer in the whole world.

We have, therefore, that neither on historical grounds, nor on the more important philosophical ground can it be ever asserted that Samkara was in any way influenced by Islam, not to speak of his system being "a direct outcome of the impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought." His system was from beginning to the end a purely Indian product, without an iota of any foreign element, Islamic or otherwise. He could not have "absolved out of it (Islam) elements that suited his cast of mind" as alleged, for as we have seen above, neither from the transcendental nor from the empirical point of view, could he get any such element from Islam "suited to his cast of mind." In fact, what suited his cast of mind was altogether foreign and opposed to Orthodox Islam. Hence, all the elements of his system, its entire temper, spirit and outlook were derived from the Vedas and the Upanishads alone; and the whole process of synthesis, by which he gave such a consistent and complete shape to these elements, was entirely his own.

V

It may be asked as to why in these days of communal synthesis, when every one is trying to trace the mutual influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilisations, we have thought it fit to bring out the intrinsic differences between Orthodox Islam and Samkara-Vedanta, rightly called by the same writer "the supreme manifestation of Hindu Spirit." The reply is that we firmly believe that a false, fanciful assertion of mutual influence, reciprocity or synthesis, where it does not really exist, though well-meaning and born of an over-zealous eagerness to contribute to communal harmony, is sure to produce just the opposite result. That during the Middle Ages, there has been a real "synthesis and co-operation between Hindus and Moslems on a thousand planes" no one can consistently deny. In religion, literature, art, sculpture, architecture, painting, music, and in many other departments of Culture, as well as in social customs and daily habits, there are in many cases unmistakable signs of direct impact and fusion of Hindu and Moslem modes of thought. This far-reaching mutual influence of Hindu and Moslem Cultures has produced a most beneficial effect in enriching and vivifying Indian Civilisation. And common understanding and mutual sympathy being the first requisite of a communal harmony, all lovers of Indian Nationalism should try to bring to greater light this history of communal give-and-take during the Middle Ages. But while admitting all this we cannot but sound a note of warning to over-enthusiastic patriots who in their zeal may forget truth and thereby unwittingly foster bitterness and bad feelings. For, though there was a close fusion of Hindu and Moslem Cultures, that was never the whole of the picture. On the contrary, each had something original to contribute, something that was a direct fruit of this particular Culture only, without being in any way influenced by the other. To call these original contributions "fusions" or "direct outcome of impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought" is not only false, but also dangerous, *e.g.*, the Moslems were not only influenced by Hindu Culture, but they had many original things of their own to give to their Hindu brethren. But if we in our enthusiasm try to prove even these entirely original contributions to be direct outcome of Hindu influence, will not the Moslems become incensed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and in one voice protest loudly? In the very same manner, Hindus had also many new things of their own to give to their Moslem brethren and no Hindu can tolerate any attempt, however well-meaning, to pass these off as the direct outcome of Moslem influence. The Samkara-Vedanta is one of these original contributions of the Hindus not only to Islam but also to the whole world. It is indeed a unique contribution, for no other philosophical system of the world has ever reached such lofty heights on such strictly logical and rational grounds. This led the great philosopher William James cry out enthusiastically in appreciation of the Advaita-Vedanta: "The paragon of all Monistic systems is the Vedanta Philosophy of Hindusthan." Thus, the Vedanta is the cream of Indian (Hindu) Culture, and the Advaita-Vedanta is the cream of the Vedanta. In fact, the very soul of India found a complete manifestation in the person of this great intellectual savant Samkara. That is why, as Indians, we are justly very proud of Samkara and can justly claim him to be the greatest exponent of truest and absolutely original Vedic Hindu Culture. Hence, even at the risk of being misunderstood, we cannot pass off, without a strong protest, this well-meant but misdirected attempt at foisting Islamic influence on Samkara-Vedanta without an iota of evidence at hand. However, we firmly believe that *"differences in India are hyphens that unite, and not dashes that divide."* (P. Sitaramayya).

——:o:——

ANGLO-U.S. FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

By J. G. NARANG, M.A.

Sixth December, 1945, will go down as a most important day in the history of the financial world; for it was on this memorable day that the epoch-making Anglo-U.S. Financial Agreement, after a period of three months' negotiations and deliberations, was signed in the U.S.A. The Agreement which is awaiting Parliamentary and Congressional ratification and about which there appears to be no difficulty is likely to cement the relations between the two countries at least for another 55 years to come. One of the U. S. influential papers has described this Agreement to be the most important single step taken to create in the world the free conditions of trade essential for winning the peace on the Economic side. This declaration obviously presumes that the peace has been won on the political side which view would not be shared by all. But it may, however, be stated that behind the Agreement is probably the feeling that U.S.A. and U.K., if they are striving to draw the world politically, must also do the same thing economically. Though the Agreement is between England and the U.S.A., it has, nonetheless, an important bearing on the economy of other countries, especially the Dominion, the mandated and the dependent countries. By this Agreement, Great Britain will get a loan of four billion and four hundred million dollars. According to the joint statement the objects of the loan are stated to be

> "to facilitate purchases by the United Kingdom of goods and services of the United States, to assist the United Kingdom to meet transitional post-war deficits in its current balance of payments, to help the United Kingdom to maintain adequate reserves of gold and dollars, and assist it to assume the obligations of multilateral trade. This credit would make it possible for the United Kingdom to relax import and exchange controls and generally move forward with the United States and other countries towards the common objective of expanding multilateral trade. These arrangements, if carried out, will put an end to the fear of an economically divided world and make possible, throughout the world, expansion of employment and of production, exchange, and consumption of goods."

It is, therefore, understood that a part of the said credit would be used for the following purposes: (1) to enable Britain to make direct purchases in the U.S.A.; (2) to allow the countries in the sterling area to convert their accumulations from their current trade with Britain into dollars for purchases in the U.S.A.; and (3) to help Britain to maintain adequate reserves so as to free the sterling from the present restrictions and thus enable Britain to meet its trade deficits for the next few years. All this means that a part of the credit will be used to pay for purchases made by England of American property and equipment now located on British soil and the remainder of three billion and seven fifty million dollars will be available to Britain on any day after the Agreement has been ratified by both the Parliament and the U.S. Congress and before December 31, 1951. The repayment of the loan will begin on December 31, 1951 and the repayment will spread over a period of 50 years. The rate of interest, it is understood, would be 1·62 per cent and may, in certain circumstances, be lower and even not charged under the 'waiver clause'. Though the Agreement has been signed, it has been received not with unmixed feelings both in Britain and America. Before an examination of those reactions is made, it will be interesting to know the background of this Agreement and to study the circumstances which brought these two countries together in this financial deal as also to know why America agreed to give the loan and why Great Britain wanted it.

It is well-known that on account of the war, Great Britain has been economically bled white; her economy has suffered a great economic and financial strain; she has incurred a heavy expenditure on the conduct of the war and during that she has incurred a heavy debt which she is being called upon to pay at an early date. To pay her financial obligations, and to come up to its pre-war economic position, she wants blood transfusion which she has decided to get by an all-out programme of augmenting her export trade by 75 per cent. It is with this programme that all the financial policies of Great Britain are being planned and it is in this job that Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the British

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Board of Trade, is engaged. Even the last Budget which envisages a huge economic plan calls for huge amounts of money which cannot be raised inside the country by all the possible sources and the means of taxation. In order to increase her export trade she must also import raw materials apart from essential foodstuffs for which she depends solely on other countries. She must therefore require a huge loan for which she requested America and after three months' deliberations and of bargaining the Agreement has been reached between these two countries whereby she is to receive a loan from America. There were various other important reasons too mainly arising out of her previous obligations and pledges to U.S.A. and to the cause of world free trade which made it practically obligatory on her part to require and take the loans. These reasons will be discussed at a later place.

As regards America, it was not out of generosity or munificence that she was impelled to give such a heavy loan. It is stated that the money she will lend to Great Britain will be raised from America at the interest of 1·92 per cent, *i.e.*, ·30 per cent higher than she would get from Great Britain in the form of interest. As already stated, there is a 'waiver clause' in the Agreement by which in any year of unfavourable trade balance or if it is necessary in view of the present and prospective conditions of international exchange and the level of its gold and foreign Exchange reserves, she would be exempted from the payment of interest. A question naturally arises as to why U.S.A. should be so willing to give such an enormous loan to Great Britain when apparently she does not stand to derive any material benefit so far as the transaction itself is concerned? But a closer examination of the terms of the Agreement will reveal that America stands to benefit a great deal from this Agreement not only in the near future but in the distant future too. As it will appear from the terms of the Agreement, which have been reported so far, that the sterling area will have to be liquidated and countries falling within that area will be permitted to trade freely and with any country they liked, which evidently means the liquidation and abolition of the imperial trade preference. A study into the past history of American trade will show that America had no free trading with countries falling within the sterling area because of imperial and empire preferences and she was thus deprived of a huge volume of the British Empire trade. Now within one year after the Agreement, countries in the sterling area will be allowed to buy anywhere and will also be provided with dollar Exchange to buy anywhere. In this way America will be able to export her goods to those countries which it was not possible before. Moreover, even for her exports to Great Britain, she must provide U. K. with the necessary dollars. In other words, U.S.A. by giving the loan to U.K. will be financing her own exports.

The reaction in Great Britain after the culmination of the Agreement has not been very encouraging. The opposition in the House of Commons led by Mr. Churchill must, as a matter course, oppose. But their objections during the discussions in the House of Commons are not without any foundation and are therefore worth consideration. The main objections to the proposals had been on the grounds that they involve abolition of the sterling area; secondly, a return to the gold standard and, thirdly, destruction of imperial preferences. Trading in British Empire under imperial preferences had been the very life-breath of Br... export programme. Similarly, the dissolution of ... sterling area would also put Great Britain to a ... handicap and might deprive her of a large portion ... her trade which may ultimately be shared by ... United States as a serious rival. Return to the ... standard, which was abolished in 1931 would not ... help Great Britain. Apart from these, it is also ... asked if at all this dollar loan was essential. It is arg... that the matters have been precipitated with inde... haste and England could have waited for at ... another 5 years after which she would have conside... if a loan was at all desirable. It is also stated ... without the loan Great Britain could have carried ... This assumption is based on the following grounds:

(1) That American exporters are ever anx... to maintain their links with British importers ... that they would have been too willing to sell ... Great Britain against blocked sterling in spite ... large size of British external floating debt.

(2) That there would have been no difficulty ... obtaining through private credit transactions all ... American goods which Great Britain urge... needed without having to use up the dollar reser... and for that the treasury bill rates would have ... accepted by the American holders of blocked sterli... and the cost of transaction with interest charg... would have been incomparably lower than that ... the loan.

The loan was also opposed on grounds of psyc... logical and material reasons. It is stated that as a res... of the big loan the spirit of the country would ... totally different. Without the loan the Governm... could have asked the populace to put up with ... austerity and all the hardships and privations that th... are now undergoing as a result of the aftermath of ... war. The Government could have also appealed to ... coal miners and other workmen to do their utmost ... increase the output and the Government then wo... not have been pressed with their demands of reduc... of working hours, increment of wages and other vari... demands. Besides, this would have avoided party s... and class antagonism. Above all, there would have be... no critical conditions which have been attached to ... Agreement now and the country would not have be... called upon to sacrifice its empire trade and jeopard... her foreign trade for the sake of immediate relief.

The arguments of the protagonists are well-kno... It has been stated that the Agreement was ... essential and when it was admitted that she wanted ... loan she must submit to the conditions of the credi... than to dictate terms to the creditor as she was d... in the case of India which though, being a creditor ... Great Britain instead of dictating terms to Gre... Britain, is being dictated to by Great Britain with reg... to the settlement of her accumulated sterling balance... Besides these arguments, the loan was essential in ord... to redeem her pledge and discharge her obligations ... other countries. If the Agreement had not come ... existence, England bereft of cash credits could not ha... redeemed its pledge under article 7 of the Lend-Lease ... Agreement to relinquish trade and exchange contr... after the war. And what is more important it w... have also been impossible for U. K. to become a par... to the Bretton Woods Agreement which had ... arrived at before this financial Agreement ... could it have been able to accord it full and effect... support to the charter of free international trade.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a loan was necessary. The alternative would have been to find money within the British Empire and to trade in a separate economic Block consisting of countries to which, according to Lord Keynes, "we already owe more than we can pay, on the basis of their Agreement to lend us money they have not got, and buying only from us and one another goods that we are unable to supply."

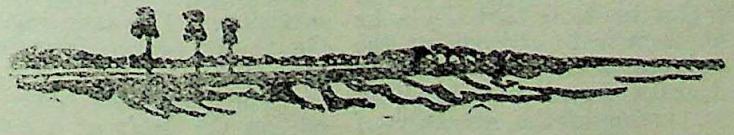
This Agreement has given rise to many other issues two of which require a mention here. The first is with regard to the participation in the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference. This Agreement will bind Great Britain to join that arrangement and to participate in the actual Monetary Bank which will come into existence as a result of the Agreement. Secondly, no other choice has been left before Great Britain than to join the International Trade Conference which is shortly being convened by U.S.A. to discuss matters relating to the lowering of the tariff-walls and to put the whole world on the basis of free and liberal trade.

The reaction in U.S.A. may be studied from the trend of discussions that were held at the recently-concluded three-day 32nd National Foreign trade convention. The loan has been advanced in accordance with the principles laid down by that meeting where the concensus of opinion was that though the loan was risky it must be incurred if America wished to stimulate world recovery and free foreign trade from its restrictions. The opposition was voiced by Mr. J. Reuban Clark who advocated private loaning than risking public or the tax payer's money.

It will be dangerous to speculate on the ultimate result of this Agreement. It will also be too early to say whether the Agreement will achieve its objective of freeing the world trade from restrictions and bilateral controls to the better advantage of all the countries. But it may be stated that collaboration between U. K. and the U.S.A. in the economic field, though at present to the mutual advantage of both the countries, is bound ultimately to result in serious rivalries as it has been on the political side. Now U.S.A. is helping Great Britain to build up her export trade but time will come when U.S.A. though not dependent like U.K. for her financial and economic stability on exports, is sure to come into conflict with U.K. export programme and her exports therefore will have to face a keen competition from British exports despite their joint declaration for close co-operation. In the world of free trade, U.S.A. no doubt is likely to acquit herself better as an efficient and better producer of goods than Great Britain. In that case the position of Great Britain can be better imagined than described.

We in India are interested as to what would be its repercussions on Indian economy and its financial position. India being a part of world economy, cannot remain without feeling the impact of this financial Agreement. India definitely stands to benefit in certain respects, for instance, with the dissolution of the sterling area and removal of imperial preference and the liquidation of Empire Dollar Pool, India stands to gain in so far as she will be able to trade in a wider world area than hitherto. Furthermore, it has also been made explicit in the Agreement that Great Britain will have to make an early settlement of the sterling balances accumulated by the sterling area and other countries prior to this Agreement but the *modus operandi* on which the two big powers have agreed upon shows a sinister move on the part of America and Great Britain to wipe off a considerable portion, though not specified, of India's sterling balances. For example, it has been stated that the settlement with sterling area countries will be on the basis of dividing those accumulated sterling balances into three categories, *viz.*, (*a*) balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency transactions, (*b*) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning with 1951 and (*c*) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of the war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of benefits with the countries concerned who might be expected to gain from such a settlement. It has not been made explicit as to what part would be released at once and what part would be released after 1951 and what portion would be adjusted as a contribution which, in other words, means whittling down a considerable portion of India's sterling balances which she had accumulated as a result of the sweat of her brow.

It is being stated that soon a conference between Great Britain and the sterling area countries will be held, to decide upon this question of settling the sterling accumulations. One, however, wonders as to what would be the utility of such a conference as the *modus operandi* had already been decided upon by the two powers. No choice has therefore been left for India to negotiate further in the matter except that she should resist all attempts of Great Britain which may be connived at by U.S.A. to wipe off even a small portion of her sterling balances. On every occasion whenever it has arisen, the demand of the settlement of the question of payment of sterling balances has been let down. At Bretton Woods Conference, though the matter was ably put forward by the Indian delegates, it did not get the response and the encouragement which it expected from other powers. Besides, influential circles in Great Britain have tried not only to ignore India's right to her sterling balances but have actively resisted all attempts to settle this question. Even now, the same sinister ideas and feelings persist in the minds of the British leaders, the latest to have come from Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons during discussions on this Agreement. The Agreement has provided Britain with the moral backing of America a free hand to tamper with the balances or even to repudiate them if it so decided. It is therefore very necessary that the Indian public should voice their protest against what has been decided by these two powers *ex parte*.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PARTITION OR FEDERATION: *By D. N. Bannerjee, Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 2.*

The author who has already several valuable works to his credit, *e.g., The Reforms Scheme : A Critical Study, The Indian Constitution and Its Actual Working,* besides two books on the early land revenue system in Bengal and Bihar and the early administrative system of the East India Company, dedicates what he calls a study in the Indian constitutional problem "to those who have been fighting for the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India", thus revealing at once the point of view from which the problem is approached.

All the seven chapters which constitute the book were contributed to periodicals and it appears from the preface that the impulse to write came from the publication of the C. R. formula and Gandhiji's assent to it. The first is an open letter addressed to the latter showing that he had been inconsistent in blessing the scheme as also that he had no right to do so without consulting the wishes of the people vitally affected if and when the formula was accepted. The second is an examination of the C. R. formula from the standpoint of the constitution of the Congress. These may be regarded as introductory to what the reviewer regards as the really valuable part of the book, consisting of the next four chapters, which appeared originally in *The Modern Review*. In the first two of these, the author examines the positions taken by Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi during the negotiations and after, and in the third the two-nations theory of the former. The fourth presents the generally accepted nationalist view that communalism which has culminated in the demand for partition of India has been encouraged by Britain proof in support of which is offered by the author. The seventh and last chapter examines Professor Coupland's zonal scheme but not in as great a detail as the Lahore resolution of 1940. Then follow eight appendices consisting of extracts from documents and three articles by the author.

In the above four chapters (Nos. 3-6) in addition to facts and arguments used by previous writers on this subject, all of which have been presented convincingly and the exclusion of which would have tended to make the treatment perfunctory, the reader will notice much new and valuable material for the inclusion of which those impartially minded must feel grateful to Dr. Bannerjee. A fact which has struck the reviewer, as it must strike all readers of this book, is that while he has tried to preserve the detached attitude of the student all through his admirable exposition of the problem, he has, now and again, permitted himself to be carried away by his conviction of the necessity of maintaining the unity of India which he has conclusively proved beyond any doubt.

Along with the books on this subject by Prof. T. Shah and Doctors Ambedkar and Ansari, Dr. B nerjee's book can rightfully claim to be one of the yet best presentations of the views of those who st against the partition of India.

H. C. MOOKERJ

GANDHIJI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH T GOVERNMENT 1942-44 : *Second edition, Septem 1945. Pp. xxxii + 360. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Soon after Gandhiji was released in May, 194 was reported that he was circulating typewritten co of his correspondence with the Government to interes friends. The Government of India accordingly iss its own edition of the correspondence from its h quarters at Delhi. But the book did not contain all Gandhiji wished that the public should know. So Navajivan Press, after the Government had withdra its ban, followed by issuing its own edition of the respondence. The first edition ran out very soon, the present edition had to be printed in larger numb

In many respects this book will remain one of most important documents relating to India's strug for independence. The whole case in defence of Congress attitude towards the War since the failure the Cripps negotiation in April 1942, has been presen here. In trying to defend the Congress against unproved charges levelled against it by the Ho Department of the Government of India, Gand brought together all the relevant extracts from his famous writings in the *Harijan* of 1942, as well as draft resolutions of the A.I.C.C., the Working C mittee and so forth. They prove beyond the shadow a doubt that the Congress was forced into the pos it took only due to the panic-stricken and hos character of the official war measures ; and how 'Quit India' resolution was really intended to help cause of Democracy, and thus meant for the real w fare of Britain, India, China, as well as of Russia. was one of the wisest and the most statesmanlike st ever taken by the Indian National Congress.

That the Government of India had nothing m to say after the publication of Gandhiji's defence proved clearly by the fact that it never again raised question of bringing up the Congress leaders for t in connection with the August Disturbances, as had b rather pompously threatened by the Viceroy in of his letters to Gandhiji.

The present publication also contains docume connected with one of the most poignant chapters Gandhiji's life ; and, from the Government point view, one of its most sordid examples of bureaucra inefficiency. This is in relation to the illness of Kast Gandhi in prison, from which she was destined ne to recover.

The publishers have also added in the pres edition the draft of a circular, which was to be m over to Members of the Working Committee, in negotiations between Gandhiji and the Viceroy fa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and a movement had to be launched by the Congress. This document shows clearly what the nature of the August Movement was going to be, if Gandhiji had been there to conduct it personally.

The publishers should be congratulated for the cheap price at which they have made this most important book available to the public.

FROM YERAVDA MANDIR : *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Third edition. 1945. Pp. 67. Price eight annas.*

This forms one of the basic writings of Gandhiji, like his Hind-Swaraj or Ethical Religion. During his incarceration in 1930, Gandhiji used to write letters to members of the Sabarmati Ashram in which he explained his ideas about the Ashram vows on Truth, Non-violence, Humility, Non-possession, Bread Labour and so on. These were translated from the Gujarati, first published in the *Young India*, and later on issued in book form.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LENINGRAD : *By Alexander Werth, Hamish Hamilton, London. Indian Edition by Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1944. Pages 198. Price Rs. 8-14.*

Alexander Werth, the well-known author of *The Last Days of Paris* and the only British newspaper correspondent to have been in Leningrad during the blockade, tells in this book a fascinating story of Leningrad's ordeal and salvation. The author was born in Leningrad, the city of Pushkin and the cultural capital of Russia ever since the eighteenth century, and was welcomed by the military as well as political circles of this beleagued city to study at first hand the terror and grandeur of Leningrad's ordeal. He describes poignant scenes of wanton destruction wrought by German artillery and aerial bombs and pathetic scenes of starvation and death. On the other hand, he records the undying faith and unity of thousands of its anonymous men, women and children who by their courage and sacrifice saved Leningrad against German molestation. Werth's narrative, written in the form of a diary, is at once tragic and noble. It is a document of outstanding human interest and brings out in bold relief those arresting features of the Russian spirit which the trials of war have for the first time revealed to an admiring world.

Werth's chronicle does not attempt to dogmatize on the political significance of Leningrad's survival, but contains an interesting reference to the impact of war on Leningrad's literary life. According to the author, Leningrad does no longer hold the cultural ascendancy over Moscow which it once enjoyed, but Leningrad writers have their face turned towards the West much more deliberately than any other cultural unit of the Soviet Union. They do really thirst for a closer contact with the rest of Europe. This yearning is of course spreading throughout Russia today, because the political need for cultural isolation is perhaps over. The war, however, has thrown up two distinguished Leningrad writers, Nikolai Tikhonov, the chronicler of war-time life in Leningrad and writer of patriotic verses now popularized throughout the Soviet Union, and Vera Inber, the authoress of *The Pulkovo Meridian*, that grim and tragic poem of the blockade, written in perfectly chiselled lines and a metre as light as the Byronic octave. The outer lightness of this tragic poem, with such light-hearted similes as that of "a little coffin like a violin case" in which a Leningrad father takes his dead baby to the cemetery during the famine, not only places this poem in the Pushkin tradition, but reflects the ironic resignation with which so many men and women of Leningrad accepted the simple fact of death through hunger.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

MY STUDENT DAYS IN AMERICA : *By Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. Padma Publications, Bombay. Pages 108. Price Rs. 3.*

The author of this book was a student at Hartford, Corn. U.S.A., for three years (1919-1922) after which he went to Europe to take further education. As a political prisoner in Nagpur Central Jail he gave twenty talks (on his experience in America) to his fellow prisoners during February and July, 1943, and the present volume is the outcome of these lectures. Unlike ordinary travels, these lectures reveal a deep insight into American life and civilization in all its aspects so far as the experience of the author goes. He gives vivid description of the vigorous life of the New World freed from age-long shackles of custom and conservatism. It is the land of freedom and youth and as such even a man from a subject country like India feels the throb of liberty in U.S.A. In the words of the author, "In America I drank the wine of freedom. No one preached it to me. It was in the air in which I lived and moved and had my being . . . If America taught me nothing else, it taught me the virtues of self-help, self-respect and sturdy independence and no more would I of my own free will co-operate with any form of bondage or oppression." This is America. America is nearer to us to-day than ever before. In India's struggle for freedom, America should supply us with inspiration and guidance to be true to its traditions. The book will inspire young minds with hope. But the lessons drawn by the author will work as an eye-opener to the readers blinded by the glare of a civilization primarily devoted to the material welfare of a highly efficient and youthful race. The author is wedded to village industries and believes that salvation of India lies in reviving cottage production rather than in following the centralised method of the industrialised West. Thus, though the author speaks good of America, the moral he draws is clear that India's salvation does not lie in western capitalism and industrialisation but in reconstruction of her villages, revival of her cottage industries and rebuilding of her ancient civilization on the stable foundation of plain living and high thinking.

A. B. DUTTA

OCEAN SKIES AND LOST CARGOES : *By M. Beckman. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 301. Price Rs. 7-14.*

This is an interesting story about an adventurous voyage, one of the many occasioned by the Pacific war. A merchant-man started from the English coast for the American, and during its prolonged and perilous voyage, had experiences of the most thrilling kind, which are told in a simple, natural and highly attractive manner. The book abounds with various descriptions and details of its career through the sea, including an attack on a convoy. From the beginning, the story is of an absorbing interest with its exciting descriptions and realistic details of sea-life, and is sure to find favour with the public.

DEVADASI : *By Santosh Chatterji, M.A. Published by S. K. Chatterji. 1945. Price Rs. 3.*

The present volume is an historical and analytical study of the institution of Devadasi as prevalent in India. The learned author traces the origin of this system in India, and refers also to other eastern countries like Babylon and Egypt where this system is supposed to have existed. He analyses the various customs and manners connected with the temple dancers, describes their social status and significance, and discourses upon the ancient art of Hindu dance of which the Devadasis were the repository. The ex-

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

position of the various forms of classical Indian dance, accompanied with profuse illustrations of *mudras* and other dance forms, is highly illuminating. The book is, in short, a compound of legends, archaeology, history and aesthetic criticism, and has the stamp of scholarship necessary for the present discourse. The book is profusely illustrated.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD : *By Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 276, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. xxiv + 643. Price Rs. 6-12.*

Besides Introduction and Index, the book contains twenty-five chapters covering 634 pages. In this pretty big volume, the authors have attempted a resume of the history of education in its various aspects during roughly one hundred and fifty years. Changes in educational policies from time to time have been stressed. Different chapters are devoted to the discussion of primary, secondary and collegiate stages of education in different provinces with especial emphasis on those in the three major provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In this period the governance of the country was first vested in the East India Company whence it passed into the hands of the British Crown in 1858. The scope of education was gradually widened, and universities were established in various provinces. The authors have tapped original sources, and so far as the history of the later period, *i.e.*, since when the country came under the British Crown, is concerned, they have traced it with considerable success. Materials for reconstructing the history of education in the earlier period, *i.e.*, the period from 1800 to 1850, are not only meagre, but it is very difficult to search them out. Hence this portion of the book could not but be somewhat scrappy. For example, the case of Bengal may be cited. English education was first started in this province. Many papers and documents in MSS. have been unearthed in recent years, without which no history of education can be properly written. Missionary efforts with regard to women's education in this part have not even been referred to, which is a glaring omission for such a treatise. Educational efforts, at least in the three major provinces, in the first half of the nineteenth century require to be treated separately in different books, so that proper justice may be done to each one of them. However, in spite of these shortcomings, the authors should be congratulated on this attempt. The book will be of much use to the students of Indian education.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SHRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA : *By Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mulk Raj Puri, B.A., LL.B., 35/11, Nisbet Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.*

The Gita is the sublime narration of what was, of what is and what will ever be. It is more real than history. The words of the Saviour Lord Krishna have mystic meaning which have baffled the intelligence of so-called learned men for centuries, but the hidden meaning of the Bhagavad Gita is open to all such devoted men who have reverence for the Great God as well as their Guru, as is said in the Setaswatara Upanishad. They only realize the deep intellectual meaning of the Bhagavada Gita. The Bhagavad Gita solves all the questions of human life.

The annotations by the venerable learned author are really original and most wonderful. They have expressed the synthetic view of the Bhagvad Gita. The language of the book is very simple but its thought is very deep and scientific.

We recommend this book for the reverential study of all Gita scholars.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

BENGALI

BANGLA PRABAD (Bengali Proverbs) : *S... Kumar De. Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mo... bagan Row, Calcutta. Pp. xii + 80 + 480. Price Rs.*

Dr. Sushil Kumar De has acquired a repute among scholars for painstaking thoroughness, so... critical faculty and selective insight. Here he has tak... up a new role, not as an historian of Bengali litera... or of Sanskrit prosody but as a collector and edito... Bengali proverbs. It is not an entirely unexplored fie... from time to time there have appeared co... pilations of Bengali sayings and adages, some g... and some indifferent, but they seem to be more in ... nature of cataloguing and selections than of be... thorough and systematic. The collection that Dr. S. ... De has made excels other publications of the kind ... only in the amount of materials contained in it but a... in the matter of arrangement, numbering, indexing a... incorporation of different readings. The eighty-p... preface of the book is a store-house of informati... It treats of proverbs in general and Bengali prove... in particular. It contains among other things ... definition, analysis and evaluation of the proverb. It ... highly interesting in so far as it gives a picture of t... Bengali family life as reconstructed from proverb... sayings. The very useful index of important wo... and the bibliography add to the value of the book. T... collection comprises six thousand six hundred ... eighty-one proverbs including Khana's sayings wh... are given in the Appendix. It is a difficult task and ... must admit that Dr. S. K. De has succeeded in ... *Bangla Prabad* will for long remain the most authori... tive reference-book on the subject.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LA...

BANGLA VARSHALIPI : *Edited by Sisirku... Acharjya Choudhury. Sanskriti Baithak, 17, Pan... Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Sanskriti Baithak has been rendering valuab... service to Bengali literature by publishing this info... mative and interesting Bengali Year Book from the ... year. Its debut in 1945 removed a long-felt want. T... year's *Varshalipi* contains much more valuable info... mation regarding not only Bengal, past and presen... but also a brief survey of the main socio-politic... movements which are moulding the destiny of the w... of India. "Bharatiya Jatiya Congress", "Hindu Ma... sabha" and "Muslim League", these three chapters a... well-written and are replete with facts and figures. T... chapter on the distinguished personalities of mod... Bengal is not quite complete ; it should have be... fuller. The arrangements of facts and the manner ... which they are presented testify to Mr. Achar... Choudhury's capable and careful editing. We recom... mend this Year Book to the reading public of Benga...

NALINI KUMAR BHADR...

KAVYA-MALANCHA : *Compiled by Abdul Ka... and Rezaul Karim. Nur Library, 12-1, Sareng La... Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.*

It is a carefully prepared anthology of represent... tive Bengali poems composed by Musalman poets. ... these days of communal discord, it is particular... gratifying to realise that when our Muslim breth... speak out their hearts, they reveal their innate un... with their Hindu countrymen. In the medieval perio... many Musalman poets wrote Vaishnava lyrics, certain... not under any external pressure but out of genuin... inspiration. The contribution of Muslims to the deve... lopment of our language can never be ignored, and ... those who want to be remembered for ever as poet... cannot be blind to their natural environment and ... heritage. The present collection which contains ma... beautiful poems of old and modern writers bears go... dence to that fact. The two introductions by the co... pilers are instructive and provocative of thought.

D. N. MOOKERJ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRATHAMIK SIKSHA : *By Sreemati Renu Mitra, M.A. Published by Messrs. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dharmtallah Street, Calcutta. Pages 116. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a book on primary education by a lady who is not only interested but connected with such education. Books of this nature in Bengali are cent per cent text-books but the present book is an exception to rule and such persons interested in the subject will find it a pleasant study. Unfortunately the state of primary education in our country is deplorable and as a result a vast amount of human material is allowed to run waste—a disgrace which no civilized government would tolerate. Our education takes no notice of the child's mind, environment, aptitudes, his shortcomings, merits or demerits and as a result, it does not help in the building up of the Nation, but deformed minds and misfits in society and to environments. The authoress discusses Wardha and Sargent Schemes of education and suggests improvements of our system in the light of modern child psychology keeping in view our rural requirements, and economic and social structure. Principal A. K. Chanda has written a short preface to the book and a bibliography has been added at the end.

We have no doubt that this book will be a real help to our primary school teachers and the general readers interested in the education of the young will find this book useful and illuminating.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

LENIN KE SANSMARAN : *By Clara Zetkin. Translated by Shyamu Sannyasi. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.*

Clara Zetkin, one of the outstanding personalities of Socialist Germany long before the Russian Revolution, was the right-hand comrade of Lenin during the first two decades of the current century. After Lenin's death she wrote down her reminiscences about the great leader. It's an intimate study of Lenin, the person, philosopher and the leader. She has not burdened these reminiscences with ideological discussions and chronology of his multifarious activities. The translation is quite good and makes interesting reading. But for ordinary people the language of translation may prove a bit terse.

M. S. SENGAR

PURVI AUR PASHCHIMI DARSHAN : *By Dr. Devaraj. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 199. Price Rs. 2.*

Here is a pocket compendium, so to speak, of the diverse contributions made in East and in West, down the ages, to the sum and substance of the philosophic thought of humanity. The author has refrained, and very wisely, too, from assessing the comparative merits of the respective "schools", and contented himself with a pure presentation of the postulates of each, even though, in terms of treatment thereof, here and there, the scales appear to be tilted (maybe, unconsciously) in favour of Western philosophy. The learned doctor has also avoided the use of highly invo'ved language. His coining of Hindi equivalents for somt of the terms, employed in European systems, is quite happy. For the layman, keen on acquainting himself with the principal concepts of Eastern and Western philosophy, indeed, no better book than the book under review, could be recommended.

G. M.

MARATHI

RAJYOGINI : *By Purshottam Mahadeva Vaidya. Navras Karyalaya, Indore City. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.*

This is a short play, in two Acts, dealing with the heroic deeds of the patriot-queen, Ahalyabai Holkar of Indore, who is the heroine of every Hindu student of Indian history. It is replete with historical events (as against imaginations and inferences, as so often is the practice of some playwrights) and histrionic effects. It can serve easily, therefore, the purpose of a primer in the passion and philosophy of patriotism, with its multi-coloured skein of sentiments and sacrifice.

G. M.

KANNADA

MUGIDA YUDDHA : *By Shivarama Karanth. Puttur, South Kanara. Pp. 405. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book under review is a novel written by Shri Shivarama Karanth of Puttur. He is known for his versatile writing. He has several books to his credit—plays, pantomimes, novels, operas anl satirical essays. The characters in his novels throb with life due to his penetrating insight into the working of the humorous mind. In the present novel the writer gives us the life story of a poor school teacher vividly portraying the several trials and tribulations through which he had to pass on account of his un-enviable financial job. The meagre resources of this school teacher—teachers as a class possess very little—could not sustain the tension put on them by the uninviting exigencies of the war and hence the life-string had perforce to snap. The miserable plight of the teachers is laid bare to the public gaze in all its lurid ugliness by the soft and tender touches of an exquisite artist. The narration of details and sketches is not only not boresome but positively attractive and gripping. There is a fascinating charm in the simplicity of Shri Karanth's style without any extraneous imposition of scintillating ornament and jewellery.

V. B. NAIK

TELUGU

RAJANIPRIYA : *By Guntur Satyanarayana, M.A. Printed at Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1-4.*

This romantic poem introduces a fast moving tale of good dramatic possibilities. The theme, set against a moral background, centres round the life of an orphan girl, Rajanipriya—the heroine of the poem. It may be said that the ingeniously worked out climax shows the fine insight of the promising author.

Mr. Satyanarayana portrays conflicting personalities like Thoraman and Rajani, shrewdly and skilfully. One significant feature about the characters is that they are all intensely human.

Considering the youthful spontaneity of the verse form, it can be warmly recommended to all lovers of poetry.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

ANIL KUMAR : *By Dr. M. O. Suraiya. Printed at the Shashank Printing Press. Bombay. 1943. Velvet-bound cover. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 5.*

With numerous photographic pictures of young Gujarati educated ladies, who have given their opinions on Dr. Suraiya's work, this *Samashloki* rendering into Gujarati of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, adds one more volume to those already published by him compared in the same lines, as here. Dr. Suraiya is a Muslim, and therefore the greater the credit for composing such verses which require a wide knowledge of Gujarati vocabulary. The get-up is excellent.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikat** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). In case of failure, Money refunded.

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29.11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Race Prejudice : A Two-Edged Sword

Although race prejudice is one of the most universal attitudes, very few people seem to understand just what it really is. Dr. Oliver C. Cox observes in *The Aryan Path* :

The crux of this problem seems to inhere in the difficulty of distinguishing race prejudice from other conflict or social-distance attitudes common among all peoples. It is well known, for instance, that any organized social group will ordinarily tend to think of itself as better than other groups. And sometimes the basis of the favourable estimate may appear exceedingly trivial. The sociologists have called this tendency of a people to judge all others according to its own standards ethnocentrism. Sometimes ethnocentrism is mistaken for race prejudice.

Then, too, there is the separative attitude known as intolerance. Intolerance is probably known among all peoples ; and it may engender violent conflicts between groups living in one society. The expression of intolerance will always become apparent when a subordinate group attempts to reject some aspect of the culture which the dominant group deems vital to the peaceful continuance of the social order. Some of the most conspicuous examples of intolerance are the antagonistic relationships of the Roman Catholic Church and heretics or Protestants in the later Middle Ages, and the continual antagonism between the Western nations and the Jews. Sometimes, also, intolerance is mistaken for race prejudice.

Then, again, there is caste relationship. The caste system apparently had its beginning in the Vedic days of the struggle for power between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the resolution of which was the ascendancy of the Brahmans and the ordering of Hindu society principally on a basis of group function. There may be extreme forms of social distance, frequently called impurity, existing between caste and caste, and this has been mistaken for race prejudice. Indeed there is a convinced school of race relations, especially in the United States, which believes that race relations are caste relations. This school, however, has been rather more spectacular than creative.

All these types of social attitudes—ethnocentrism, intolerance, caste distance—may generate apparently the same conflict emotions between groups, but they should not be assumed to be identical because of this.

What, then, is race prejudice ?

To answer this question we should clearly realize that race prejudice was unknown to the world before about 1492, the period when Europeans, white people, began to move into the countries of the coloured peoples of the world for the purpose of exploiting them and their resources for a financial profit. Race prejudice developed gradually from the days of the Portuguese adventurers of the fifteenth century to the modern age of German Fascism.

When the Portuguese began to move into the lands of the coloured peoples to exploit them according to the principles of the nascent capitalism, Europe did not know race prejudice. It had, however, well-developed attitudes of intolerance. As a consequence, the deprecation of Moors and Africans was justified in terms of religious intolerance ; thus the early relationship of Africans and Europeans involved only the rudimentary beginnings of race prejudice. The captured Africans who became servants in Portugal and in Spain were concieved of as heathens or infidels, not as innately inferior human beings. Therefore they were rather readily converted ; and, upon this, they became Christians of full status in society.

Of course, to convert a man was to lose the right to exploit him as a slave ; in the bringing of souls into the service of God the exploiter's pocket-book tended to be affected adversely. The conflict of interests had to be resolved, and the immediate problem was that of bringing God to the side of the pocket-book. In the West Indies, the Spanish priest Las Casas, champion of the Indians, opposed their enslavement, but the mine and plantation owners argued that only through enslavement could the Indians be converted to Christianity. And so, in the process of converting them, all the Indians of the West Indies were exterminated.

The next great step in the development of race prejudice was taken principally among the Anglo-Saxon capitalists.

The problem of conversion always limited the exploitative freedom of the capitalists but the northern Protestants were hardly restrained by the old religious views. First, they argued that even if the coloured person was converted to Christianity, he would not, because of that fact, be relieved from his duty to be a slave. Then they evolved the grand philosophy that the coloured peoples were incapable of cultural conversion. At least, they developed scientists to show that the coloured peoples possessed only lower degrees of capacity for cultural conversion, which meant that they were innately inferior, a fact which justified their continued exploitation by the superior white race.

Race prejudice is an attitude developed almost exclusively among white people for the purpose of facilitating the capitalistic exploitation of the coloured peoples of the world.

It insists that the coloured people are inferior, but the basis of this insistence is the capitalist need for exploitation.

Of course, we do not mean to say that only white people have the capacity for race prejudice. What we mean is that it is among Europeans that the tremendously dynamic system, capitalism, developed ; and that Europeans carried this system, in person, all over the world. The Europeans organized the world for race prejudice. If we see the real basis of race prejudice, its exploitative basis, it should become clear that none of the coloured people had race prejudice for whites when the first contacts were made.

In fact, no coloured people today are race-prejudiced against whites in any part of the world for, wherever whites live among coloured peoples, the whites are the exploiters.

By about 1900 the Anglo-Saxons had achieved undisputed mastery of the world. But there were other white people, the Germans particularly, who were developing a philosophy of racial superiority and the terrible means of implementing that philosophy. Almost all the coloured people of the world and their resources had been divided up among the Europeans and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Americans. The justification for this being that white people are the superior race of the world.

In theory the Germans proved to themselves that they were fundamentally successful. Hence they proceeded to develop new leadership and, finally, with an outspoken ambition to rule the world as a super-race, they plunged Europe into a second catastrophe, making it an earthly inferno for Europeans themselves. And the end is not yet—race prejudice is indeed a two-edged sword.

India and Britain

K. M. Munshi observes in *The Social Welfare*:

The Parliamentary delegation is in India to establish contacts and collect firsthand impressions of the Indian situation. One of them, Rev. Dr. Sorensen at any rate, for years has been the most outspoken friend of India in Parliament. To doubt its *bona fides* is therefore both unfair and impolitic.

In considering our national problems the implications of the international situation in Asia are generally forgotten. Russia is within striking distance of India. South East Asia is in a ferment. Turkey, Iraq, and Iran are menaced by Russia. Britain, therefore, in its own interests, must stabilise the international situation in Asia. This, the Britishers know, cannot be done without consolidating the Commonwealth by bringing in a contented and free India as a partner sufficiently powerful to resist aggression.

A vital bond, under these circumstances, links us to England. We cannot place the strength and integrity acquired during the last century at the mercy of a third world war. Before the next trouble starts a National Government in India, fully equipped and assisted by Britain, must emerge as a self-controlled unit of international strength. To that end India and Britain must bend themselves.

It is therefore of the highest moment that Britain and India should come to a closer understanding. The elections are a foregone conclusion. The Congress stands for the whole National India, that is India except the League and the Communists.

India is denied the gift of international awareness. The alliance of the League and the Communists is not accidental. It is not innocent. Before now I have drawn attention to the fact that Russia favours Pakistan. The Pakistan issue is to inscrutable Moscow a promising egg, from which a bird will some day emerge leading the Soviet to the port of Karachi. That the League may never dream of such a thing, or that the Indian Communists may love India too well and Russia too little is entirely irrelevant.

But ironically enough the League will, in these elections, come to represent substantially the Muslim opinion in Hindu provinces and a section of Muslim opinion in Muslim Provinces. If I can foresee, the League will not be able to form a compact ministry in more than one or two out of the four Muslim Provinces. Unless the Congress in the Punjab behaves with unexpected tactlessness there is likely to be a Coalition Ministry in the Punjab and also in Sind.

The central fact is that the Amery-ite formula that no political progress will be permitted in India unless Mr. Jinnah lifts his veto has done incalculable harm to the country.

Mr. Jinnah claims India's disruption. He claims Pakistan, not of purely Muslim areas but of large Hindu areas including Assam, a Hindu Province; a Muslim State of 103 millions in which 44 million will be non-Muslims; of a quasi-theocratic state for the claim is to have a State according to the Sharia which there will be more than 40 per cent of reli serfs. This is a claim which can never, never be ceded.

India cannot afford to be disrupted. If it is, internal communal rivalries will flare up as an national issue which must precipitate a world war the soil of India.

If, therefore, the British stick to the Amery veto, no solution is possible. The Congress must in nature of things make yet another attempt—and time a much more formidable attempt—to get British to 'Quit India.' National India cannot wait Mr. Jinnah's pleasure. If Mr. Jinnah sees light, a s tion is easily possible. But he will not, perhaps dares not. He may count on the traditional horror which the British bureaucrat holds the Nationalist India. But if Mr. Jinnah stands out, will the Cong agree to form a National Government within the a of British international influence? The Congress is marching, fighting machine; it is traditionally s British. And once on a march, it becomes difficult for to resist its native fighting impulse—unless at behests of Gandhiji. He alone, of all leaders, kn when to fight and when not. In any settlement, the fore, his influence is of supreme value. The Simla Co ference augured well for an Indo-British alliance. I a pity that its atmosphere was allowed to deterior The recent contacts between Gandhiji and the Vice and Mr. Casey hold out promise of friendliness. Neith Britain nor national India can do without a mut alliance.

Of any settlement an All-India Federation of power is the first essential. India can never be a strong and free member of the inter national community without it.

The integrity of Indian frontiers cannot be di turbed. The States cannot be allowed to drift away

Over 30 Years
OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND SECURITY
IN WAR AND PEACE
WESTERN INDIA LIFE
INSURANCE CO., LTD., Satara City
The only dependable office for one to insure with or to represent.
Write for particulars to:
MANAGER
WESTERN INDIA
Life Insurance Co., Ltd.
Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

floating islands of foreign territory. Under no conditions can we have Pakistan, unless—unless we are insane enough to open the flood gates of international horrors in our land.

What internal adjustment can be made within the framework of such a federation is a matter of give and take.

But these internal adjustments are of minor importance, though they may look to us otherwise. So long as political changes are kept pending before us, as has been done by Britain for the last thirty years, the internal situation cannot settle down.

Hence, Britain must take a decision which in the light of the world situation must necessarily take the following shape.

First and foremost, India as a whole must be definitely and finally provided with an iron framework of a Federation, wholly Indian, in personnel and with plenary powers over external affairs, defence, communications and Tariff and Income tax.

Secondly, the Federation must be invested with full independent status under the Westminster Statute in the field of international affairs with a machinery for settling and maintaining inter-Commonwealth adjustments.

Thirdly, a constituent assembly should be set up with full power to adjust the international structures within the framework of such a Federation.

Fourthly, a transitional government should be set up representing the Provinces and the States to carry on the Federation on the one hand and usher in the adjustments on the other.

A Short History of the Geological Survey of India

The Geological Survey of India completes in 1945 just a hundred years of its existence. The history of the Geological Survey of India is linked up with the modern coal mining industry. A. K. Ghosh writes in *Science and Culture*:

During the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings, Messrs Sumner and Heatley (1774) obtained the first permission to carry out coal mining at a place near Sitarampur. At that time coal used to be sent by boats from Raniganj to Amta and thence to Calcutta. From 1845, coal began to be transported by rail from Raniganj. The Jharia coal field was leased in 1858.

The demand for coal grew up as railways and steamships began to be introduced in India, and anticipating this demand, a Coal Committee was formed by Lord Auckland in 1836, which recommended in 1845 for 'a Geological Survey of the Coal Formation of India', to the Court of Directors in London, with the approval of the Bengal Government.

Mr. D. H. Williams of the Geological Survey of Great Britain was sent out to India immediately as Geological Surveyor to the Hon'ble East India Company. Mr. Williams with the help of two assistants examined the Raniganj coal-field, and extended his survey to the Ramgarh field in 1847, Karanpura coal-field in 1848 and thus laid the foundation for a Geological Survey of India.

He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Oldham, Director, Geological Survey of Ireland, in 1851, who was designated Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. Oldham recruited H. B. Medlicott in 1854, and Blanford brothers in 1855. The office of the survey up to this time was housed in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1, Park Street, Calcutta). In 1856, No. 1, Hastings Street, Calcutta, was rented to locate the office of the Survey and a Museum of Economic Geology. Oldham, with true Gaelic clannishness, converted the Survey into a colony of Irish men, with a total strength of 12 officers. But in spite of such tendencies, Oldham was sympathetic to the Indian aspirations and had introduced the system of training Indian assistants.

Between 1857 to 1876, several eminent geologists joined the Department, *e.g.*, W. King, R. B. Foote, F. R. Mallet, A. B. Wynne, F. Stolickza, V. Ball, A. Waagen, R. Lydekker and O. Feistmantel, the paleontologist.

Dr. Oldham retired in 1876, after 25 years service, when the Department had 15 geologists.

It was largely due to Oldham's energy and ability that the Indian Museum in Chowringhee was erected and thrown open to the public in January 1877.

The amount of information collected during his tenure was later compiled and produced as the official *Manual of the Geology of India*, in four volumes, written by Medlicott, Blanford, Ball and Mallet.

Mr. H. B. Medlicott, F.R.S., succeeded Oldham as Superintendent in 1876. New recruits included L. Griesbach, R. D. Oldham (Dr. Oldham's son), P. N. Bose (1880), La Touche, C. S. Middlemiss, F. Noetling, the paleontologist. In 1885, the designation of Superintendent was changed to that of Director, Geological Survey of India, and grades for Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, adopted in place of first, second, and third grade assistants. Medlicott retired in 1887 after 33 years of service.

Medlicott was succeeded by Dr. William King in 1887 and the latter retired in 1894 (at the age of 60) after completing 37 years of service in the Geological Survey. He discovered the Singareni Coal-field which has brought considerable revenue to the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1893, R. D. Oldham published the second edition of the *Manual of Geology of India* what remained a standard work on Indian Geology, for a long time. During King's time, P. N. Datta (1888) and T. H. Holland (1890) joined the Department.

Mr. C. L. Griesbach succeeded Dr. King in 1894, when there were 12 geological officers in the Department. New recruits during his tenure included H. H. Hayden, E. W. Vredenburg, L. L. Fermor and G. H. Pilgrim.

To sum up, the Geological Survey was established in 1845, was put on a sound footing in 1856, reorganized in 1885 and had made initial surveys of the important minerals before 1902.

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the latter year the Department possessed 6 specialized mineral experts, *e.g.*, Maclaren for oil, Freyer for gold, Simpson for coal, etc., and was prepared for a big utilization drive. The Government of India, at that time, however, did not agree to this utilization work and stripped the Department of its personnel by turning the experts into simple mining inspectors. The Department of Mines being establishd in the same year.

At this time, the only place where Geology was seriously taught was in Calcutta, due to the efforts of Sir Thomas Holland.

Sir Thomas Holland (then T. H. Holland) succeeded Griesbach as Director in 1903 at the early age of 35. He superseded P. N. Bose who joined eight years earlier and P. N. Datta who had joined two years earlier. The number of officers at that time was 14, including 2 Indian sub-assistants.

P. N. Bose felt the injustice of supersession so strongly that he retired from the Geological Survey the same year (1903).

In a way this led to great and unexpected happenings. He was engaged by the enlightened Maharajah of Mayurbhanj as State-geologist, and in course of his geological expeditions, surveyed more critically the Garumahisani iron deposits (Hematite Ores) in the jungles of Mayurbhanj, which had been previously discovered by him. He now found the deposits to be the richest in the world. At that time Mr. J. N. Tata was negotiating for the establishment of iron and steel industry in the C. P.; it is said that Mr. P. N. Bose met Tata accidentally in a railway train, while travelling together, and could convince the latter that the present Jamshedpur site was far better for such an industry. The rest of the story is well known.

In a way, Mr. Bose's supersession proved a boon to the country for had he continued for a few years in the Geological Survey of India, his knowledge could not have been made available to the Tatas.

Both the Indian officers who were superseded in their claims on directorship were men with the highest academic record, and had achieved great reputation in their lines by their solid work in C. P., Burma and elsewhere. They naturally resented the injustice done to them, and gave vent to their feelings before the Islington Commission on public services in 1914.

To P. N. Datta, India owes a deep debt of gratitude for the discovery of many important manganese ore deposits in the Bhandara and Chhindwara districts in the Central Province, as early as 1893-94. But his discoveries were never made public by the departmental authorities till Sir Lewis Fermor (then Dr. Fermor) with a true scientific spirit acknowledged the valuable discoveries of Datta in the field of scientific exploration. Dr. Fermor writes :

"The fact of the existence of manganese ores in this district (Chhindwara) seems to have been first noticed by Mr. P. N. Datta of the Geological Survey of India, who, while mapping the valley of Kanhan river in the cold season of 1893-94 discovered the deposit of Kachi-Dhana, the most valuable in the district and noticed fragments of one on the ground three-fourth mile South-west of Khairi on the Kelod-Sausar Road . . . Nothing more was heard of these deposits till the late Mr. A. M. Gow Smith, when prospecting in the year 1902, re-discovered both the above."

But for this statement of Fermor the discoveries of P. N. Datta would have possibly remained in the oblivion.

In his evidence before the Islington Commission Mr. Datta has quoted Holland about the ability of P. N. Bose: "Mr. Bose retired on 1st December, 1903, after service of over 23 years and had the satisfaction of knowing that in his last year's work, he has put the country in possession of a piece of property which without counting his other services, is sufficient to balance the total expense to Government."

Thomas Holland retired early in 1910 and was succeeded by H. H. Hayden.

In 1919, the Cadre of the Department was increased to one Director, six Superintendents, twenty Assistant Superintendents and five Sub-Assistants. New recruits during Hayden's time included H. S. Bion, C. S. Fox, H. Crookshank, E. L. G. Clegg, D. N. Wadia, G. H. Hobson and J. A. Dunn.

Sir Henry Hayden was succeeded by Sir Edwin Pascoe in 1921. During Sir Edwin's tenure the Raniganj and Jharia coal-fields were re-surveyed geologically on the scale of 4 inches to a mile. Generally survey had so far been conducted on the scale of one inch to four miles. New recruits included A. L. Coulson, E. R. Gee, W. D. West, M. S. Krishnan, S. K. Chatterjee, J. B. Auden, V. P. Sondhi, H. L. Chhibber, P. K. Ghosh and M. R. Sahni.

Sir Edwin Pascoe was succeeded by Sir Lewis Fermor as Director in 1932. At this time the budget grant to the Geological Survey amounted to Rs. 6 lakhs a year and the same amount is being voted on Geological Survey even today. Sir Lewis retired in 1935 and was succeeded by Dr. A. M. Heron. Sir Cyril Fox succeeded Dr. Heron in 1939.

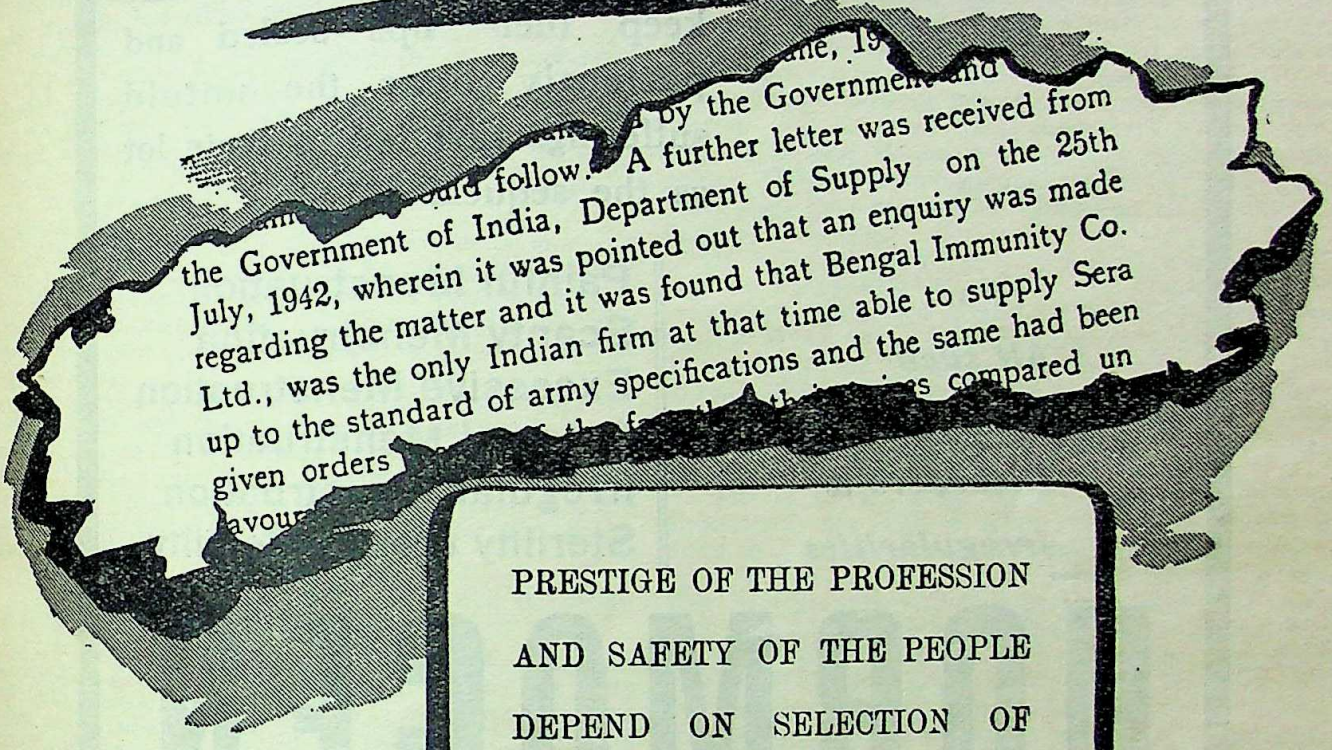
During Sir Cyril's tenure, the World War II commenced and this led to the establishment of the utilization branch of the Geological Survey of India (sponsored by Sir Cyril) at a huge cost to assist in the war efforts. A number of geologists were added to help in the exploration of several unexplored areas in search of new minerals and co-operation of the Universities was sought for mineral investigation. This became inoperative after the fall of Burma. Sir Cyril retired in 1943 and was succeeded by Dr. E. L. G. Clegg. The latter died in 1944, when Dr. H. Crookshank succeeded him. For some mysterious reason and since the improvement of the war situation, the utilization branch was retrenched involving a huge loss of money to the Government. This department to some extent showed the way to the industrialists, the scope and importance of research in minerals, etc.

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF
Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)
Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad
(with 30 rare illustrations)
Price: Rs. 5/- only.
(2) India and The Pacific World
The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.
Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1 or 5 Dollars.
The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RECOGNISED AS *India's Best...*



PRESTIGE OF THE PROFESSION
AND SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE
DEPEND ON SELECTION OF
DEPENDABLE BRANDS ONLY.

INDIA PRODUCES HER OWN AND ALSO EXPORTS

SERUM & VACCINE

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO., LTD., CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SILENT SUFFERING —THEIR BADGE !!!

Women in India habitually keep their lips sealed and patiently bear the untold sufferings that fall to their lot as the sequela of :—

For All such Menstrual Disorders & Irregularities

Painful Menstruation
Scanty Menstruation
Excessive Menstruation
Delayed Menstruation
Irregular Menstruation
Sterility & early Senility

HORMOGEN

is the remedy of choice

HORMOGEN, containing the active principles of Thyroids, Pituitary, Suprarenal and Gonads in a harmonious combination, is a highly effective Therapeutic Gland product.

AVAILABLE IN BOTH LIQUID & TABLET FORMS.

If your Chemists fail to supply, please refer to :—

BENGAL IMMUNITY Co., Ltd., Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wanted a Sociological Institute

Sociology means scientific study of human life in organised communities. In an article under the above caption in the *Behar Herald*, M. C. Samaddar says :

According to holy books, society is a divine award on man which he gets as a going concern and his privileges and responsibilities to the group interest are laid down in the scriptures which can be disobeyed only at great peril to the life after death.

It was early in the 19th century with the beginning of modern science that the study of man himself in the light of cause and effect relationship in Nature began to press itself.

Auguste Comte was the father of the word sociology. In 1839, he propounded that the phenomena of social life are included within the unity of Nature and are subject to inevitable natural laws. In this definition social laws lifted from the supernatural guardianhood came to be placed within the boundaries of natural causation.

These laws discovered that human behaviour has nothing divine in it but is based on the gross promptings of man's physical constituents, the central point of which is self-preservation, in other words, defence against the forces of disintegration that assail his innate desire to exist.

The old idea of Hobbes and his successors, that the human society was the outcome of a reasoned choice yielded place to the conception based on the obvious analogy between the social behaviour of man and certain animals according to which the grouping is more due to an instinctive attraction of like for like as inherent in nature.

To understand the social structure of Man, we must understand Man first.

In the last analysis we can reduce him to a unit of self-defence. His activities radiating from this urge flows into various channels and at the end we find him either as one who has won or one who has lost. In the former case he passes into new adventures and in the latter he awaits either extinction or resurrection on a new plane.

The evolution of species, according to Darwin, is subject to a law of natural selection, but Herbert Spencer puts it as survival of the fittest. Whatever it is, the ascent is worked through a blind law of Nature in which Man as others are subject to a uniform treatment.

Given the first spark of progress in the desire to exist which in other words being self-defence, the human society at its core is nothing other than the expression of instinctive desire on a collective plane. But again under the law of survival of the fittest there will be some going ahead and some falling behind. It is thus human societies are being split up on the broad basis of classes. which holding antagonstic interests against each other recoils on human progress as a whole.

As human behaviour is fundamentally subordinate to Nature's law we have to investigate the matrix of man in relation to the law of Nature operating on him.

Instead of emphasising on his free choice either to be good or bad, we must apply ourselves to the finding of causal state in his behaviour so that, where necessary, efforts may be made to remove a causal state. This will be the proper way to address to the subject.

Sociology aims at this study, it therefore comprises studies in a series of complementary subjects which may be broadly classified as Geology, Biology, Anthropology, Social psychology and studies in social institutions and development of political philosophy and political economy.

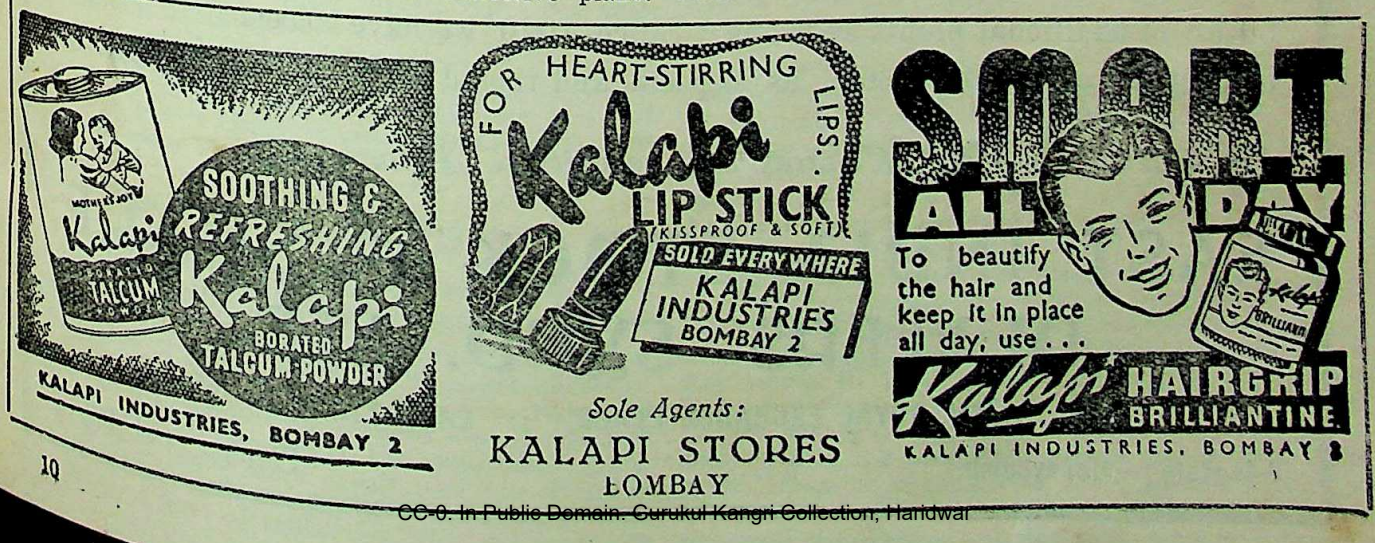
It is being mooted to found an Institute of Sociology at Patna and elsewhere. The Institute that we propose to start will stimulate and disseminate these studies. While these subjects must be approached compartmentally for specialized studies they may also be co-ordinated and correlated by the Institute in a single whole to make up a natural history of Man, with special reference to his origin, growth and development against the Indian background.

Mr. H. G. Wells has done pioneering work in this direction in his History of the World but his being a study in a world canvass it necessarily misses many of the essential life lines in the mossaic growth of Man. The Institute, therefore, proposes to direct its studies with special reference to the Indian scene. As Mr. Wells suggests, we must approach the study of Man at the genesis of life and how by way of the remote past he has developed to the present day.

The world of ours that we see today around us has progressed by bits in a slow process of accumulation. Consider the case of iron. It brought with it all the possibilities of war and peace. It meant to its owners better weapon which they could either wield for peace or for war. The old mode of life with its introduction at once gave place to new. Social disintegration followed and a new order took the place of the old.

These epochal disturbances constitute the landmark of our history.

The history of man is the history of merging into larger and larger groupings through the successive synthesis that the different epochs have confronted him.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IRON MUSCLES and STEEL NERVES



Physical Exercise is the best way to develop such a system.

If... however, you are weak or run-down and not fit enough for exercise, make yourself fit by taking a course of

CALCHEMICO'S

VIVINA

Ask for our medical literature.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For	one	year	@	4½ p.c. p.a.
„	two	years	@	5½ p.c. p.a.
„	three	„	@	6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—Honeycomb.

Phone :— Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of Great Cities in the Atomic Age

John Haynes Holmes observes in the Editorial Comments of *Unity* :

Oswald Spengler declared that the great city was the disease of civilization. When the great city, or metropolis, appeared, to feed its cancerous growth upon the helpless countryside, it was the sure sign that the end of civilization was approaching. To prevent the appearance of great cities, or to extirpate them when they appear, would seem to be the answer to our besetting question as to how to save society from decay and dissolution. It may be that this answer, never yet voluntarily accepted, will now be forced upon us by the atomic bomb. Already an engineer has risen up to tell us that there is no defense against the bomb except to go underground. If war is to continue, then our great cities must be abandoned and their populations scattered. Huge excavations must be made under our mountain ranges, and our industries there buried away. It would seem to be easier and less costly to do away with war ! But man has never been willing to forego this ghastly luxury. Now he has in his hands the weapon of final and total destruction, and there remains nothing to do but disperse our vast concentrations of human beings and thus begin anew. But where are we going to find mountains high enough, or dig holes deep enough, to protect mankind from the atomic bomb ? The present explosive is nothing—only one-tenth of one per cent of the energy hidden in uranium 235. A French physicist has declared that the ultimate bomb will disperse energy 200,000,000 times that of the highest explosive now known. This should be sufficient to split the planet. So that our mighty caves beneath the mountains might well become our graves. But, putting aside such cataclysmic speculation, it would seem to be at least elementary that our present cities and industrial centres must be abandoned. Look at what we were able to do to German cities and centers with ordinary bombs. A whole nation was turned into an ash-heap. Now add to that atomic bomb—and what will there be left. A new age has indeed begun. This atomic age seems now only to be a threat of such proportions as to be paralyzing. But perhaps—so strange are the ways of fortune !—it may bring healing and redemption. The elimination of our great cities, hitherto our curse, may be a symbol of change which will in the end deliver us. One thing is certain—we cannot continue to live as we have been living. We must begin all over again. A new system of thought and life must match the new and awful power now suddenly in our control. Time seems as though to pause these days, to see what man will do.

Who Shall Lead the World ?

It would be interesting to read the following remarks in the Editorial Comments of *The Catholic World* under the above caption :

Well, then, if we are not fit to be moral leaders of the world, what other nation is ? Woodrow Wilson in his "too proud to fight" days declared that the nations of Europe were "all tarred with the same stick." Some may have been tarred more deeply, and others not so deeply, but in no case was the tar within completely concealed by a coat of whitewash. They all made use of the lie, the smear and the secret treaty as instruments of diplomacy ; they continued to use those methods as weapons of warfare. They did not desist during the interlude—the tragically brief interlude—between the two world wars. They laughed at Woodrow Wilson's idealism, ran diplomatic rings around him, and at the sessions of the League in Geneva played politics with a view to promoting their own interests, regardless of the desperate need of world-rehabilitation.

The only country which would perhaps make some pretense to moral superiority over the others is Britain. But on the continent—say rather on three continents—Britain's reputation is that of the hypocrite, the nation whose high-hatted dipolmats play low-browed politics—gracing their actions with an appearance of gentility and aristocratic distinction. Some snooty American Anglophiles pretend that the only people who look upon the English as hypocritical and perfidious are the Irish. Nonsense ! All Europe, Asia and Africa have the same opinion. Ask the Arabs. For that matter ask the Jews. Ask the Iranians. Ask the Poles, for whose freedom Britain solemnly declared herself bound to fight. Ask the Indonesians in Java. Ask the French what they think of the English explanation of Dunkirk. Ask the Belgians their opinion of England's criticism of their King. But we need not call the roll of nations. Not one of them would receive with anything but scorn the suggestion that Britain be their moral leader.

For putting that paragraph on paper I shall as usual be smeared with the epithet, "Anti-English !" or with the viler epithet "Irish"! But I have only said what all the world knows. Right or wrong, correct or incorrect, the world opinion of Britain is unflattering. It would be more to the point if those who deny that statement were to prove that Europe, Asia and Africa *do* trust Britain and would welcome her as their moral leader. That will take some proving. It is quicker and easier to cry "Anglophobe !"

Where Stands the World ?

The following is reproduced from the Foreign Periodicals section of *The Catholic World* wherein we find the fine thoughtful lines quoted from an article that appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London) August 18th, 1945 :

The world has lived through nearly two weeks of mingled awe and relief as climax to six years of agony. An aggressive Empire has crumbled at a blow from a new force of destruction ; and even as men draw back and murmur, "Peace, at last !" they gaze with strange surmise at the prospect opened, like Dr. Faustus standing on the brink of everlasting power or everlasting ruin.

Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky,
Lord and commander of these elements.

A note of fear and wonder is woven with the well-earned rejoicing that the fighting has ceased, that men may return to the humane duties and graces of life, that the spirit of freedom has triumphed in its mightiest contest, that an order of tyranny running counter to man's nature has been destroyed in the conflict it invoked. There is thanksgiving for deliverance and the tribute of tears, reverence and gratitude for the brave who paid the sacrifice and for those who won through

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and whom we long to welcome home. Yet apprehension merges with hope in our contemplation of the world we will have to refashion. The atom bomb has carried the problems of peace into strange zones of speculation. Has it opened before the nations a terrifying abyss, or does it hold the promise of salvation that will change the spirit of the world ? In these early days of our astonishment, when the one certainty is that a fresh element has entered the ferment at work in social and international affairs, the answers that come from experts and laymen are diverse and as fanciful as they are confusing. One matter stands clear : if the human race is still in its infancy, the child now has in its hands either the most dangerous or the most promising of its endlessly novel playthings. The scientists' curiosity concerning the nature of things has outrun their expectations—and outrun the world. They themselves—some of whom, aware of the child's caprices, had hoped that their diligent search for the secret of the atom might prove a lost endeavour—seem now to be begging us to realize that the atom is the Lord's and fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. And in their turn they are challenged by the fearful, who ask how far these things are lawful and whether, with the tragical history of Dr. Faustus again in mind, they are too deep for "forward wits" to practise "more than heavenly power permits." The story of the steel tower that "vaporized" when the test bomb proved its appalling effectiveness in a Mexican desert, establishes itself most curiously as a Shakespearian annotation. Was it the forward conjecture of a great prophetic mind, or was it, as its vividness suggests, the transcript of a dream that had visited the poet when he wrote :

The cloud-capp'd tower, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

It is time to ask where the world stands. The discussion can be taken out of the region of scientific speculation—a somewhat uneasy region at present, for the claims and doubts at the moment maintain a balance—on to ground which affects our lives immediately. It is customary to talk of the neutrality of science ; but there is, and can be, no neutrality when armaments of war are paramount and national claims are backed by pleas of necessity that rule out simplicity, truth and the standards of good and evil given to us by Christ. We have been horrified witnesses of the unneutrality of science. Willingly or not, it has been harnessed to the State and its purpose of serving human needs frustrated in nearly every field except the medical. The scientist protests in vain . . . Professor Soddy, who is one of the originators of the theory of atomic disintegration, warned us years ago of the frightful use that might be made of the secret power for which he and Lord Rutherford were seeking.

Bitter enlightenment may be the way to sanity. Peace lovers and aggressors alike have ample room and scope to-day to trace the character of ruin. Those who dismissed the ideal of the brotherhood of man as a sentimental dream are, momentarily at least, in agreement with the dreamers. Brotherhood is proving an inevitable condition of life's security. The choice is peace or the end of human organization in any form we have known or have thought of hitherto. The atom bomb has given us a glimpse of the truth that if man is the pinnacle of the universe the position is becoming too dizzy for his comfort . . . To ensure the endurance of peace an alert conscience is demanded of the citizen, and of his statesmen a deep conviction that the pursuit of an irenic policy transcends the romanticism of national doctrines. Now the atom bomb has rendered obsolete the recognized paraphernalia of war we may find the wisdom and the beauty of the divine command "to be likeminded one toward another."

"Ofcourse you've heard about NOVUM-but HAVE YOU TRIED IT?"



BEFORE you spend your time in needless worry, over difficult days and fear of delays, why not try Novum. A high-grade ethical product with an open formula. Recommended by doctors and nurses. Complete relief. Quick sure and effective.

Made in 3 strengths.

Price : per container of 21 capsules of ordinary strength of NOVUM, Rs. 12-8-0; per container of 63 tablets, of strong NOVUM (Forte) tablets, Rs. 21-0-0 ; price per container of 21 red capsules, special extra strong strength, Rs 50-0-0.

Also available in "special injection form" for advanced and unyielding cases of female complaints.

Take 'Novum' at the first sign of delay—and see how comfortably you sail through your difficult days!

Available at all druggstores.

ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR describing a few of our outstanding products and our "Free Medical Advice Department".

NOVUM

A Product of

HERING & KENT

P. O. Box No. 323.
Opp. Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road.
Fort, Bombay. Phone : 24297

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BEFORE A DISTINGUISHED GATHERING

the Chief Minister of the Tripura State spoke on Wednesday 16th May, 1945, in connection with the inclusion of The Tripura Modern Bank in the scheduled list 'Tripura Modern Bank' is one of the few Banks which have been honoured to be scheduled after a thorough examination of their state of affairs. We feel honoured and rejoice at this occasion as it is the first in the like of the Tripura State. We wish the Bank more progress and prosperity.

THE TRIPURA MODERN BANK LIMITED

(SCHEDULED AND CLEARING)

Patron :

His Highness THE MAHARAJA MANIKYA BAHADUR,
K. C. S. I. of Tripura

Mg. Director : RAJSHABHABHUSAN HARIDAS BHATTACHERJEE

Chief Office : AGARTALA (Tripura Estate)

Regd. Office : AKHAURA (B. & A. Ry.)

Calcutta Offices : 6, CLIVE STREET, 201, HARRISON ROAD.

BRANCHES ALL OVER INDIA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Iran

M. Sergeyev in his Travel Notes on Iran narrates in *New Times*:

It is 480 kilometres from Isfahan to Shiraz. The locality, especially at first, is reminiscent of what one meets with on the road from Teheran to Isfahan—the same bare, sunscorched mixture of prairie and desert, and the same barren and lifeless mountains. Then the scene grows somewhat more picturesque. The plateau rises still higher. The mountain ranges are more numerous and in the valleys between them one more frequently comes across cultivated fields, orchards and verdant trees.

By midday, after having driven about 300 kilometres, we reached the small village of Dehbid, lying at an elevation of nearly 2,500 metres. We decided to stop here to rest and refuel. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has its filling stations all along the road, at intervals of 80-150 kilometres.

The small, dark clay-built teahouse where we stopped for refreshment soon began to fill with people. Besides the proprietor, there was the local manager of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the officer commanding the small military force stationed in Dehbid, several Arabs belonging to local tribes, clad in long upper garments which reached to the floor and wearing arms and bandoliers, and the local khan. Ragged peasants and children crowded around the entrance. The khan proved to be a distant relative of Naser Khan, leader of the Kashgai tribes. He told us that we were the first people from the Soviet Union he had ever met. He invited us to dine with him on his estate.

After a three hours' stay in Dehbid, we resumed our journey, following the left bank of the River Pulwar. In the valley of Marvdasht this river empties into the Kur (Bandamir), which in its turn flows into Lake Niriz (Bakhtegan), which lies east of Shiraz.

This region is inhabited by Arabs of the Hamse tribes. Farther to the South live the Kashgai tribes. The Kashgais wear the same long-skirted garments as the Arabs, and a characteristic cap with upstanding side flaps, looking like exaggerated ears. We frequently met people, chiefly Arabs and Kashgais, armed with modern rifles. We were convinced by the evidence of our own eyes that the reports that the Southern tribes were arming, that the Kashgais, Bakhtiars, and the Arab and other tribes possess large numbers of rifles, machine pistols and other firearms, were true.

Replying to a question in the Mejlis on March 4, 1945, Bayatt, the then Prime Minister, stated that the tribes secured their arms partly when the Iranian army disintegrated in August 1941, and partly by contraband. We were told by many that modern weapons of foreign make are delivered to the South-Iranian tribes through the Persian Gulf on sailing vessels from Koweit, the Bahrein Islands and Oman. In April 1945, General Arfa, Chief of the Iranian General Staff, stated at a meeting of officers of the Teheran garrison that at that time the Southern tribes had about 50,000 rifles. Remembering that the entire Iranian army consists of about 90,000 men, including noncombatants and raw recruits, and that, furthermore, the nomad tribesmen are trained to be proficient horsemen and marksmen from childhood one can readily see that the armed tribes represent a force little, if at all, inferior to the Iranian infantry and cavalry. The tribes, to be sure, are still without tanks and aircraft, yet, in the clashes between tribesmen and the Iranian troops in the summer of 1943, it was the troops that got the worst of it.

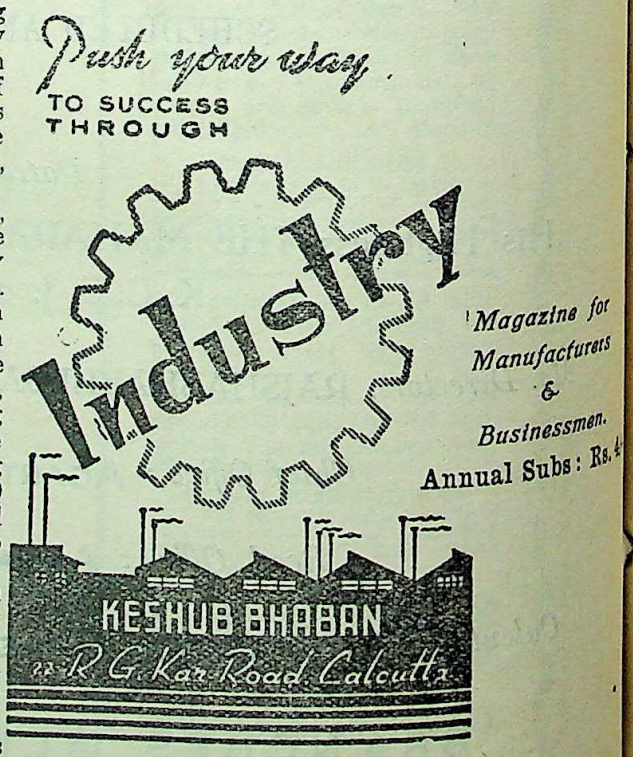
It goes without saying that, in a state of affairs like this, the authority of the national government in many of the Southern regions, especially in those inhabited by Kashgais, Bakhtiars and other nomad tribes, is little more than nominal. It is the feudal khans and the tribal leaders who are the real rulers here.

The evening was already well advanced when we drove into Shiraz, the chief town of the province of Fars. It lies in a narrow valley and is ringed in by mountains.

Of all the cities of Southern Iran we visited, Shiraz produces the most favourable impression. It is really very beautiful. The streets in the central part of the city are broad and lined with trees. Shiraz abounds in greenery generally. Especially lovely are the tall slender cypresses. Shiraz is famed for its gardens; there is scarcely a house without one. Orange and lemon trees grow in the public streets. The slopes of the surrounding hills are covered with vineyards, from the grape of which is made the wine popular in Iran known as Khullar.

Shiraz is one of the old cities of Iran. It is believed to have been founded by the Arabs, and was originally a military camp. It has repeatedly served as the capital of Iran under Kerim Khan Zend (1760-79), who, while he did not assume the title of Shah, was ruler over practically the whole of Iran. Kerim Khan, who has the repute in Iran of not having been a bad monarch, devoted much attention to the improvement of Shiraz. Nearly all the old buildings still in more or less good condition were built in his reign.

During our brief stay in Shiraz we visited the tombs of the poets Hafiz and Saadi situated on the outskirts of the city. Both tombs are surrounded by trees and gardens. They are held in deep reverence and are carefully tended. A small museum is attached to each of them. We also visited the big roofed bazaar, the historical museum, whose exhibits chiefly date back to the reign of Kerim Khan, and several famous gardens, in particular the splendid Jhalili garden, which contains a most diversified collection of flowers not only of Iran but also of India and other Oriental countries.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri







CONSULT HERING & KENT FOR FREE MEDICAL ADVICE

We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, female irregularities and disorders, DEFORMITIES OF THE BUST (sagging infantile, overdeveloped, etc.). MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding). ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc.. can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, beautifying the bust contour, female disorders, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

H E R I N G & K E N T

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY... Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 23, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

It was long before daybreak when we left Shiraz for Bushire. The journey is only 285 kilometres, but owing to the high and steep passes this section of the road from Teheran is considered the most difficult and dangerous.

The road from Shiraz to Bushire across the South-Iranian mountains is considered the most dangerous of all. It has many steep and difficult passes and the gorges are convenient for attack. It is in such spots that the robbers usually lay their ambushes. Motorcars as a rule do not travel singly between Shiraz and Bushire even in the daytime. They are formed into columns and furnished with an escort of military or police, who either proceed in a separate automobile or distribute themselves among the convoyed machines. But even armed escorts are not sufficient protection for passengers and goods. They, too, are liable to be attacked by armed bands.

In conversation with us, General Firuz expressed the opinion that the widespread banditry in Southern Iran was due to the severe economic distress prevalent in those regions. There is a dearth of cereals and water, and supplies of textile fabrics, sugar and other necessities are very inadequate. The general believed that if banditry was to be stamped out certain economic measures were essential, such as the building of irrigation works, proper supply of cereals and manufactured goods, etc. There is much to be said for this, but it is unquestionable that the unsatisfactory conditions in Southern Iran are also due to the decline of the prestige and authority of the central government in these districts.

The country between Shiraz and Bushire differs markedly from the arid plains and mountains which predominate north of Shiraz. Grass, as well as trees and bushes, grow in the valleys. The mountain passes and gorges are very picturesque. From the tops of the passes, especially the highest of them, Pirzan, one gets a view of vast horizons, bounded by the bluish haze of distant mountains.

Even more marked was the change in the landscape after we crossed the main ranges of the South-Iranian mountains. This side of Kazerun date palms were to be seen in the valleys. The air became more moist and sultry. And when we had descended from the mountains to the coastal lowlands the heat was so intense as to make it difficult to breathe.

The nearer we approached the Persian Gulf, the sparser the vegetation became, and incrustations of salt began to appear on the ground. Outside Bushire, where the road approaches quite close to the marshy shores of the Gulf, the earth is covered with a thick white layer of salt, looking like ice.

It was three in the afternoon, the hottest part of the day, when we drove into Bushire. Bushire gives the impression of a dying city. Only ten or fifteen years ago it was a flourishing seaport, the point of destination for a large part of the shipping bound for Iran from Europe, India and America. For many centuries practically the whole of Iran's trade through the Persian G. proceeded *via* Bushire. But the building of the Trans-Iranian Railway, which debouches on the Persian G. at Bandar-Shahpur, completely robbed Bushire of its importance. Ships now avoid Bushire and put in at Bandar-Shahpur and other ports on the Northern shore of the Gulf, as well as at Khorramshahr on the river Shatt al Arab.

The farther we proceeded southward, the more we were struck by the impoverished, wasted, downtrodden and backward condition of the population. On the road between Kazerun and Bushire one meets with mendicants even in the wildest desert parts. Many of them live in holes and small caverns by the roadside, from which they emerge when travellers pass to display their sores and mutilations and to beg for alms.

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2-

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1-

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

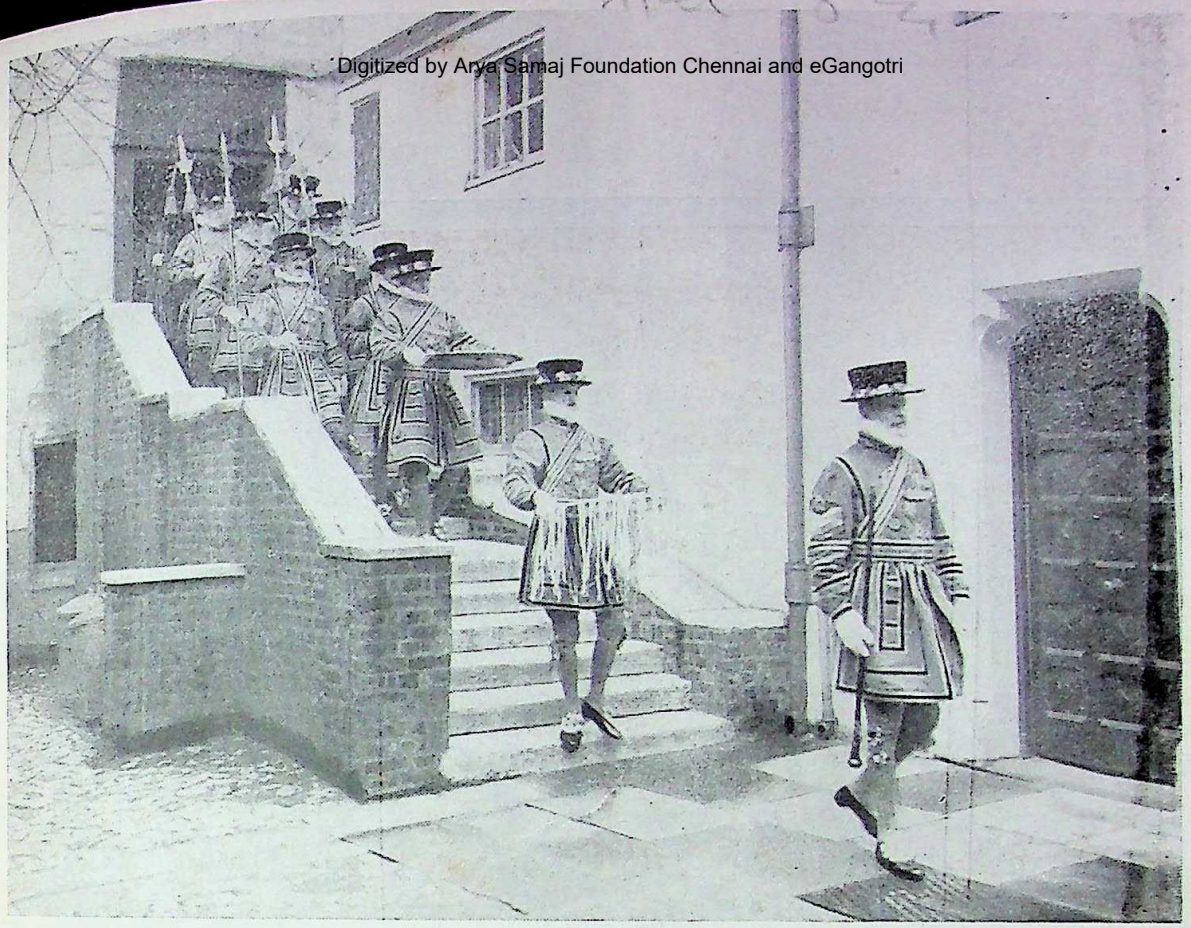


Please Note Down
Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician
MR. P. C. SORCAR
The Man with X'RAY EYES
Post Box 7875
Calcutta
Always write here for your engagements.
Please note the trade-mark spelling
'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, PRABASI Press, Calcutta.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



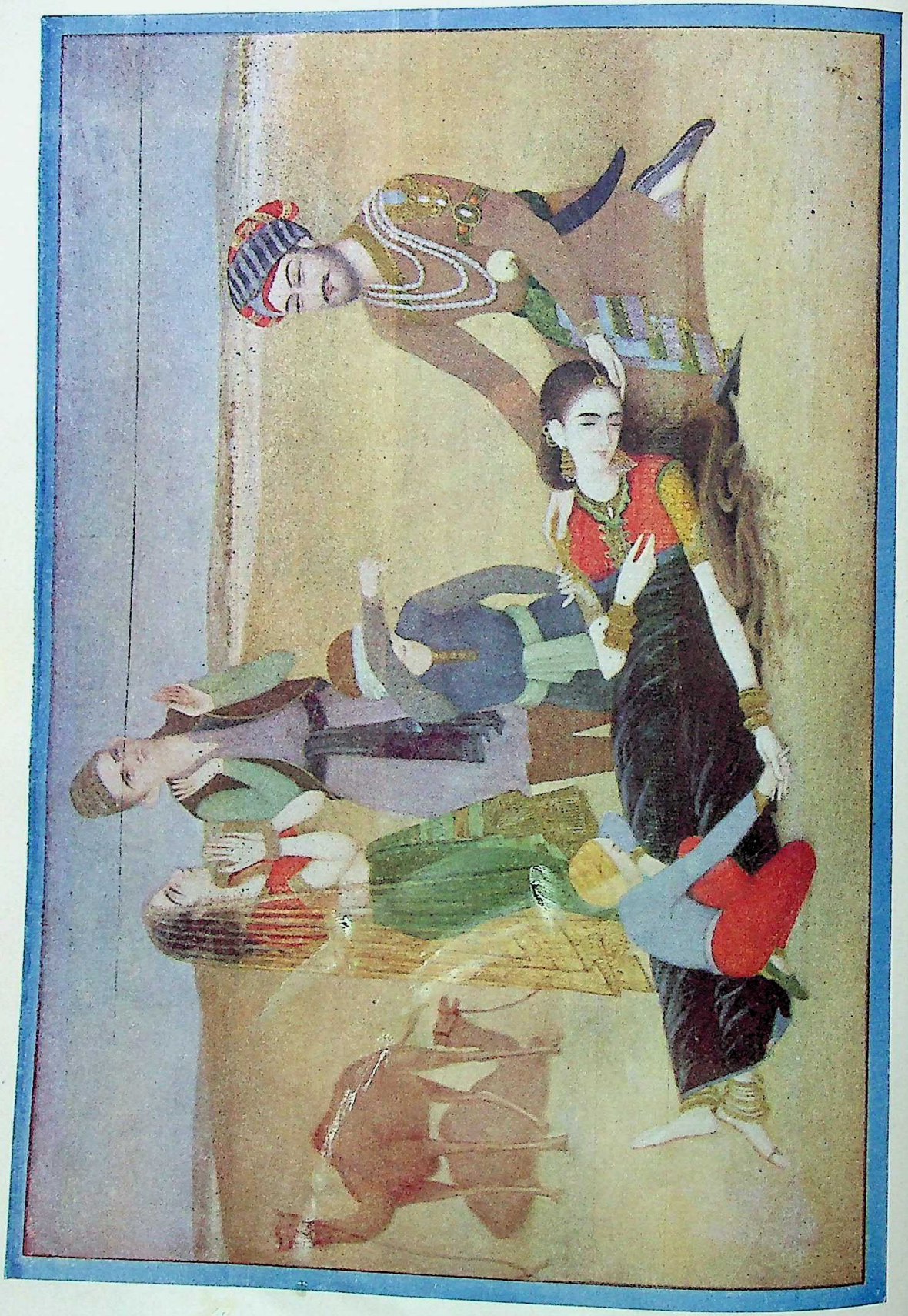
In London, the city of tradition, every civic occasion is attended by ceremonial pageantry. The picture shows Yeomen of the Guard in gorgeous Tudor uniforms carrying the King's Maundy Money, distributed at a special service held in Westminster Abbey every Maundy Thursday—the Thursday before Easter



One of the Yeomen of the Guard is handing long canes to boys of the district for the traditional custom of the "beating of the bounds" of the City of London

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



NADIRA'S DEATH
By Radhacharan Bagchi

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Apparently it required a mutiny before the Government could discover what the men's grievances were or who were their leaders. 'Govern or get out' was the demand of the Congress spokesmen and, indeed, it seems to have come to a state where Britain can no longer maintain the rule of the strong hand and yet is unwilling to go.

Complete anarchy could only result from persisting in that dog-and-manger attitude, and in the recognition of this danger by Britain lay one hope [illegible] the coming negotiations will succeed. [illegible] on how the British Press and Public view the proposals put forward by us. If all the cards are put on the table, and the negotiations carried on in a forthright fashion, in the true spirit of Post-War Democracy—and not of the Post-war diplomats—then Lord Pethick Lawrence's optimism might well be justified. We on our side must remember that there must be give and take, only that this giving and taking must not be unilateral. And further we must remember that there is one [illegible] that we are not [illegible]

VOL. LXXIX. No. 3 WHOLE No. 471

NOTES

Failure and Success

There is a controversy in progress now in which on one side is ranged all the weight of potent and considered opinion of the tried and trusty veterans of Congress, led by Mahatmaji himself and on the other we have the expostulations of the younger generation, impatient of delay and raging against frustration. We have no desire to join issues with either, but we must put on record our misgivings that this continual laying of stress on the heinousness of adopting wrong methods and the lack of success, added the damning with faint praise the spirit that lay behind these endeavours, may have an effect that would be reverse of desirable. It seems to us as if the leaders have not yet attained a full realization of the state of this country after the August 1942, uprisings were crushed by sheer weight of steel and fire. It seemed at that time to us and to all who were placed similarly, as if brute force had triumphed over the rights of a suffering people, whose spirit had been ground down under the heels of armed Imperialism. All the forces of Reaction had been let loose and the British Government, after placing its quislings at the points of vantage all over the Allied World, from Delhi to Washington, had started its propaganda machine going full blast. Truth was at a discount, the defenceless people being unable even to protest against outrages against humanity, through the action of the most rigid censorship, outside of totalitarian lands, that ever obtained a stranglehold on the rights of free speech of a people. The Indian, and in particular the Hindu, was pictured as a snake, reptilian in its grovelling and its venom, that had been foiled in its attempt at striking at the heels of the Galahads of Imperialism. The rest of the world was too busy fighting for existence, and the few who had any sympathy for the oppressed began to get confused and their sympathy started turning into pitiful contempt for the cowed-down underdog. The leaders were in prison and with them were their plans—if they had any. The British had all the arms, all the power—thanks to the Congress resigning at the crucial moment—and control of all the cash in the country. And what is more, they could concentrate against all freedom movements, the U.S.A. and China having taken over the task of fighting Japan for the time being. This in short was the hopeless and grim background against which the happenings of those vital three years must be viewed.

The Torch of Freedom was flickering spasmodically in the tempest of ruthless repression let loose by those in power, and it seemed that all hope was gone. It was in this atmosphere that the "underground' movement was born inside India and Netaji Subhas Bose started his I.N.A. organisation across the frontiers. We have no desire to challenge Mahatmaji's judgment regarding the methods adopted in both movements, the more so because we know that the Revolutionary and the Terrorist movements bore no fruit because they struck no roots in the masses. But is it correct to say that both these movements were completely barren of results, and that they were unqualified failures? We ask this question because we know definitely that this continuous condemnation is causing confusion and even resentment in quarters that could provide the finest material for nation-building.

It is easy to condemn violence, but it is not so easy to control passions in the face of brutal outrages on humanity. We are obliged to give a rather gruesome picture in this column to illustrate the point of our statement.



The above photo of the dead boy was taken at the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital during the recent Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

NADIRA'S DEATH
By Radhacharan Bagchi
Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



was
when they were [illegible] by
and *was left dying on the road*. He died within an hour,
after being brought to hospital, *by student volunteers*,
still convulsively clutching his text-books. Now this
being the cause what could be the effect? We can
give illustrations now, but what about the unpublicized
thousandfold greater slaughter and repression that
prevailed in 1942 and out of which was born the
underground resistance movement. What measures had
the leaders provided to guide the masses in such
eventualities?

The British Cabinet Delegation

Pandit Nehru's comment on the prospects of success of the British Cabinet delegation juxtaposed with the editorial in the "Irish Press" provides the best commentary on the matter. Pandit Nehru said :

> We are apt to consider these questions too much in the personal context. I am so often asked what is so and so like and what is your reaction to such and such a person. As a matter of fact, while personal equation counts and does make a difference, in larger problems, one has to consider other impersonal questions. A Lenin probably made all the difference to the Russian Revolution. Nevertheless behind and round about Lenin were mighty factors working for the revolution. Now, therefore. in considering this question of India and England, we should consider it in the context of the world to-day.
>
> We must realise that each country in the final analysis works for its own interests. In the international plane, it only works for what might be considered international interests when they are in harmony with its own interests. So you an take it that the British Delegation will work for the interests of Britain and the Indians who meet them will work for the interests of India. But that is only part of the question. Now what do British interests as they appear to them require to-day? And what do Indian interests from our point of view require?
>
> In the final analysis Britain has to choose between two possible developments. It is inevitable that in the course of the next few years India will be independent, even if Britain opposes it. If India gains her independence in spite of Britain, India for a long time is like to be a country hostile to Britain ranged in a camp hostile to Britain in the world context. On the other hand, if India attains independence more or less immediately by co-operating with the British, it might be possible for Britain to salvage some goodwill as well as other things in India. Therefore, from the British point of view, it may well be to their interests, even in the near future and much more so in the distant future, to recognise Indian independence now than to be forced to recognise it some years later after having lost everything.
>
> Similarly India naturally would prefer a peaceful solution to a solution which entails great deal to us.

On the other hand, there are powerful [illegible] working in a contrary direction.

The most powerful factor working in a contrary direction *is the one hundred and fifty year old tradition in British minds which has putrefied British thinking in regard to India*. Britishers even [illegible] and even including the Cabinet Ministers of England cannot get rid of their tradition which has eaten into their minds and they still talk of India often even in a language which smells of a generation or ago. They forget that they are addressing a sensitive proud and virile people who will not put up with any patronage or anything smacking of superiority.

It is obvious that India today is a volcano of four hundred million human beings. There are [illegible] chances of some agreement based on independence emerging out of the talks that are to come and even if the chances were less it is the right policy for us to work for such an agreement to the utmost, provided always that we stick to our anchor. *It is neither good policy nor statesmanship to enter into talks with a foreign power or authority after declaring or declaring that the talks are likely to be fruitless.*

The editorial in the "Irish Press" contains the following remarks :

> Few will envy the task that has been entrusted to the members of the British Mission. They go to a country which is under the shadow of a famine whose people have lost all faith in Britain, who no longer believe either in her capacity to govern or govern well or in her promises to quit the country and allow Indians to work out their own salvation.
>
> For whatever may have been the immediate cause that has provoked such incidents as the naval mutiny and outbreaks of violence in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi, there can be little doubt that these things have their ultimate source in the exasperated feelings of the nation whose patience has been tried to the limit of its endurance.
>
> To the world it must seem that Britain's rule in India is standing its last trial. Does Britain herself realise this?
>
> In his reply to the Congress resolution condemning the Government for their handling of the naval ratings Mr. Philip Mason said that the Government were aware of the 'electric atmosphere' in India and would take the greatest care to avoid any deterioration of the general situation. It was a conciliatory reply, although vague. Coupled with it, however, was another statement considerably less vague and not at all conciliatory : There would be no mass punishments.'
>
> But Government reserved that right to act against those who "must have misled" the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Apparently it required a mutiny before the Government could discover what the men's grievances were or who were their leaders. 'Govern or get out' was the demand of the Congress spokesmen and, indeed, it seems to have come to a state where Britain can no longer maintain the rule of the strong hand and yet is unwilling to go.

Complete anarchy could only result from persisting in that dog-and-manger attitude, and in the recognition of this danger by Britain lay one hope that the forthcoming negotiations will succeed. India will be sceptical and justly so, since the sad experience of British Missions must cause her suspect that the present one is just another facesaving device. And unfortunately the British Press still behaves as if its intention was to foster such suspicions. It is still harping on the stale, old theme, still eager and willing to grant India independence, if only Indians could agree among themselves, and still reminding Moslems and the Princes that if they want partitioned India, then they must have it. But pending the agreement (of which the British Press is always in despair) Britain must stay in India and see fair-play in enlarging and transforming the Viceroy's Cabinet so that it will appear almost Indian while always reserving the Viceroy's powers. That can hardly be the policy of this, the latest British Mission to India. Else they are going on a fool's errand. Only one thing now can placate India and that is here for them to say that they have come to pack up and go.

We agree with Pandit Nehru that it would be bad policy to enter into negotiations with the delegation after closing all doors against possible solutions. But it must at the same time be impressed on the delegation that India is no longer in a mood to swallow any "tabloid" panaceas made in Britain, after the prescription of British Imperialism. Nostrums that pretend to cure but in reality aggravate the disease, as witness the Ramsay Macdonald Communal Award, should not be considered. Britain must drop the old pretences and try to accept a new orientation in the viewpoint regarding matters that concern India. Pandit Nehru has done well in warning us, but unless some British spokesman has the courage to tell the truth to the British people in the same fashion, no progress would be possible. The *Irish Press* is perfectly correct about the nefarious role of the British Press in general, as may be seen from the following extract from the *Worldover Press Bulletin* for January 2, 1946 :

> British silence in the press about the aims of the Indian National Congress is another cause of criticism in India. Spokesmen of the big Indian movement complain that British people can hardly be expected to understand, either for intelligent opposition or agreement, what the Congress wants if its program for a regenerated India is squelched so that no body can even read it. It is charged that not even a summary of the Congress's recent manifesto, adopted after careful study, and voicing the aspirations of millions, was published by the British press.
>
> That the Congress is willing to come to the negotiations with an open mind has been clearly declared by its foremost spokesmen. It all depends now on what the Delegation has been empowered to offer and also on how the British Press and Public view the proposals put forward by us. If all the cards are put on the table, and the negotiations carried on in a forthright fashion, in the true spirit of Post-War Democracy—and not of the Post-war diplomats—then Lord Pethick Lawrence's optimism might well be justified. We on our side must remember that there must be give and take, only that this giving and taking must not be unilateral. And further we must remember that there is one commodity that we are not empowered to offer for barter, and that is Freedom.

R. I. N. Ratings' Revolt

The revolt of Indian Naval ratings in Bombay and Karachi has caused everybody grave concern. While the leaders are trying to do their best, Pandit Nehru flying to the spot, Mahatmaji condemning mob excesses, President Azad seeing the C.-in-C. and the matter being discussed in the Central Assembly, the events themselves must be analysed from a clear perspective. The peaceful strike for five days, opening of fire by the military, the inevitable retaliation by armed ratings, the tightening of the pressure of military and police repression, the threat of Vice-Admiral Godfrey, Prime Minister Attlee's declaration at the Commons and Mr. Mason's statement at the Central Assembly and the eventual surrender of the ratings—the whole story has much of dramatic suddenness.

The grievances of the ratings were enumerated in the statement issued by the Central Strike Committee. They have also been mentioned by the War Secretary, Mr. Mason in his statement at the Central Assembly. As the statement of the Strike Committee says, the Indian ratings had been "suffering untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination."

These seamen had for the last few years been serving in different parts of the world with strong determination and unflinching courage. Hardship and suffering were their lot. They risked their lives to maintain the crumbling props of a sagging imperialism based on exploiting their own land. Still they underwent all these hardships, and their devotion to duty and dauntless courage have been praised even by the British Government. But the benign Britishers did not think it worthwhile to redress the wrongs of the suffering seamen.

The wrongs are of long standing. Poor pay, miserable food and unhealthy lodging had been their reward during the war years. Now that the war has ended, it is only natural that they would ask for a change in their reward. Unfortunately the change comes in the shape of bullets. Prime Minister Attlee announced in the Commons that Royal Navy ships including a cruiser would arrive on the spot and help in suppressing the mutiny, Vice-Admiral Godfrey warned the ratings with typical British bravado : "To continue the struggle is the height of folly when you take into account the overwhelming forces at the disposal of the Government at this time and which will be used to their utmost even if it means the destruction of the navy of which we have been so proud."

Mr. Mason's statement at the Central Assembly throws a flood of light on the nature of British intentions. The Flag Officer Commanding met fourteen ratings who summed up the demands of the ratings. The demands included : no victimization of the so-called

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

strikers, speedy demobilisation according to age and service groups with reasonable peacetime employment, immediate disciplinary action against Commander King for the insulting language he used against the personnel of H.M.I.S. "Talwar", best class Indian food, R.N. scales of pay, family allowances, travelling facilities and the use of N.A.A.F.I. stores.

Even from this statement of Mr. Mason we find that the demands were perfectly reasonable and logical. The War Secretary explained that it was impossible in the present state of India's finances to accept the proposal that the wages of Indian service men should be raised to the level of the British service. As a matter of fact, this seemingly plausible excuse cannot explain the matter. How can the authorities account for the sheer breach of their promises they made at the time of recruiting these men. How can they explain the racial discrimination in pay *and food* during the war? How can they justify the shabby treatment meted out to Indian seamen in regard to lodging and travelling facilities?

Racial discrimination is the one vital issue involved in the whole question. When the American Army and the R.A.F. men went on strike, the treatment meted was different. The questions were settled with eager assurances of redress. There was no Vice-Admiral Godfrey to threaten the strikers with violent measures. Nor did Prime Minister Attlee send a R.N. convoy to root out all trouble.

It is clear that the Government had sufficient time to consider the complaints of the ratings. When Indian ratings ask for the conditions of decent living, it is called 'mutiny.' The reasonable demands are branded as mob enthusiasm, their champions are called hooligans. It is inconceivable to the British official that any Indian native can claim a basis of equality with them in any sphere of life.

But the days of such feudal distinction are over. The ratings revolt points unmistakably to one significant development in world politics. It has shown that the Asiatic races cannot brook any longer this individious distinction. The accumulation of two centuries of injustice must end in an explosion, and if that leads to excesses, one need not be surprised.

Mr. Mason has assured us that all the seamen would not be victimised, but this may not apply to individual ratings. This is ominous. If individual ratings are victimized for the offence of revolt, more severe punishment must be meted out to those callous, inefficient and unimaginative authorities who precipitated this revolt by their continuous intransigence. A thorough enquiry must be made, and the entire action of the Government must be explained and atoned for by redress of the grievances, punishment of the officers guilty of unnecessary violence, and a total abolition of the system of discrimination. Unless these are done, the event may be a prelude to more undesirable happenings.

The Coming Famine

Even before the shadow of the Bengal famine of 1943 has faded, the spectre of a much more menacing famine is haunting India, which, it is said, will make the former look like a picnic in comparison. Mr. B. R. Sen declared at the Central Assembly at the beginning of the year that India is faced with a terrible food crisis, that there will be a cut in the ration in the provinces, that they could not procure any reserve of food-stuff. And, he has added, the total import of wheat in 1945 has been only 8,40,000 tons. Since Mr. B. R. Sen's statement there have been quite a number of reports, statements and forecasts, official and non-official, all unmistakably pointing to the inevitability and intensity of the impending famine.

Why this famine, could well be asked. There are, it is said, lessons to be learnt and consolations to be derived from every disaster. From the last disaster the authorities have learnt nothing, but derived one consolation, *viz.*, that it is not necessary in this country to take any steps to avert a catastrophe. After the last famine valuable suggestions were made. But without paying any heed either to Gregory Committee's recommendations or Woodhead Commission's report, the Government found itself more comfortable in the groove of corruption and incompetence. Perhaps Mr. B. R. Sen would like to have us believe that by laying the whole weight of responsibility on Washington and the Monsoons the Government can side-track the issue of inefficiency and criminal neglect of the suggestions and recommendations of even official experts. But the nation must know for what specific reasons the suggestions of the Gregory Committee and the Woodhead Commission were allowed to rot in the pigeonholes of officialdom.

The Gregory Committee said that the question of 'growing more food' apart, it is imperative for the India Government to have an import of 1,000 000 tons of foodstuff every year. A permanent reserve of five lakh tons is the minimum indispensable quantity which can make for successful rationing and procurement. The Committee found no reasons which can account for the Government's inability to maintain this reserve.

'Grow more food' campaign was the Committee's next recommendation. The campaign was started with a lot of paraphernalia in the shape of costly and silly publications and posters, appointment of high-salaried officers called food experts, and starting of Information Bureaus and Publicity Departments. The campaign ended with producing half a dozen sample carrots to be shown about as exhibits when people would be starving. But the main recommendation of the Committee, *viz.*, that fertility of land is to be increased by the use of manure, was relegated to the background. The Committee urged for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate in this country but the Government could not sacrifice the interests of the Imperial Chemical Industries by producing ammonium sulphate in India.

Improvement of the irrigation system was emphasised by all sensible experts on our agricultural problem. Sir William Stamp suggested the simple system of tube-well irrigation in consideration of the fatal delay likely to be made in carrying out large-scale plans. But neither Mr. Sen nor Sir J. P. Srivastava ever felt enthusiastic about the irrigation business.

The other suggestions of the Committee, *e.g.*, prevention of the slaughter of cows, regular supply of cultivators' implements, diminishing the extent of cotton and jute cultivation in order to facilitate the 'grow more food' efforts, met with similar neglect at the hands of the short-sighted and perverse officers who happen to be the arbiters of our fate to-day.

The suggestions of the Gregory Committee were made in July, 1943. In August, 1945, the Woodhead Commission gave its verdict on the happenings in 1943, and in their elaborate report they have pointed out that the Government made no efforts to make any use

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Gregory Committee's recommendations which, they thought, were most judicious and significant.

The last famine was precipitated by Government bungling, and made worse by the congenital inefficiency and unscrupulous corruptibility of the higher officers and their trader henchmen. When the situation was already serious, the profiteers got a whip-hand, and the days of our misery dragged on with these festering sores. But while the whole Government rank and file from the Governor himself to the local circle officers were too mediocre to cope with the enormity of the situation, or to carry out any successful rehabilitation measure, there was no effort to dislodge the criminals from their pedestals of security. The league of corrupt Government officials and unscrupulous profiteers is a formidable institution. In any free country these people would have been severely punished for their major responsibility in the death of fifty lakhs of helpless men, women and children. Why is not the full story of the rice purchase scandals by Government agents brought to light? The Famine Enquiry Commission wanted the India Government to make a thorough investigation into the serious allegations made against the Government agents for rice purchase. The Central Government did not think it advisable to enter into such an uncomfortable business. Neither did the persons accused of profiteering have the courage to face the allegations made by Dr. S. P. Mookherji and Mr. Fazlul Huq. And to-day we find Sir Nazimuddin, the central figure in the tragedy of 1943, going abroad as an ornamental member of the Food Delegation.

Hunger and death would be stalking abroad in India within a few months. But when we should be preparing to face the crisis, we must also know the precise and undistorted figures relating to the food situation, and the specific reasons for the total neglect of expert recommendations. We must also know what the Government are going to do to mend their ways and why the corrupt officials and profiteers are not brought to book and ruthlessly punished for the inhuman neglect of human lives.

Food and Politics

The coming food crisis has elicited comments from the greatest leaders of the land. Lord Wavell and other government spokesmen have pleaded for not making food a subject for politics. Mr. Jinnah says he does not want to make food a political foot-ball. Gandhiji wants to keep food above politics but at the same time he has asked the Governor-General to bring a National Government into being which alone is capable of solving the food problem. Gandhiji is opposed to making food an object of party politics but he has provided a political solution of a far-reaching nature for averting the impending famine.

We want to put a straight question to Lord Wavell. Is food above politics or has it ever been so during these war years? To us it seems that politics of a very foul nature had been mixed with India's food. The Government knew that India was never fully self-sufficient in respect of food. When they brought armies of British and American soldiers into India, they did not arrange for the import of all the necessary amounts of food. It has now been revealed that the daily ration of British troops in India was nearly five times that of the civilian ration. In addition, most of the protective food like milk, egg, fish, meat and green vegetables were drained away for the benefit of the military personnel, thus depriving the people of these essentials. The impact of the military need on the population was thus much more than five times their actual number. It was Britain's politics which brought them here and the Government machinery in India was utilised to serve her purpose in the deal.

The politics of the year 1942 paved the way for the series of famines that threaten India. During that year huge stocks of rice had been spoiled as a result of Sir John Herbert's denial policy. Large quantities of rice had been exported in 1942 and 1943 at the instance of the Food Ministry of Britain and in flagrant disregard of the needs of this country. It is well known that in spite of the opposition of the Bengal Ministers, and mostly without their knowledge, food was exported from Bengal at the direction of the British Government.

After the fall of Malaya, many of the rice fields in Ceylon have been converted into rubber plantations in the political and strategic interest of Great Britain. The burden of supplying rice to Ceylon to make up for this deficit was thrown upon India. Food exports to Ceylon have continued since 1942. Exports from Bengal have been made on a replacement basis and the Government claim that they have made up the stock taken away from Bengal, but from the standpoint of the Indian needs this is a dead loss. The replacement of Bengal stock, if made, has been made out of some other provinces' surplus and not from abroad.

It is also common knowledge now that large quantities of foodstuff were exported to Russia and Persia at the time of the battle of Stalingrad in order to meet Great Britain's political commitments and her own needs in Persia. This export was done through the U.K.C.C. behind the backs of the people of the land. Thus, knowing fully well that India was hardly self-sufficient in respect of food, the Governments of Great Britain and India never hesitated to fritter away the slender surplus that was in hand in 1942. The quinquennial agricultural cycle in India is a fact well-known even to the Government experts. They had ample reason to believe in 1942, when they had taken up the load of military consumption and started exporting foodstuffs on political grounds, that of the next five years two or three are bound to be bad. The result of thus dispersing the whole surplus, if no replacements were made in time, would inevitably mean famine and death for millions. This is exactly what has happened. It was Britain's politics, worked through the Government of India, that has deprived India of her surplus stock and it is Britain's politics which still needs export of food to Ceylon, Arab countries, Bahrein Islands, etc. Government of India wants, therefore, to have food out of control of the people's representatives.

Mr. Jinnah's anxiety to keep food "out of politics" is understandable. It was his party that has been the biggest gainer through blackmarketing and profiteering in Bengal, most of which was concerned with the people's food. During the famine, the Muslim League served the purpose of the British Government and made money. Food committees were set up in the districts and village unions which were mostly predominated by the League. Enormous political power was thus handed over to the League which made the people helplessly dependent on them for their food. Several appointments

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the B.C.S. cadre were made on political grounds by the League Ministry acting in the closest collaboration with the representatives of British Imperialism in India. These officials, mostly Circle officers, Subdivisional officers and Additional Magistrates, were quick to exploit the situation and strengthen the League organisation at the countryside. Money flowed in a stream. The demand for an all-party Government in Bengal during the famine was resisted by the League and the British officials. The Famine Commission Report says, "An all-party Government might have created public confidence and led to more effective action, but no such Government came into being . . . After considering all the circumstances, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay within the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place." Political power in the hands of the people's representatives, acting through an all-party Government, could have prevented much of the rigours of the famine, but Imperialist politics acting in collaboration with League politics prevented it.

We consider Gandhiji's suggestion the best solution for the food problem. Let a National Government responsible to the people be formed at the Centre. Let food be their concern. Famines will stop then and only then. With the apparently innocent cry of keeping food out of politics, the most sinister politics may be played with India's food.

The Problem of Indian India

Indian States are today faced with the exceedingly knotty problem of a vital decision regarding the role they would like to play in the struggle for national emancipation. The decision would be momentous and significant, for it would determine their future role in a free India. The recent address by the Nawab of Bhopal on the occasion of the celebrations of his fifty-second birthday will be welcomed by all progressive elements in the country as a mark of his realisation of the signs of the times.

The Nawab, speaking in his individual capacity as the ruler of Bhopal and not in his capacity as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, boldly expressed his sense of responsibility at the present juncture. He felt humiliated to think of the present degeneration of our land which had made so great a contribution to human thought and progress. And he had the courage to admit that our misery consequent upon foreign domination was due to a large extent to our weakness. "Does anyone sincerely believe," he asked, "that 400,000,000 people could be denied the right to think and act for themselves, to live their own life, to shape their own national policy and develop according to their own genius and capacity, if they made up their minds seriously and with determination to assume that right?"

The Nawab maintained that he has always been against the idea that we are to accept a settlement of our domestic problems imposed by a foreign government. We must carve out our own freedom by our own efforts. When the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes has the wisdom, courage and foresight to declare, even if in his personal capacity, "If we want protection and strength let us seek them in the affection and loyalty of our own people," we have every reason to hope that every Indian ruler will give up the ostrich-like policy of blinding oneself to a patent fact. The fact is the sure and obvious liquidation of feudalist power. Addressing a huge gathering at Colonelganj, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared a few days ago, "Feudalist structure in the country is bound to crumble with the rising tide of democracy and political consciousness among the people." And the Chancellor himself is wise enough to point out, "The future would, indeed, be dark if the States were to rely upon foreign support for their preservation through generations to come."

When the Nawab of Bhopal declares unequivocally, "I stand for a free and independent India," we feel that one of the main props of British rule in India is crumbling down. As a matter of fact, it has been the consistent policy of the British throughout its reign in India, to rely on two principles of safety. One is to maintain a solid bloc of reactionary communalists by following the method of divide and rule. The other is to perpetuate a feudal system of autocratic rulers who are the strongest bulwark against any popular rising. The strange combination of the mock parade of provincial autonomy in British India and the continuance of an autocratic tradition in Indian India has been one of the most glaring anomalies of our constitution. The Government was fully complacent that the nominated representatives of the Princes to the upper chamber of the Central Legislature would not sacrifice British interests for any patriotic consideration. But has the time come when the Government should doubt the efficacy of its instrument?

The fact that some Indian Princes are displaying a sense of reality is not surprising. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in addressing the States People's Conference, significantly remarked: "The real balance of power is shifting to the people because the dominant power, the British Government, could not function for long here." If the British Government ceases to function here, the entire fabric of the remnants of mediaeval royalty will be shattered. So, the problem that faces the Princes to-day is to decide and define their function during and after the change. It is no use avoiding the real issue. They must finally make up their mind about this change. How would they react to the transfer of paramountcy from the British Crown to an Indian Executive? How would they react to the devolution of all power on the masses? How would they adjust themselves to a free and democratic India? These questions must be decided immediately and finally. We do not know what transpired in the secret conference held between Mahatma Gandhi, the Aga Khan and the Nawab of Bhopal. The Congress with its stand for *Krishak Majdur Praja Raj* have launched a ceaseless campaign among the States people. The Nawab of Bhopal is wise enough to understand that it is high time that they clearly explained to the Congress their attitude and policy towards the attainment of freedom. His meeting with Gandhiji is rather significant. Let us await the results.

Railway Budget

The Railway Budget for 1946-47 has been presented to the Central Assembly. The budget reveals a net actual surplus of Rs. 49·89 crores for 1944-45, a revised

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

estimated surplus of Rs. 32·07 crores, after providing for the reserve, for the current year and an estimated surplus of Rs. 12·22 crores for the year 1946-47. The Budget does not hold out any prospect of a relief in rates and fares. On the contrary, it warns the public of the danger of "the wartime legacy of a high level of operating costs and of the commitments of post-war amenities in the face of a level of rates and fares out of tune with the general level of prices."

The Budget provides for (*a*) the introduction of new designs for lower class passenger coaches which will include sleeping accommodation ; no time-table is however set for this programme ; (*b*) the inauguration of a Betterment Fund for financing unremunerative improvements and amenities, both for the public and the staff ; (*c*) the provision of a lump sum of Rs. 2 crores to enable a start to be made with the construction of new lines and re-laying lines dismantled during the war, and (*d*) a heavy programme of open line rehabilitation work involving an expenditure of Rs. 20 crores.

The Budget, to say the least, is extremely disappointing. The special representative of the *Hindusthan Times* reports that there was no cheering even from the official side when the War Transport Member claimed that "generally speaking the railways have delivered the goods." Sir Edward himself felt so infected by the dullness around him that he dropped his voice. The general opinion after his speech was that there was nothing outstanding in the budget and that the creation of a Betterment Fund was only a bit of jugglery.

A study of the Railway Budgets during the war years will convince anybody that in these few years the travelling public have been fleeced to the extent of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 crores and that profits to this extent have very largely been dissipated.

Sir Edward has stated that orders for 934 broad-gauge engines had been placed abroad of which 733 have been received and put into service. This gives an idea of how Indian money had needlessly been frittered away in making these purchases abroad. The Humphreys-Srinivasan Committee, appointed by the Railway Board, had stated categorically that broad-gauge and metre-gauge engines could be manufactured in India during the war, that the cost would be much cheaper than the imported engines and the production would be economic when the number of engines needed in India every year was considered. Orders for 8,000 wagons have been placed in Canada and 10,000 in U.K. All these wagons also could have been manufactured in India, had timely action been taken.

The whole question of Railway administration in India needs a thorough discussion. The War Transport Member has accepted in principle Mr. K. C. Neogy's suggestion on a cut motion to set up a Committee to examine questions connected with railway management, control, finance, relations between railways and their customers, railway policy regarding development of the country including rates policy and development of railway industries. He has suggested that a Committee should examine how railways have fared under Government management and under the present administration. In replying to Mr. Neogy's cut motion, Sir Edward tried his best to evade the real issue. He said that he had accepted the idea of a Committee but he desired not to be called upon to define its scope in advance. Mr. Neogy's cut motion was passed without division. The railways, during these years, have behaved very badly with Indian passengers, Indian industrialists and Indian traders. The conditions of travel, rates and fares have all been burdensome and oppressive. It is high time that a thorough enquiry is made.

Sales Tax Agitation in Bengal

For two weeks past, the traders of Bengal have been observing hartal as a protest against the enhancement of the Sales Tax to one anna in the rupee. This tax was first imposed in 1941 and the amount was one pice in the rupee. While imposing the tax, the Bengal Government had explained that it was a temporary measure and as money was needed for nation-building the proceeds of the Sales Tax would be earmarked for that purpose. In spite of public demand, they did not say what nation-building projects they would like to finance with the proceeds of this tax. The tax was next raised to two pice and the proceeds continued to be arrogated to the general revenues. During the last few months, with the Ministry out of office, there have been two more rises in the tax,, first to three pice, then to one anna. It has now become a permanent item in the provincial tax list and all talks of utilising the proceeds for nation-building have ceased. The Government of Bengal now say that there is no question of abolition of the Sales Tax.

The economic bad effects of a high sales tax in one portion of a vast country are well-known. It will divert trade and industry to contiguous provinces where there is no Sales Tax, just as high taxation tends to drive industry out of British India into Native States. But as a burden, it has become terribly oppressive. It brings poorer classes within its ambit and the lower middle class with low fixed incomes are the hardest hit. Only cereals, meat, fish, vegetables, sugar, salt, mustard oil, milk, agricultural implements, fertilisers, yarn, kerosene oil, tobacco, matches, coal and water are the necessities that have been exempted from this tax. Almost every other item of consumption and production are taxed. Articles of daily consumption like dal, spices, clothings, toilet goods, shoe, umbrella, books, exercise books, paper, pencil, nib, ink, etc., are taxed. Raw materials of even handicrafts are taxed. The tax being a fixed imposition, its incidence is lightest for the rich and hardest for the poor. The Bengal Sales Tax is virtually a subterfuge for the Income tax.

The Government of Bengal have earned a notoriety for bribery, corruption and wastage in public expenditure. Even the Auditor-General of India and the Public Accounts Committee of the Central Legislature have repeatedly censured them but the officials here are incorrigible. Crores of rupees of public money have been wasted by the Bengal officials due to mal-administration, bribery and above all, negligence which can certainly be termed criminal. About seven crores of rupees have been frittered away by the Bengal Government in their fantastic boat-building project. About twenty-five crores of rupees are going to be their loss on rice purchase account. In spite of these terrible losses, they have never made any attempt worth the name to recover or retrench. The people of Bengal have every right to demand a total repeal of this inequitous imposition on the poor, the proceeds of which have been devised to make up for the deficits incurred through mal-administration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Unconstitutional Ministry for Sind

The formation of a new Ministry in Sind under the Premiership of Sir Ghulam Hosain Hidayetullah has been condemned all over the country as an unconstitutional act and a gross breach of parliamentary etiquette. Giving reasons for this action, a Government *communique* was issued the contents of which boil down to this: (1) that the Governor has discussed the political situation with the leaders of the League and the Coalition Parties as also "with other political leaders," the implication being that all avenues of forming a correct idea as to the true position as it existed, had been exploited prior to the final step being taken, (2) that the elections had led to a tie between the strength of the two parties, namely, the League Party and the Coalition Party and that four members had not attached themselves to either, (3) that the Governor had invited Sir Ghulam to form the Ministry on the ground that he was the leader of the largest party which had contested the elections, as distinct from the party which commanded the largest voting strength in the Legislature, and (4) that two portfolios remain still to be filled and that every effort was now being made to fill them by members of minority community. All attempts to induce the Congress Party to fill these two portfolios have failed.

Mr. G. M. Syed, Leader of the Coalition Party, has given a fitting reply to Sir Francis Mudie, demolishing one by one, the pleas of official *communique*. The final position of the parties after the elections was as follows:

Coalition Party	..	..	28
Muslim League	..	..	28
Europeans	..	..	3
Labour Member	..	..	1
			60

The Governor had carefully avoided contacting the Labour Member who had declared that he would vote with the Congress. In order to maintain the appearance of a tie between the two major parties, this avoidance was inevitable.

As regards the other plea, Mr. Syed says:

> There existed no tie between the strength of the two parties. My party commanded a voting strength of 29, including the Labour Member's vote *which had been definitely pledged to me in writing and which fact had been duly brought to the Governor's notice by me.* As against that, the voting strength of the Muslim League Party was only 28, and one of these 28 members had to lose his right of vote on his elevation to Speakership, which normally must precede all other business. In other words, not only no tie existed between the strength of the two Parties, but it was a case of a majority party of 29 against a minority party with 27 votes to rely upon. Yet, although the Governor had reasons to know that the League Party had not a majority, he had deemed it proper to install in office, the leader of the minority party. Incidentally, this also disposes of the third contention that the Governor had invited Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayetullah to form a Ministry by virtue of his being the leader of the largest party.
>
> The fourth and the last point alluded to in the *communique* also does not take us very far. I do not know who is making every effort to fill the vacant portfolios by members of the minorities. In fa[ct] envisages a hope which, it should be obvious [to] Governor, was not likely at all to materialise. [The] most important Hindu minority, the minority w[hich] had throughout enjoyed one-third representa[tion] the Cabinet had *en bloc* joined the Coalition [Party] and there no longer existed even the smallest [ra]hope of its members breaking that all'ance and [join]ing hands with the Muslim League Party for [the] purpose of "filling the two vacant portfolios."

The Governor's decision is very unfortunate [from] more standpoints than one. Elevation to office [of a] minority party over the head of the majority [party] creates a very dangerous precedent which in the [long] of the healthy working of a democratic constitution [must] be opposed. This action is far more condemnable [in] view of the fact that power has been handed over [to] a single communal party to the exclusion of a [party] composed of Hindus and Muslims including the [sup]port of commercial interests and labour. In doing [so] the Governor seems to have violated both the spirit [and] the letter of the Instrument of Instructions which [the] King had issued to him.

Multi-National State

We reproduce below the comment of the *In[dian] Social Reformer* on Generalissimo Stalin's speech [de]livered on February 10, on the eve of the Russian [elec]tions. The note is self-explanatory and we do not [think] any further comment is called for. Stalin's speech [as] published in Calcutta newspapers was supplied [by] *Reuter*.

> On Sunday evening, the All-India Radio broadcast Generalissimo Stalin's address on the eve of the Russian elections. The Generalissimo in the address showed how the Soviet State had emerged stronger out of the War belying the fears of friends and frustrating the hopes of enemies. He took stock by item the army, industry, and national solidarity in order to prove his thesis. Among other things he *stressed the stability of the multi-national State* established by the experience of the War. The statement had an urgent and intimate interest in India where it is maintained by the Muslim League that two nations cannot form one State, and by the Congress by way of rebutting that the Hindus and Muslims are not two nations but one. In other words the Congress concedes that two nations cannot form a single State. The *Reformer* throughout has not contested the Muslim League's claim that Muslims are a nation by themselves but maintained that the fact or fiction is no argument for partitioning India. Nation is a word which has been used in different times in different senses. Even at the same time and by the same authority it has not been used consistently in one sense. Therefore, if a people chooses to claim to be a nation, it is useless to question its propriety. But the point is that being a nation does not entitle any group to disrupt a long standing geographically cultural unity. The experience of Soviet Russia as a multi-national State is, therefore, of great significance in meeting the argument for Pakistan. *The Radio report of Stalin's speech contained it. But the report in the newspapers omitted it.* Why? News agencies in this country and, perhaps elsewhere, also [are]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their functions as being much beyond what they legitimately are. They are accorded recognition as journalists which certainly they are not. Their business is to purvey news without adulteration and not mould or interpret public opinion which is the responsible function of the true journalist. A journalist is personally accountable for the equity of his judgment. The news agency has no responsibility beyond the accuracy of its facts.

Deposition of the Maharaja of Rewa

Maharaja Sir Ghulab Singh of Rewa has been deposed by the Crown Representative. This decision has not come as a surprise to the Maharaja or to those who knew that the gulf between him and the Political Department was steadily widening. Tracing the causes which made him unpopular in the eyes of the Political Department, the Maharaja told the representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* that, as he had been holding progressive views and ideas and was anxious to introduce reforms in his State and improve the social economic and educational status of his subjects, he incurred the displeasure of the Political Department and was branded "a rebel among the Princely Order of India."

The refusal of the Maharaja to tolerate the undue interference from the Political Department in the administration of his State and his defiance of their whimsical and arbitrary ukases brought him into clash with the Political Department early in 1942 and he was deprived of his administrative powers. He was asked to leave the State and not to enter Rewa until further orders. He challenged the Government to prove the charges against him. He was tried by a special tribunal and was ultimately found "not guilty." In spite of this acquittal he was not allowed to enter Rewa unless he accepted certain conditions imposed upon him by the Political Department. In the interest of his people, he agreed to swallow them and returned to his State in August 1944.

After his return, he found that the interests of his subjects were being mercilessly ignored by the State-officials—the majority of whom were the nominees of the Political Department. He noticed that *the State was being burdened with heavy expenditure, that corruption and bribery were rampant among the officials,* that the State subjects had been receiving a 'step-motherly' treatment at the hands of the 'non-Rewa officials' and that chaos and confusion, disorder and autocracy were the order of the day.

He could not tolerate this state of affairs and insisted upon an immediate termination of the existing conditions. But his protest was suppressed and went like a cry in the wilderness. His good intentions were misconstrued by the Political Department, and he was "advised" not to interfere in the administrative affairs of the State and in the activities of 'his' Cabinet of Ministers.

The Political Department wanted to keep him as a 'dummy' to affix his signature as a 'dhobi-mark' on every paper submitted to him for his 'approval' by the Cabinet. But, on the other hand, his wishes were never respected by the Cabinet and his proposals were frequently turned down unceremoniously.

Th Chief Minister, Major Smith, a nominee of the Political Department gave the contract for the construction of two bridges costing about Rs. 4,00,000 to a British firm without even calling for tenders and despite his protest.

Similarly, his proposal to establish a network of schools and to introduce the scheme of compulsory and free primary education in the State was 'pooh-poohed' by the Cabinet.

The theory of misgovernment practised by the Government of India is different for different fronts. With the plea of stopping misgovernment, hereditary Indian Rulers are unceremoniously deposed, but the British Governors under whom bribery, corruption and misgovernment bring endless misery to the people of the provinces are permitted to carry on without the least intervention from the Centre. Charges of maladministration in Bengal have been made by the people and have been proved by the Auditor-General of India's reports but to no effect.

The Attachment Scheme

According to the Memoranda on Indian States, 1940, issued by the Government of India, there are 601 states, jagirs and estates in India. They cover an area of 712,508 sq. miles while British India has an area of 1,006,171 sq. miles. Approximately two-fifths of the population of India live in these States. There is a very wide variance in their size and wealth. Hyderabad has a population of fourteen millions with an annual revenue of eight and a half crores. Bilbani's population is 27 with an annual revenue of Rs. 80.

The largest number of States is in the Kathiawar. Of the total of 283 Kathiwar States, only nine are rich and big, *viz.,* Bhavnagar, Cutch, Dhrangdhara, Gondal, Idar, Junagadh, Morvi, Nawanagar and Porbandar. The total area of these 283 States is about 32,000 sq. miles with a total population of about four millions.

It is, therefore, natural that the first application of the Attachment Scheme will be made in this area. By an executive order of the Crown Representative, acting with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, some of the smaller States comprised in the Western India Agency were, during 1943, attached to larger States with headquarters both inside and outside their agency. It was argued before the Judicial Commissioner's Court (Western India Agency) that the executive order of the attachment issued by the Crown Representative was illegal and *ultra vires* of the powers of that high officer under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. It was held by the Court that the Crown Representative's order attaching Bhalura Taluka to Gondal State was illegal. The Crown never absorbs a State and much less merges it into another State.

The matter was set at rest by the Attachment of India States Act. Under Section 1 any State not mentioned in Division I to XVI (Table of Seats), Part II, Schedule I of the Government of India Act, 1935, of Western India States Agency or Gujarat States Agency may be attached to any other Indian State notwithstanding the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890.

Section 2 of this Act authorizes the

a) transfer to courts and officers of any powers or jurisdiction on behalf of the Crown ;
b) relinquishment of any such power ; and
c) transfer of cases pending at courts or officers of the Crown.

The Attachment Act is restricted in scope and has in view purely judicial work in the petty states of Western India and Gujarat States Agency.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *Communique* of April 16, 1943, laid down a weighty principle that autocratic powers shall not be abused and that nothing which is not inherently capable of survival should be artificially perpetuated.

The real meaning behind this Attachment Scheme may be traced back to a resolution of the All-India State Peoples' Conference held at Ludhiana in February, 1939. It recommended that all States with a population of below 20 lakhs or an annual revenue of less than 50 lakhs of rupees should amalgamate with the neighbouring provinces. If effect were given to this resolution, only 21 States will remain as separate units and the remaining 580 will be absorbed in the provinces.

The native States have completely lost their independence through gradual changes in the policy pursued towards them by the British Government and the systematic encroachments made on their rights. They have been cordoned off into a far more helpless condition than the Indian Provinces. It is, therefore, but natural that the British Government will try to forestall the States Peoples' Resolution of 1939 by attaching smaller States to bigger States instead of giving them any opportunity to amalgamate with the Provinces. It is still easier to deal with a big native State than to handle matters in a small province with its politically conscious population.

The Warning of the Economists

Leading economists of the country have issued a note of warning in a manifesto in which they have shown how the Government of India is driving Indian economy to the brink of disaster. They have condemned the uninterrupted expansion of currency against the ever-increasing sterling securities even after the cessation of hostilities. By continuing to finance the purchases of the British Government in this country by the same inflationary procedure as during the war, the Government of India is driving Indian economy to the brink of disaster. The substance of their statement is given below :

> We had stressed the necessity, even during the war, of limiting the total liabilities undertaken by the Government of India on all accounts, to the resources that they were able to raise by taxation and borrowing. Whatever justification there might have been for ignoring this warning during the war period, and lending far beyond India's capacity at the cost of unprecedented hardships to the people of India, this has disappeared with the end of hostilities. Financial help, now being extended by India, is no longer required for winning the war ; *it only helps in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the borrowing country, namely, Britain.* The justification of a loan is to be found in the relative resources, current and capital of the lender and borrower and the issue needs to be raised whether India is in a position to lend at all. Considering her immediate consumption needs it is clear beyond doubt that India has no lending capacity.

The most remarkable thing about this lending is that it is being achieved by a method which runs directly counter to this country's interest, namely, currency inflation. The purpose of this inflation, to say the least, is sordid. Indian currency has been inflated on such a dangerous scale to finance the deficit of Great Britain and not those of the Government of India. According to the economists, this has happened due to glaring mismanagement. We are, however, of different opinion. We believe it to have been the meditated, well-calculated and deliberate action taken for saving Britain from an utter financial collapse by exploiting the resources of the Empire. Canada, Australia and South Africa had to be wooed for money, but India's case was different. With the entire government of this country under the thumb of Whitehall, India was bled white for financing Britain's war. The sterling balances built up to India's credit represent real resources that she had to sacrifice at the cost of suffering, starvation and death.

Price Control and Indian Industries

With the cessation of hostilities and the continuously increasing inflow of foreign consumer goods the inner meaning of price control and its effect on Indian industries are steadily becoming clear. The price control policy of the Government of India has been definitely injurious to the industrial development of the country during the war years. Our industries have been starved of machinery and essential raw materials. Nor were steps taken to import capital goods to set up new industries which would have prospered under the natural protection provided by the war. The control orders completed the burden.

In an article contributed to the *Commerce*, Prof. R. N. Bhargava of the Allahabad University, gives a good analysis of the price control system and its pernicious effects. He shows how the Government has used its price control measures in a manner that has done great harm to our industries, on the one hand, and encouraged the growth of the black-marketeer and the profiteer on the other. The prices of most articles of everyday use have been controlled under the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance. Where the retail prices have not been controlled, the ordinance lays down the rule that retail prices should not exceed an addition of 20 per cent or the addition allowed by normal trade practice whichever is less to the landed cost of an imported article or to the cost of production of a commodity manufactured in the country.

The retail prices are to be arrived at in this way by the addition of the same percentage to landed cost and to cost of production. It follows that in all those cases where the landed cost of an article is lower than the cost of production of indigenous manufactures such a policy would, even if nothing else was done, deal a death blow to our industries. The fixation of control prices at a high figure in respect of many raw materials needed for our industries, and especially of coal, unduly raised the cost of production from the very first stage of the process.

It has been seen that costs of production in India are higher than landed costs of imported articles. During the war years, there has been a greater proportionate rise of prices in India than in most other countries. As such, when retail prices are determined by an addition of the same percentage to cost of production and landed cost, the retail prices of Indian manufactures would be higher than their foreign rivals. Our pre-war costs of production in the case of a large number of commodities were not lower than costs of foreign manufactures and in some cases they were actually higher. A glance at some of the control

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

prices would make the position clear. Prof. Bhargava has provided the following :

Name of article	Controlled retail price *Indian make* Rs. as. p.	*Imported* Rs. as. p.
1. Cycle pedals (per pair)	6 1 0	4 4 0
2. Bulb, 25 watt	1 10 0	1 5 0
3. Jam, 24 oz. tin	2 0 0	1 4 0
4. Tooth brush	1 4 0	1 1 0
5. Cup and saucer, large, china	1 4 0	0 15 6

In all these cases, the controlled prices of foreign goods are cheaper than the Indian products. But what is the result ? Prof. Bhargava says, when the prices of foreign goods are cheaper there is a rush for foreign goods. The honest dealer may sell their quota of foreign goods at controlled prices, but the dishonest one will certainly pass their stocks underground. When a consumer wants foreign article, say a pair of cycle pedals, the dishonest dealer usually says that the foreign-make is not available but the price of a pair of Indian pedals is Rs. 6-1. He also points out the absurdity of expecting to get foreign pedals at a price of Rs. 4-4 per pair as they are superior in quality and more durable. The consumer catches the hint and agrees to pay black market price for the foreign product. With the increase in the supply of foreign products, this feature will stop but the real problem will become more acute. Judging from the manner in which inflation is still continuing unabated, there is little hope that prices will go down in the near future. In the meantime, with the cost of production of Indian products still ruling high, British products at cheaper prices will flood the market. Most of the Indian industries, which are now tottering will go to the wall.

Indian Famine a Blessing to White Men ?

Mr. D. T. Deshpande, in an article to the *Independent* strikes a completely new note with regard to the impending famine. We consider his conclusions worth quoting. First of all he points out that one cannot ignore the facts that (*a*) during the years of the war, when imports of foodgrains to this country were not appreciable, India not only fed her own population but also fed the armies installed in this country and (*b*) after meeting these needs she had enough surplus left for the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation to send large consignments to the Middle East. Another factor which may also be taken into consideration is that large dumps of foodgrains are believed to have been built for the use of the forces during the past few years. What has happened to these dumps ?

Mr. Despande apprehends that Indian famines are results of well-prepared plans which would prove a blessing to the white men. Here are his conclusions :

One who cannot lay his hands on the relevant facts and figures in regard to a certain situation has to rely solely on conclusions that can be drawn from the known facts. And one might be led to conclude that the responsibility for the impending famine will lie mainly at the doors of those who could have averted the Bengal Famine.

All the talk about the impending famine and the perpetual famine strikes one as a part of a well-prepared plan. It might be a well-calculated design to bamboozle India into Agricultural Economy instead of Industrial Economy. It would suit Britain admirably if Indian public attention were focussed mainly on the production of agricultural commodities. In times of famine people would naturally look more towards production of food than towards the production of manufactured goods.

One might keep in mind the fact that during the years of famine cheap labour becomes available for the construction of roads and other engineering works. A famine in India would provide a good excuse for a big road-making programme, creating an immediate and a large demand for building and engineering materials from Britain. The famine will oblige British at the cost of India's millions.

Is it not strange that even famines should aid the White Man's post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction plans ?

Indians in South Africa

The position of Indians in South Africa still continues to be menacing. Not satisfied with the Pegging Act and a crop of subsequent Ordinances, General Smuts is contemplating new anti-Indian legislation. A conference of South African Indian Congress met at Cape Town to consider General Smuts's proposals. They urged the holding of a Round Table Conference between India and South Africa to settle matters by mutual discussion. Smuts has refused it saying that his unilateral ukase was the best solution and could not be retracted. Smuts has indicated that his new legislation would include communal franchise on a separate role Indians voting for European representatives on the lines of the representation of natives who have three representatives in a house of 159.

A short review of earlier events in South Africa which led. one after another, to the curtailing of the rights of Indian settlers there may prove useful here. The summary has been prepared from Mr. C. Kondapi's article on South Africa in the *India* Quarterly for January. 1945.

South African Legislature enacted the Pegging Act on April 27. 1943. pegging. for the fourth time, the position of Asiatic occupation. The Government of India demanded that the Durban area to which the Act applied be deproclaimed and the Act itself be repealed. On April 18. 1944. Premier Smuts entered into the Pretoria Agreement with the Natal Indian Congress as an alternative to the Pegging Act. The Agreement purported to establish the inherent right of the Indian community to the acquisition and occupation of property anywhere in Natal of which the Pegging Act had deprived them. save and except in the case of occupation of dwellings for residential purposes in urban areas which was likely to engender racial friction due to juxtapositional living. To meet the situation. a Board was to be set up to control and regulate juxtapositional occupation of dwellings between the Whites and Indians. The Board was to have powers of licensing and exempting dwellings. singly or collectively. thus by its positive action facilitating the reversion of such dwellings to a position which prevailed before the passing of the Pegging Act. The Natal Provincial Council was empowered to pass an ordinance implementing the Agreement.

The spirit behind the Agreement was that Indians would agree to voluntary segregation in Durban but only in case they were afforded the civic amenities on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a scale provided in European quarter and without any prejudice to their inherent right to ownership and occupation of property throughout the rest of Natal. The Natal Provincial Administration drafted the Occupation Control Ordinance. It was accepted by both the parties as embodying the Agreement and the Natal Administrator advised its acceptance. But the Europeans opposed it, and the Administrator of Natal was forced to send it to a Select Committee which committee reported on October 17, 1944, and recommended the new Residential Property Regulation Ordinance. This ordinance was fundamentally different from the Occupational Control Ordinance; it restricted the Indian right to acquire property by methods designed to control the *acquisition* of residential dwellings and land, whereas the original ordinance sought to limit only the *occupational* right; while the old ordinance applied only to Durban and to other boroughs and townships in case the necessity for its application was proved, this one extended its blanketing restrictions on occupation and acquisition over the whole of Natal; it provided for the constitution of boards which would determine policy, whereas the older one limited the functions of the licensing board to the control of individual dwellings; and, above all, it precluded consideration of the vital requirements of contiguity and natural expansion in occupation which constituted an essential part of the Pretoria Agreement and the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance and even introduced proposals incompatible with such consideration.

The Natal Indian Congress raised its voice of protest and urged the Premier to veto the new ordinance on the ground that its provisions did not conform to the Pretoria Agreement. The Ordinance was rushed through the Council. Besides, two other ordinances—the Housing Board Ordinance and the Provincial Council and Local Authority Expropriation Ordinance—were also passed. The Government of India reacted by imposing reciprocal restrictions on South African nationals in India in terms of Sec. 2 of the Reciprocity Act, 1943.

On 28th November, 1944, the representatives of the Congress interviewed the Premier and conveyed to him its views that the new ordinances, as passed by the Provincial Council, were beyond the scope of the Agreement, and therefore, not within the competence of the Provincial Council, *i.e.*, if the Agreement was to be implemented. The Premier in his reply of December 5, 1944, while agreeing with the Congress that the new ordinance did not conform to the Pretoria Agreement, confirmed that the Pegging Act remained unrepealed and in force. He advised that the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance would be reserved for His Majesty's assent, and that the Housing and Expropriation Ordinance would become law. The Agreement was considered to be of no further effect.

The only concessions made in favour of Indian standpoint were: (*i*) the expropriation of land both for housing and slum clearance had to receive the consent of the Union Government; (*ii*) Indians were vouchsafed the privilege of sending another memorandum on the matter; (*iii*) they were allowed to appoint a small standing committee to keep in contact with the Administrator and the Minister of the Interior, and where necessary, the Premier; and (*iv*) the Natal Indian Judicial Commission whose work had been suspended for some time would be revived. Other ways of settlement, it was also said, were being explored.

The only solution, as the Natal Administrator stated, is to admit Indians as a permanent part of population. As a preliminary to such solution, Pegging Act should be just repealed and the Indian Judicial Commission should be required inquire into the question of municipal, provincial parliamentary franchise to Indians. The Union Government should undertake not to consider any affecting Indians before franchise is restored to in Natal and extended to them in Transvaal. For, they are enfranchised as Union citizens, the Government too can legitimately require of them to look up to India for help. All friction arising the imposition of economic sanctions and other liatory measures could only then be avoided.

Food Situation in Malaya

Writing in the *Observer*, London, Mr. O. M. Gre a Far Eastern expert, has given a good account of the people of Malaya now fare after they have go back under the administration of their old "Trustee The following short description of the food situati will be revealing and will show how valuable time b been wasted with grave consequences:

> The one and a half million tons of rice expecte from Siam have proved a delusion. Time was wasted in the peace negotiations on whether the rice w to be paid for or handed over free as reparations Then America intervened against the alleged harshness of our terms (merely, it is believed in Singapore, with an eye on trade facilities) and more time was lost. When it was ultimately decided that the rice was to be given free most of it had vanished.
>
> Malaya has never been self-supporting in food and no other rice supplies are visible. Attempts are made to induce Malayas to grow vegetables, but with poor success.
>
> Meanwhile, living costs are anything from five to twenty times pre-war level. In Penang coolies are so weak from want of food they cannot handle cargo . . . Under these conditions, lawlessness, looting and dacoity in the peninsula are widespread and no effective check has yet been imposed.

Plight of Indians in Malaya

The conditions of Indians in Malaya, to say the least, is pitiable. Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Mr. P. Kodanda Rao who were deputed by the Government of India to visit Malaya and Burma to make a first-hand study of the conditions of Indians there, and reported to have completed their talks with the officials of the Commonwealth Relations Department, Pandit Kunzru said that there was not only an acute scarcity of food but all consumer goods were equally scarce. He saw families of Indian labourers and even those of the middle class wearing tattered sarees. In spite of the cloth shortage in India something must be done to help Indians in Malaya. The export of cloth to the Middle East can be stopped and diverted to Malaya. Likewise medical relief was an urgent necessity. Serious attempts are being made to send a Medical Mission which is eagerly awaited there.

Pandit Kunzru urged that the necessary shipping should be secured for the repatriation of a large number of Indians who wanted to come back to their motherland.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

country. Some 15,000 Indians had already registered their names with the authorities but the figure would go up to 25,000. Besides there were another 25,000 who wanted to come home for at least for a temporary period. The Government of India and the Malayan Administration should make representations to the Allied Shipping Board to secure necessary shipping. Concession fares, consistent with the paying capacity of the poor people, should also be arranged.

With regard to the activities of the Indian Independence League, Pandit Kunzru says :

> I met no one who did not complain of the severity of the Japanese regime and how they treated the Indian workers whom they sent to Siam. Wherever we went we were told that but for the Indian Independence League Indians would have been subject to considerable ill treatment. The League, it seems, was able to give protection to Indians both in Malaya and Burma.

Impossibility of Two Constituent Assemblies

Presiding over a conference of Kerala Muslims at Ookapalam, Malabar, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif declared that the two constituent assembly demand of Mr. Jinnah was impossible. Dr. Latif said that the League leaders had not realised that even if they boycotted the idea of a single constituent assembly, the Hindus and Sikhs of the north-west and north-east might boycott the idea of a separate constituent assembly for Pakistan, in which case, a Pakistan assembly could never come into existence. The only result would be a further stalemate.

Dr. Latif reviewed the political situation in India and dwelt at length on the situation which had arisen in consequence of the rejection of the Viceroy's proposals to implement the British Government's determined purpose to establish a new Executive Council at the Centre, and to set up a constitution-making body. He said that it was not wise on the part of the League President to boycott the very idea of a constituent assembly for the whole of India and thus invite a super-imposed constitution, which might neither give a free Pakistan to the Muslim League nor complete independence to India as a whole.

The speaker took the occasion to dispel the notion which prevailed among the educated classes of Muslims in the presidency, that a Pakistan constituent assembly, which the League's President had asked for, would be representative of all the Muslims of India, and would be drawn not merely from the Pakistan provinces but also from all other provinces and Indian States as well. A constituent assembly, he pointed out, could only be formed for the particular territory which desired to have a separate constitution of its own, and could not function for any people living outside that territory.

Dr. Latif condemned as unwise the decision of the League President not to accept the Viceroy's offer to join the Executive Council. He asked :

> Did the President fear that as the result of the provincial elections, the ratio between the League Muslims and the non-League Muslims would be less favourable this time than what was proposed by the Viceroy in Simla last September, or did he really believe, now that the war had ended, that there was no need for any interim Government at the Centre ?

It had to be realised that a constitution for a vast country like India which had to take into consideration a multitude of very complex issues would not be settled overnight. This would necessarily take considerable time. Till then, were the various pressing problems of India's post-war development in which the rest of the world was interested to be held in abeyance ?

Dr. Latif, at the conclusion of his address, expressed the hope that better counsels would ultimately prevail enabling the League to reconsider its position and act like a body endowed with foresight and practical sense. Judging from the recent utterances of Mr. Jinnah and other League leaders, we feel unable to share Dr. Latif's optimism.

Indians in Burma Stranded

In a statement to the Press, Mr. Mahammad Husain Hasham Premji, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, says that about 400 000 Indians have virtually been stranded in Burma. Mr. Premji, who visited Burma together with Mr. M. A. Master and other persons having interest in Burma rice, deplores the attitude of the Government of India in the matter of repatriation and says that the Central Government have given the right of veto to the Government of Burma on the free movement of Indians between the two countries.

As regards the official explanation given in the Central Assembly on the lack of housing accommodation in Burma, Mr. Premji says that housing accommodation really speaking is not the bottleneck. The actual conditions have been described by Mr. Premji in the following words :

> The real bottle-neck is the disowning of their obligations and responsibilities towards Indians by the Government of India. Over four lakhs of Indians, who have been there since the occupation of Burma by the enemy, are anxious to return to this country. They cannot do so, unless they fill in a form and answer a number of humiliating questions. It is a heart-rending scene to see thousands of Indians standing in a queue in the streets of Rangoon from morning till evening for obtaining these forms.
>
> Many of them do not obtain them even after paying a sum of Rs. 100. These forms go to the police. Indians are divided into various categories. Political considerations decide their fate. The return of Indians from Burma to India cannot raise the question of housing accommodation in that country.

Mr. H. R. Betai, Director of the Azad Hind Bank in Rangoon and Lt. P. S. Bhaskaran of the I.N.A. have also described the pitiable conditions of Indians in Burma. They said :

> Indians in Burma had mostly lost their business or other professions in the course of the war and had hardly any means of earning their livelihood there. A large number had already become destitutes, living on open charity. Police arrangements were insignificant, and broad daylight dacoities were of frequent occurrence in which Indians were very often the victims. The import and export trade of the country were at a standstill. If steps were not immediately taken to remedy the situation, Burma would be a hell for Indians. The attitude of Indian officers of the Burma Government recruited in India had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

helped to estrange the relations between Burmans and Indians.

There were at present about 4 000 applications for repatriation pending before the Burmese Government Relief and Rehabilitation Committee most of these having been made as far back as June or July last year. Corruption and dishonesty were rampant in the department concerned with repatriation. Last week a lathi charge was also made on a large body of Indians who had gathered in front of the office of the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee to get their repatriation permits in accordance with an authoritative notification. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was present there at the moment. Later, it was announced that an alteration would be made in the procedure of issuing permits for repatriation. Some had received their permits at their residences. But what the new procedure would be had not been announced. If repatriation continued at the present rate, it would take years to get willing Indians repatriated.

It is, therefore, not very difficult to understand why officialdom do not cherish the idea of permitting leaders of eminence to go to Burma or Malaya. During the last few years one thing has been made quite clear. Indian *emigres* to Burma and Malaya enjoyed adequate protection, during the Jap occupation of those countries, when a Free Indian Government functioned there. A Free Indian Government succeeded in giving them great relief at the worst moment of their life and by virtue of its actions earned their admiration and allegiance. With the meagre information that has so far trickled in, we understand why Indian *emigres* in those countries gave their everything for making the Azad Hind Government a success. That short-lived Government may well be contrasted with the present head at New Delhi in so far as active interest in the welfare of Indians is concerned.

Indian Agricultural Economy

Sir S. V. Rammurthi, Advisor to the Governor of Madras, in his speech declaring open the Andhra Polytechnic at Coconada, has discussed how the lack of scientific policy in the past has affected the Indian economic structure. He said :

In the last fifty years, our agricultural economy has been looked at from the wrong side. Food crops have on a very large scale given place to non-food crops, mainly for export. Groundnuts have been exported to Europe, and short staple cotton to Japan. No doubt such production gives profit to the farmer, but the time has come to recognise that the provision of food and clothing must be the first charge on the land and water of this province. The transition from food to non-food crops has reduced the food supply of Madras and generally all India from about 2,400 to 1600 calories a day from the main foodgrains. The nation cannot live on such inadequate intake of food energy without serious effects on its vitality.

Summing up, he said that "the priorities of charge of agricultural production should be first food and clothing ; second, provision of work, whether in farms or in processing the products of farms ; and third, provision for trade." This may certainly be the ideal condition, but in actual fact the reverse is the case. The whole Indian economic structure has been manipulated so as to begin from the third end in which alone our rulers are most interested. Trade, commerce, industry, transport, even the railway rates have been carefully adjusted to suit the exploitation of the third factor, leaving agricultural and rural economy to its dark fate. Not only cotton and groundnut, but Bengal's jute has been played up quite consistently with the general plan of economic exploitation.

The fixation of price of food crops during recent years has also been made with a sharp eye to the Imperialists' need. In his opening speech at the Conference of Mirasdars of Tanjore, Dewan Bahadur K. Swaminatha Aiyar said that the cost of agriculture operations in Madras was mounting up. It was only the District Collector of Tanjore, who denied this increase in the cost of production of paddy. Referring to the price of paddy, Mr. Aiyar said :

> The control exercised by Government in fixing the price of paddy was more in the interests of the consumer than of the producer. Their complaint was why the price of paddy alone should be controlled while the prices of all other articles were left uncontrolled. If control was required in the interests of the consumers, the proper thing would be to give grants to consumers and allow the price of paddy to find its level.

The consumer has never meant the general people during these war years. It has inevitably meant only those who have helped in the Government's war effort. Government and the mill-owners were the principal buyers of foodstuffs during the past few years and most of these foodstuffs have been acquired for supply to soldiers and war workers as cheap rations. A few control shops had been opened here and there which closed down as soon as there was shortage, while the ration shops for war workers remained functioning. Rationing has been introduced in some towns, but the sale price of foodstuffs there has not been commensurate with the purchase price of paddy at the village. The sale price has rather been adjusted so as to make up for some loss incurred in the supply of cheap rations to war workers and wastages.

There is only one way out to get rid of this intolerable position and all conclusions must logically lead to that end. It was so in that conference as well. Mr. C. Marudavanam Pillai, President of the Tanjore Conference, summed up the whole position with the demand for a National Government.

Flagrant Misuse of Public Money

The Public Accounts Committee of the Government of India, in their report presented to the Central Assembly, have made stiff observations with regard to Bengal Government's expenditures. The observations themselves are revealing, a summary of which is given below :

> We cannot conceive of any set of conditions in which there could possibly be any justification for the disregard of such elementary commonsense precautions as taking of receipts for money paid or of maintaining records of payment. We can, therefore, come to no conclusion but that the discretion vested in district authorities under Bengal Government's order was in many cases most gravely and even flagrantly abused, and we have no doubt whatever that much of the money alleged to have been spent on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

payment of compensation for construction of works and to evacuees and refugees never reached those for whom it was meant.

Referring to the defence expenditure, the report says: "We have, since war started, been accustomed to audit reports bringing to light a large number of irregularities, some of a serious nature. The present report is no exception to the rule and contains the usual tale of losses in Government stores on account of storage and store accounting arrangements being defective or non-existent, of works carried without proper authority or without execution of contracts and as regards works and the acquisition of stores cases in which financial interests of Government were disregarded.

"We recognise, as we recognised before, that the very unsatisfactory state of affairs which has been revealed is largely the result of war conditions.

"We are convinced that the rules of procedure already in existence are sufficient, if observed, to prevent losses from being incurred but confess that we are far from satisfied that such observance of rules is adequately enforced. We feel that there might have been greater improvement than has actually been disclosed if the authorities had taken a stronger line with respect to cases in which it had been proved that officers had disobeyed orders either deliberately or through neglect.

"Reading through the audit report we gained the impression that breaches of procedure have been dealt with far too leniently and the impression has been strengthened by examination of witnesses. There seems to have grown a tendency to regard breach of rules of procedure as of little consequence and against this tendency we wish to sound a note of warning.

"Departures from prescribed procedure may occasionally be innocuous, even perhaps necessary, but they invariably give rise to a possibility of loss to the State through fraud, embezzlement, theft, bribery, corruption and a host of other ways. Rules of procedure are designed to act as a safeguard against losses to the State and though every breach of rules does not involve a loss, instances investigated are sufficient to convince us that the two go together.

"Now that the war has ended, we should like to impress upon the War Department that there is no longer any justification for officers to disregard clearly express orders and we should like them to insist very much more firmly on strict compliance with instructions than seems to have been their custom in the past—breach of orders in such prosaic matters as stores and works not being regarded less serious than indiscipline in the field. It will be remembered that with the cessation of hostilities, the financial interest of the State, which faded into the background, has once again resumed the importance which it necessarily has in times of peace."

This is not the first instance. The Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor-General of India had uttered similar strong warnings after the audit report dealing with the Bengal Government's denial policy expenditure was published. It was then admitted that public money in crores had virtually been looted. The League Ministry in Bengal and the Governor Sir John Herbert had relaxed treasury rules in such a manner that the Treasury officers had to pay money to anybody and everybody who demanded it. No heed whatsoever seems to have been paid to that timely warning. The same fraud, embezzlement, theft, bribery, corruption and waste have continued unchecked under Mr. Casey's Administration. Not only the Public Accounts Committee but the people of Bengal cried aloud to put a stop to this colossal theft and wastage of public money which ultimately have to be made up by the innocent public through increased taxation. The Bengal Administration run by the Civil Service permitted this corruption to run rampant. The strong remarks of the Committee about the negligence of the high officials in handling public money will naturally lead the public to think that it paid them to neglect. A few months ago, searches in the houses of some high officials in Calcutta were made in connection with bribery and corruption, but nobody has yet been hauled up and prosecuted. The names of these officials have been kept carefully concealed by the police, not to speak of prosecuting them. The results of police enquiry have also not been made public. This action of the Government, read with the Public Accounts Committee's reports, leaves an impression that patrons of these corrupt officials exist very high up in the official ladder, and even the Governor-General of India finds himself helpless to name them or to proceed against them.

The Government of Bengal, which has continued unabated in its flagrant breach of all decent codes of administration resulting in a colossal waste of tax-payer's money, has forfeited its right to govern. It has no right to impose taxes or to increase them in order to cover up the theft and loot which they permitted to continue rampant under their very eyes. They are social criminals of the worst type. They must be turned out if this province is ever to get back to normalcy.

Intolerance of Criticism Thin End of Dictatorship

In an article published in the *Tribune,* Louis Fischer says that in the modern age governments make so many mistakes and are responsible for so many human woes that to consider one government as sacrosanct is nonsense. The idea that any statesman or a State can be perfect or infallible flies in the face of history. There has never been a perfect government. The fallibility of a government increases as it begins to grow intolerant of criticism. Criticism is the pillar of humanity and intolerance of criticism is the thin edge of dictatorship. Fischer truly reflects universal sober opinion when he says that political thinking to-day is at a very low ebb because men and women are ruled by religious, nationalistic, racial and party prejudices, instead of being ruled by a desire for a clear picture of the situation.

Fischer says, "Atrocities to Germans are as bad as German atrocities. If you reject one evil and accept an equal or opposite evil, you surrender a principle and abandon the fight for what is good. A lesser evil may be a very great evil. It is better to accept neither evil and instead champion the third alternative which improves mankind. The doctrine of the lesser evil threatens our whole culture and influences practical politics.

"Decent people in the world must stand together against all threats to decency and freedom. They should not divide and prefer one decency to another. Our civilisation is menaced by cynicism and an abandon-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment of principle. When you inveigh against the shortcomings of a country you dislike and praise the same shortcomings in a country which you favour, you are simply acting as a bigot and jingo."

Fischer's Doctrine of Double Rejection

Enunciating his doctrine of double rejection, Fischer says :

> I have the same abhorrence of sin committed by my country as I have of that sin when it is committed by another country. This doctrine of double rejection requires one to think and judge objectively.
>
> Some people have religious feelings regarding their native country. Some persons have religious feelings regarding a foreign country. When they allow those feelings to affect their estimate of world events, they sacrifice truth. They mislead themselves. Political thinking to-day is at a very low ebb, because men and women are ruled by religious, nationalistic, racial and party prejudices, instead of being ruled by a desire for a clear picture of the situation. Having seen how mistaken I can be on occasions and especially when passion obstructs vision, I have decided to be completely ruthless and merciless with myself. An analyst and observer must have no moods. He does himself a disservice if he has.
>
> This attitude does not destroy the will to act. On the contrary, an awareness of the pervading evil stimulates a burning desire in me to fight it. The double rejection releases energy for action, because it shows how desperately necessary it is to do something which will lift humanity from the present crisis. Pessimism based on an honest appraisal of events is creative. It should stir one to challenge and act. Optimism regarding international events in the thirties was one of the causes of the Second World War.

Need for a New World

There is need for a new world. There is no two opinion about it. But where is that new world ? Where is that better future ? Neither is easily discernible. Fischer says that it would not come from conformers but from reformers—from protesters with programmes, from iconoclasts with ideas, from brave men who walk straight along a narrow path and risk inviting shots from both sides. Here is his illuminating conclusion :

> The public lulled itself into an illusion that conditions were not as bad as they were painted to be, that things would work themselves out and that Hitler would settle down and behave. Pessimism—even panic—then might have prevented the war. Now, too, a sober view—the double rejection view—would focus our attention on the dangers that surround us. I think that most persons are probably, without being conscious of it, afraid to engage themselves in double rejection. That might take the floor from under their feet and leave them only the principle to stand on. And how many people feel themselves comfortable, standing on the principle ? Because they must have a heaven, they reject the American system on account of its transgressions. They, accordingly, grasp the alternative—Russia. If they were told that Russia too is a transgressor, they would be unhappy. They would lose the moral crutch.
>
> The acceptance of a far-off heaven which you don't know, or the acceptance of a situation near at hand because you know no other, reveals weakness. I reject the evil in capitalism and I reject the evil in Bolshevism. I seek something better than either. It makes me a searcher and a fighter. Double rejection, therefore, is obviously not negative. It is an affirmative philosophy which exalts the 'change away' from the past and the present and the progress towards a brighter future. Those who launch out into uncharted areas may discover a new continent or open up a new world. There is need for a new world. Where is that new world ? Where is that better future ? Neither is easily discernible. It won't come from conformers but from reformers—from protesters with programmes, from iconoclasts with ideas from brave men who walk straight along a narrow path and risk inviting shots from both sides—because they have rejected both.

Jahangir Bomanji Petit

Jahangir Bomanji Petit has passed away at the age of 67. In the history of Bombay during the last four decades, the name of Jahangir Petit occupies an abiding place. He was born to wealth and made large additions to his ancestral patrimony. At the end of the last war, he was one of those who found themselves in possession of large bank balances. But he did not make money for money's sake. As he acquired money, he largely gave of it mostly on institutions meant for the benefit of the public. He worked assiduously for many institutions like Blind Relief, Parsi Hospital, Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Animals. Education of women was another object for which he worked hard. The cause of Indians overseas was a cause close to his heart and the Imperial Citizenship Association occupied a large part of his time and care. He heavily financed a musical institution known as the Chamber Orchestra.

In announcing his death, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes that he knew the working of wealth-making machines from inside. He had himself been a cog-wheel in it. He was thoroughly disgusted with the whole process involving much that was repugnant to his essentially truthful instinct. He came to despise it. "I would have been a Bolshevik, were I not the son of a wealthy mill-owner," he once remarked. That was the conflict in the soul that made his life a tragedy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SAPRU COMMITTEE AND LEADING PRINCIPLES OF A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

In Part III of its *Recommendations*[1] the Conciliation Committee of which the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman, and which will, therefore, be referred to hereinafter as the Sapru Committee, has enunciated a number of "leading principles" according to which the New Constitution of India should be framed. The object of this paper is to consider some of these principles.

The Sapru Committee consisted of a number of really eminent and thoughtful men. It is, therefore, very gratifying to find that, when there is so much of loose thinking and irresponsible talk in quarters apparently responsible, about the question of the division of India and the so-called right of self-determination on communal or territorial lines, the Sapru Committee has emphatically declared its view against any kind of division of India into two or more sovereign, independent States. It has stated that, "having considered carefully the resolution of the Muslim League passed at Lahore in 1940, the various other resolutions of the League and the published version of the talks between Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi and having also considered the C. R. and Gandhi proposals", it "is emphatically of opinion that any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States is unjustified and will endanger the peace and orderly progress of the whole country without any compensating advantage to any community, and that the political unity of India should, therefore, be maintained."[2]

It is equally gratifying to see that, in regard to the question of non-accession to, or secession from, any future Indian Union (or Federation), the Committee has expressed the view that

> "No province of British India may elect not to accede to the (Indian) Union nor may any unit, whether a province or a state which has acceded, be entitled to secede therefrom."[3]

This recommendation is particularly welcome in view of the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942, popularly known as the Cripps offer. As I have shown in detail elsewhere,[4] these "non-accession" provisions in the Draft Declaration have really provided for the partition of India into two or more sovereign, independent States in certain circumstances. And I consider it a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists, concentrated their opposition in 1942 more to the not-very-important, interim constitutional provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by it into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions—a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our country, but also to its future peace, prosperity and security. Mr. Louis Fischer was perfectly right when he said in a recent article[5]:

> "The weakest and most dangerous provision in the Cripps plan is the right accorded to any province or State not to adhere to the new constitution."

We also fully agree with the Committee when it says[6] that

> "While it is not desirable that the new Constitution should be delayed by the realignment of provincial boundaries on linguistic or cultural considerations, the Constitution Act shall indicate the machinery and prescribe the procedure for such realignment of old provinces and for the creation of new provinces after it has come into force", and that "on such realignment or creation of provinces, all consequential amendments may be made in the Constitution."

In regard to the question of the inclusion of Indian States in the proposed Indian Union, the Committee has recommended[7] that

> "Provision should be made in the Constitution for the accession from time to time of Indian States as units of the Union on such terms as may be agreed upon;" that "the establishment of the Union should not, however, be made contingent on the accession of any Indian State or of any minimum number of Indian States;" and that "the Union should be brought into being and should commence to function at the earliest possible date, even if no Indian State has acceded to it as a unit by then."

This recommendation is very sound, reasonable, and, at the same time, practicable, particularly in view of

---

* A paper read on 30th December, 1945, at the 8th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, held at Annamalai University, South India. One or two foot-notes have been added here.

1 The Conciliation Committee : Information Series 10, Recommendations, *The Hindusthan Times* Press, New Delhi.

2 And in its Report the Committtee has stated :—
"We are convinced that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by history nor by political expediency. It is incompatible with the greatness, safety and economic development of the country and will lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination. It multiplies and complicates the problem of minorities without solving it and threatens to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the 18th century."

3 "Secession," says the Committee in its Report, "is a revolt from and a repudiation of the Constitution. It is, in essence, an extra-constitutional act and commonsense is against the Constitution recognizing it as a legal right to be unilaterally exercised at the option of the limit. The Cripps proposals describe the option to Provinces as one of non-accession and not as secession, but this is only a verbal camouflage."

4 In my *Partition or Federation ? A Study in the Indian Constitutional Problem*, pp. 93-96.

5 Published in *The Sunday Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 7th October, 1945 (Dak Edition).

6 Recommendation 7.

7 Recommendation 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the provisions of Section 5 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the consequence thereof.

We fully concur with the Committee in its view[8] that "a comprehensive declaration of fundamental rights should be incorporated in the future Constitution of India assuring (*a*) the liberties of the individual; (*b*) the freedom of the Press and association; (*c*) equality of rights of citizenship of all nationals irrespective of birth, religion, colour, caste or creed; (*d*) full religious toleration, including non-interference in religious beliefs, practices and institutions; and (*e*) protection to language and culture of all communities." We also welcome in this connexion the specific recommendation of the Committee "for the complete abolition of all disabilities imposed by tradition and custom on the Scheduled Castes" and for "the safeguarding of special religious customs like (the) wearing of *Kirpans* by the Sikhs." The "precise formulation of these rights" should, of course, "be undertaken by a special committee of experts" at the time of the framing of the New Indian Constitution.

The institution of an Independent Minority Commission both at the Centre and in each of the Provinces of India, together with the functions to be entrusted to it, as recommended[9] by the Committee, will, if agreed to by all interested parties, certainly be a most novel feature of the New Indian Constitution. It should go a long way towards winning the confidence of minorities in the efficacy of constitutional provisions for the safeguarding of their rights and privileges.

We shall now consider the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the constitution of the "Union Legislature," the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units of the proposed Indian Union, and the composition of the "Union Executive."

With regard to the constitution of the Union Legislature, the Committee has recommended[10] (*a*) that the Union Legislature should consist of the Head of the State (*i.e.*, the Union) and two Chambers—the Union Assembly and the Council of State; (*b*) that the strength of the Union Assembly should be so fixed that there would be "on the average one member for every million of the population;" (*c*) that "ten per cent of the total strength" should be "reserved for the representation of the following special interests: landholders, commerce and industry, labour, and women;" and (*d*) that the remaining ninety per cent of seats should be "distributed among the following communities: (*i*) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes, (*ii*) Muslims, (*iii*) Scheduled Castes, (*iv*) Sikhs, (*v*) Indian Christians, (*vi*) Anglo-Indians, and (*vii*) other communities." The Committee has also recommended in this connexion that

> "In case the Muslim community on their part agree to the *substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats* for separate communal electorates and *in that case only*," it "would recommend that, *in the interests of promoting national unity*, the Hindu community should agree that in the strength of the Central Assembly excluding the seats allotted to special interests, such as commerce and industry, landholders, labour, etc., Muslim representation from British India *shall be on a par* with the representation given to the Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes) in spite of the great disparity in their respective population strengths."*

The Committee has added, however, that it desires to emphasize that

> "If this recommendation is not to be implemented *in its entirety* the Hindu community should be at liberty not merely not to agree to the claim for parity of representation but to ask for a revision of the Communal Award."*

The acceptance by the Sapru Committee of the principle of parity of representation as between the "Caste Hindus"[11] and the Muslim community of British India, has provoked a storm of opposition in many responsible quarters. This is only natural, as this principle is a fundamental departure from the principle so far followed in the composition of the Central Legislature of India. Let us analyse the principle in terms of figures. According to the census of 1941, the total population of British India is about 296 millions. Of this total population, the numbers of the Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Christians, and the Sikhs are, roughly speaking, 151 millions, 40 millions, 79·4 millions, 3·5 millions, and 4·2 millions respectively. According to the recommendation of the Sapru Committee, therefore, 151 millions of the Caste Hindus should be made politically equivalent to 79·4 millions of Muslims. Such weightage in favour of one community and against another is undobutedly a concession, out of all proportion, to communal unreason and intransigence. And it will certainly put a premium upon such unreason and intransigence in future, as it has invariably been the case ever since 1906.[12] Besides, in the event of the acceptance of this recommendation, the Caste Hindus who constitute today the majority of the total population of British India may be reduced, speaking politically, to a hopeless and helpless minority in the Central Legislature, and, ultimately, to utter impotence and nullity. This is a danger inherent in the principle of parity, introduced on communal grounds, so far as the Caste Hindus are concerned. It may, however, be argued against this point of view that, for the principle of parity of representation, the Committee has insisted on the indispensable condition of "the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates." We certainly agree that the evil of the principle of representation, so far as the Caste Hindus are concerned, may *to some extent* be neutralised by the proposed "substitution." But only to some extent, and not wholly. We are also prepared to concede that, for the sake of political expediency, the majority community should be prepared to pay some price for national harmony and unity. Even if we make a due allowance for all these considerations, we feel constrained to say that if the majority com-

8 Recommendation 17.
9 Recommendation 18.
10 Recommendation 9.

* Italics are mine.

11 For the sake of brevity, I am using the term "Caste Hindus" in place of "Hindus other than scheduled castes."

12 The Committee, it may be admitted, has recognized the strength of the Hindu objection to the principle of parity of representation. But in justification of its recommendation it has stated: "It is because the Committee attaches great importance to the abolition of separate electorates that it considers parity of representation in the Central Legislative Assembly between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes not too great a price to pay." There is room for an honest difference of opinion here, as shown in the text above.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

munity, being 151 millions in number, is made politically equivalent to a minor community which is only 79·4 millions in number, the former will have a very legitimate cause of grievance, and cherish a rankling sense of injustice. This may, at times, make the smooth and successful working of the New Constitution of India very difficult.

There is another danger inherent in the principle of parity introduced on communal grounds. It is this: Once this principle of parity as between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims of British India is accepted in connexion with the constitution of the Central Legislature, the demand will inevitably be made for its introduction into the central executive,[13] into the central services, both civil and military, and even into the central judiciary, irrespective of the questions of numbers of population and the qualifications of candidates. That would be a very serious matter.[14] We may state here, however, that we have no objection to the principle of parity or, for the matter of that, to even a greater representation of the Muslims than of the Caste Hindus in any service, if appointments are made purely on grounds of merits and fitness.

There is one other matter to which we should like to refer in connexion with the question of the composition of the proposed Union Legislature. While the Sapru Committee has accepted, as a permanent basis, the division of the Hindu community into two sections, namely, "Hindus other than Scheduled Castes", and "Scheduled Castes", it has treated the Muslim community of India as one entire, undivided whole, although it is very well-known that the Muslims like the Hindus are a very composite community. This seems, to say the least, to be very strange in view of the division of the Muslim community into Sunnis, Shiahs, Momins, etc.—and, particularly, into Sunnis and Shiahs. Certainly, we do not witness in the Hindu community such disgraceful scenes as are enacted almost every year in the City of Lucknow. Perhaps the Committee will hold the Government policy as revealed in the Census figures, responsible for its decision. But that does not justify its own recommendation.

In view of what we have shown above, we feel constrained to observe that, on the whole, the recommendation of the Sapru Committee in regard to the constitution of the proposed Union Legislature does not appear to have been very well-considered, and that it has, to some extent at least, sacrificed logic, reason, and principle to political expediency. At the same time, we must say that its insistence on "the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates" is a bold and commendable action.

In regard to the question of the distribution of powers and functions between the Centre and the Units of the proposed Indian Union (or Federation), the Committee has recommended[15] certain principles which are, with only one exception, very sound and statesmanlike. For instance, the Committee has recommended that (*a*) "the powers and functions assigned to the Centre should be as small in number as possible, provided that they shall in any case include—

> "(*i*) matters of common interest to India as a whole, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Relations with Indian States, Inter-unit communications, Commerce, Customs, Currency, Posts and Telegraphs;
>
> (*ii*) settlement of inter-unit disputes;
>
> (*iii*) co-ordination, where necessary, of the legislation and administration of different Units; and
>
> (*iv*) such other matters or action as may be required for ensuring the safety and tranquillity of India or any part thereof, or for the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India, or for dealing with any emergencies."

No Indian who has not altogether taken leave of his senses or reason, can take the slightest exception to any of these principles. The Committee has only indicated broad principles, and left the details to be worked out by the Constitution-making Body which may have to be set up later on.

In regard to the question of residuary powers, however, the Committee has recommended:

> "While all matters not assigned to the Centre exclusively or concurrently, must be declared to fall within the sphere of the Units, a list of these should, for greater certainty, be given in the Constitution Act with the rider that all residuary powers—those not included in either of the two lists—shall vest in the Units."

It is evident from this that, according to the Committee, the residuary powers in the proposed Indian Union should be vested in the Units. Here there is room for an honest difference of opinion. The Committee has obviously made this recommendation in view of the Muslim sentiment on the question,[16] and also in view of the Congress attitude towards it. We feel, however, that the vesting of the residuary powers in the Units would tend to make the Centre in India somewhat weak. Regard being had to the history of India in the past and the lessons to be derived from it, to the frequent operation in that past of disruptive and centrifugal forces on the politics of this country, to the complexity of its problems arising from the heterogeneity of its races, creeds, languages, etc., to the attitude of some sections of its people towards our constitutional and communal problem, and to our frontier questions, nothing should be done to weaken the position of its Central Government further than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of Federation, which is, however, the only system of Government suited to India's peculiar circumstances. In our view, a strong Central Government is indispensable to the success of any scheme of Federation in this

---

13 Unfortunately, the Sapru Committee has, as shown later on, itself recommended the introduction of this principle of parity into the constitution of the proposed Central (or Union) Executive.

14 It is true that the Committee has stated in its Report that "it will be unjust and improper to extend the concession of parity to the services, civil or military;" that "Government services like any other service, must be based upon individual merit and fitness;" and that "it will be dangerous to extend the principle of parity to the defence services." Our apprehension, however, is that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prevent this extension of the principle of parity to other directions once it is introduced in the constitution of the Lower House of the Union (i.e., Central) Legislature and of the Union (Central) Executive.

15 Recommendation 10.

16 And we find in the Report of the Committee:—"Though the case for a strong Centre is strong, the Committee as a matter of compromise and for the sake of peace and amity, recommend the vesting of residuary powers in the provinces, in accordance with the Muslim view. Mr. P. R. Das and some other members disagree with this recommendation."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

country. This is also the lesson of the constitutional history of the United States of America and of Canada. In view of all these, we think it highly desirable that the Central Government of India should have jurisdiction over all matters not exclusively assigned by the Constitution Act to the Governments of its Constituent Units, and that the latter should have jurisdiction only over certain matters specifically assigned to them by the Constitution Act. If necessary, the scope of the jurisdiction of the Constituent Units may be made much wider than what has been provided for in the Provincial Legislative List in the Seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, provided that the irreducible minimum of subjects proposed by the Sapru Committee to be included in the list of powers of the Centre and which we have shown before, is not interfered with in any way.

These are our views on the question of the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units in the proposed Union (or Federation) of India. (It would have been well if the Committee had used the term "Federation" rather than "Union"). If, however, in view of the commitment[17] of the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August, 1942, and also in view of the attitude of some sections of the population of this country and the attitude of some of its Princes, it is ultimately proposed, as a matter of compromise not to vest the residuary powers in the Central Government, then we should like to suggest that the question of residuary powers should be included in the list of concurrent subjects, with the usual implication that in the event of a conflict between a central law and the law of a Constituent Unit affecting a residuary matter, the former would prevail over the latter. This would also be quite in consonance with the spirit of the other principles which have been suggested by the Committee for the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units, and which we have quoted before. At any rate, the question of residuary powers should not be allowed to be made an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of an Indian Union (or Federation). The really vital problem today is the question of the partition of India, as proposed by a section of the people of this country. And on this question there *cannot,* and *must not,* be any compromise. India must be politically *one* as she is one geographically and in many other respects. And in this matter the Committee has taken, it must be said to its credit, an admirable stand.

In regard to the question of Union Executive, the Committee has, broadly speaking, suggested two alternatives. The first alternative provides for a satisfactory coalition (or composite) executive, representative of all important elements in the Central Legislature, together with ministerial responsibility on the British lines. The second alternative practically provides for the introduction of the Swiss system of Executive government into our Centre. We should like, subject to what we have stated below, to give an honest t to the first alternative, say, for a period of ten ye We make this suggestion, especially in view of the that we have become, to some extent at least, fam with the working of the parliamentary system government in this country ever since the introduc of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. If, however, first alternative does not work satisfactorily, pa cularly from the point of view of minorities, we m later on go in entirely for the second alternative, b for the Centre and the Provinces of India. We sho honestly and seriously give a trial to the first alt native. In regard to one point we are entirely at w with the Committee. Government by a single pa however good it might be in theory, is not suited to present circumstances of India, or even to the immedi future as far as we can foresee it. It will in prac mean the virtual dictatorship of communal cabinets wi all its concomitant evils. Joint electorates may mitig these evils to some extent, but not wholly. Coalitionis on the other hand, will mean government by "reas able compromises and adjustments of view," and t is exactly what we need today in India.

There is, however, one difficulty even in connec with the first alternative. The Committee has reco mended that

> "The executive of the Union shall be a com posite cabinet in the sense that the followi communities shall be represented on it, *viz.*, (*i*) Hi dus other than Scheduled Castes, (*ii*) Musli (*iii*) Scheduled Castes, (*iv*) Sikhs, (*v*) Indi Christians, and (*vi*) Anglo-Indians;" and that t "representation of these communities in the ex cutive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of th strength in the legislature."

Regard being had to the composition of the Uni Legislature as recommended by the Committee, th recommendation regarding the constitution of the Uni Executive virtually means the introduction into it o the principle of party of representation as betwee the Caste Hindus and the Muslims, and is therefore, liable, more or less, to the same kind o criticism as we have seen in the case of the recom mendation of the Committee in regard to the consti tution of the Union Legislature. Since we have deal with this matter before we do not like to say anythin further here.

In conclusion, we should like to state that we hav practically dealt with every important recommendatio of the Sapru Committee in regard to the future Consti tution of India. There is nothing particular to be sai about its recommendation regarding the future judiciary of this country. We have criticized some of the recom mendations of the Committee. It is only natural tha in the present circumstances of India there will be controversy over some of these recommendations specially when the Committee has attempted to steer a middle course. At the same time, we cannot help feeling that the recommendations of the Committee have not so far received from our leaders the considera tion which they deserve.

17 In the course of a resolution, adopted on 8th August, 1942, in its Bombay Session, the All-India Congress Committee declared itself in favour of a Federal Constitution for India, "with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FALL OF HITLER AND CHURCHILL

By Prof. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), Bar-at-Law

These two events are the symbols of the two historical processes which are visible in the world politics of today. They are the two aspects of the world revolution of our time. The overthrow of Hitler only would have meant half the battle of freedom fought, that is, merely the defeat of Nazi imperialism. The fall of Churchill from power indicates the new tendency of winding up of the old and more deep-rooted and dangerous imperialism. These two historical events also symbolise the progress of an external revolution between the relation of nations, namely, that of creating closer and greater international bonds of world security and co-operation and that of an internal revolution within nations and empires, namely, that of the emancipation of lower classes and conquered colonies. But this new two-fold revolution will be defeated if Hitlerism and Churchillism are pursued by their successors who control world politics. There seems a developing danger of that kind to-day.

In order to value properly the achievements of great men it is necessary to estimate the character of our men in relation to that of our age. Today our ideas are great, our environment is full of great possibilities, but our leading men do not rise to the height necessary to usher in a new era of security and welfare. Five men have brought our political world to the state in which it is placed today ; Stalin, Roosevelt, Hitler, Churchill and Hirohito. Stalin, the imperial Communist, who was never elected to the headship of the state, has manipulated successfully the machinery of the party and dominated the life and politics of the Soviet State after Lenin (1924). His war policy, defensive and offensive, has been very successful. Today he holds the reins of world's future peace and war. Roosevelt, the active liberal democrat, was the elected President of the American people from 1932 to 1944. He played a great part in the present war and contributed effectively to the Allies' success as by his democratic utterances and plans, and war organisation. Churchill, the imperialist conservative, was the Prime Minister of England during 1939-1945. He proved a successful leader in war, but was adamant in not giving up his deep-rooted imperialism. As against these came Hitler, the radical totalitarian, who was elected by the German people and parliament to unite and restore Germany to her former greatness and to wipe out the Versailles dictated settlement. We do not know much about Hirohito, the heaven-born and heaven-missioned ruler of Japan from 1927.

Our present knowledge and notions of events do not permit us as yet to estimate correctly the achievements of Hitler and Churchill. We can only set up some comparisons between them to find out their resemblances and differences. They worked in various capacities in the home and foreign politics of their country. We can study Hitler's work as a soldier, as a party leader and organiser, as a national leader, as the head of the Third Reich, and as a war leader. His apparent achievements are the destruction of Versailles settlement, the liberation, unification and reformation of Germany, and his brilliant successes in the early phases of the World War II. We can study Churchill's work as a soldier, as a party politician, as a minister in various capacities and as a prime minister of England. Churchill's great achievements seem to be largely negative or protective. He contributed to the safety of England in the first world war and saved her in the second world war. They may also be studied as orators, writers, organisers and reformers. If there were a modern Plutarch he would give us comparative studies in the biographies of great men of England and Germany and would thus enrich our biographical literature.

In interpreting the fall of Hitler and that of Churchill we must first answer the question : Is the age of imperial wars or world wars or even people's wars over ? Can the United Nations' Charter prevent them ? Can the discovery of atomic bomb and a world security Council do that ? If the morals and ambitions of great powers have not changed and the fears and frustrations of great peoples have not disappeared, if a new irresistible power which can transcend old morality and ambition has not arisen to dominate the world for world welfare, then we may not expect the end of wars.

Both Hitler and Churchill represented not the new world view and ideal of equality and brotherhood, but the old one of dominance and subjection. They have been men of war and hate against weaker peoples from their early careers. Both were soldiers first. Both believed in tanks, bombers, guns and bombs as weapons of war and supremacy. At home they aimed at security and welfare of their own people. Abroad they aimed at racial dominance, and overbalance and weightage of power in their own country's favour. At home they believed in aristocratic and conservative dictatorial rule. Abroad they were racialists and imperialists—politically and economically. They adopted tactics of total warfare and subjection. They believed in the theory of chosen races, superior families, and white men's missions and burdens in the world of coloured and lower races. They worshipped their ancestors and glorified their imperial adventures and aggressions. They possessed faith in themselves, in their holy missions of racial nationalism and white imperialism. They showed faith in an overruling Providence believing that they themselves were in its special care. They desired for themselves European hegemony and world supremacy. They were feudalists, emphasizing the rights and privileges of the conquerors. They wanted to live on the labour and lebensraum of others economically and politically. They wanted colonies in their neighbourhood, and abroad in the distant world. They sought and fought for strategic frontiers, posts, lines and places in others' territories and in the islands and coasts of great oceans. They were anti-communists at home, and anti-nationalists abroad. They believed in themselves as men of destiny and agents of god's mission. They harboured two moralities—one of security and welfare for themselves and their people, and the other of warfare and subjection for the conquered and the coloured.

But their political limitations and objectives were different. Therefore, their ways differed. Churchill's problem was one of the preservation of the British Empire, that of Hitler was one of liberation and unification of the Germans. Both recognised force as a necessity in political life. Both partly succeeded and partly failed. Churchill's philosophy was one of white imperialism. Hitler's was that of a new racial nationalism.

Hitler preached a *vendetta* (vengeance) against Jews and a *vedette* (watch) against other backward races. He wanted all Germans to be united into one Reich under one control. He wanted all German colo-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nies to be restored and a living space for Germans in Eastern Europe. He wanted to unite Europe under German direction and control. To Hitler, Germany had become like a colony of the outside world. Under the Versailles treaty it had lost sovereignty over its own territory. It had lost her colonies and resources, prestige and honour, security and freedom. It was dismembered, disarmed and despoiled. It was surrounded by a ring of powerful foes. Therefore, his aim was to destroy the Versailles settlement, to unite all Germans and Germany, to abolish the conflict of all classes, parties, states and churches *within the Reich,* to expel its foreign and undesirable elements, to become autonomous in food and material resources, to secure sufficient living space, to promote and plan economic, social and intellectual life of the people. To make all this possible and achievable he wished to strengthen the army as the guarantee of the security and freedom of the country. This was to him his model revolution. Today no objective historian holds the thesis that Germany prepared for and instigated a world-wide war in 1914 for world domination. Therefore, Hitler's standpoint and object seem to be justified to the extent that the Versailles treaty was unjust to Germany.

Churchill has, however, always felt and stressed the paramount necessity of keeping the balance of power in Europe, and over-balance in Anglo-French favour, of keeping Germany weak and divided, partitioned and encircled. He was largely for an Europe as it was made by and after the Versailles settlement, advocating only a few readjustments to redress Germany's grievances. He was for the preservation of the British Empire as it was and not for any change. Like a modern Duryodhan he was not favourable to restoring German colonies. His philosophy of empire economy and empire strategy made him an enemy of Russia, Germany and Turkey, and later on of Japan also. He was against Indian and Colonial self-government. The colonial and coloured people were considered low and backward and were to be under England's eternal tutelage and control. Only during this war he showed a spirit of temporary flexibility in his advocacy of Anglo-French Union, Atlantic Charter, and Continental Councils. But after the war the old spirit of dominance, balance of power, partition, etc., revived in the proposals of the Potsdam peace. In them all his ideas of balance of power and disunity in Europe, colonial imperialism and partition, are fully present. If Hitler hated Jews, Churchill hated coloured peoples.

Anglo-French policy after the first world war added more fuel to the burning desire of Germany for revenge and liberation. Anglo-French imperialism engendered German imperialism. The trouble was that while British imperialism was replete, German imperialism was hungry. The German empire was cramped for space. The British empire was forty times more roomy. No one looked to the unity of Europe. Churchill had no constructive plan for Europe. His leadership was of the old type. He was fond of old diplomacy of alliances, secret understandings and divide and rule. He bent his energies and used national and imperial resources for the cause of armies fighting in Europe and Asia along the old lines of imperialism. He sacrificed his own people and others from the colonies and dominions for his narrow imperial interests and advances. Without a united Europe and a liberated Asia world war will not end.

Since his first entry into politics Churchill has made a full circle of his changing political loyalties. From being a conservative (Tory Democrat) at first, and then becoming a Unionist Free Trader, a Liberal, a Coalition Liberal, a Liberal Free-trader, an anti-Socialist, a Constitutionalist in turn, he finally became a Conservative again.

Hitler, however, created a new national socialist party, and when he came to power, liquidated all other parties. But the root ideas of Churchillian Tory democracy based on his father Randolph's Fourth Party were similar to those of Hitler's Nazi-Socialism. One of his biographer says, "Here (in the Fourth Party) were seeds that might in the fullness of time and on a more favourable soil than that of England have borne deadly fruit in the category that we now designate *national socialist.* For it was Randolph's intuition, as it has been that of Hitler and Mussolini, that the way to defeat the politics and ideologies of the left, from Liberal to Communist, is by combining the forces of reaction with those of the mob in a sort of passionate team drive, using for that purpose every sort of emotional stimulus, patriotic or otherwise, and carefully declining any decision on a rational plane. Churchill's tactics in the political contest were those of total warfare. They stuck at nothing and spared nobody," as those of his father.

Hitler's fall was however due to foreign opposition and external defeat not to any internal revolution or disintegration. In his fall the plan of European unity fell, its centralised control and planned economy were defeated. Europe again became a congeries of nations with narrow ambitions and separate ideals. It again became a geographical expression like the old Greece or the modern Balkan states. But along with Hitler's fall the concept of racial domination of master and slave society in other parts of the world has also happily disappeared.

Churchill's fall is due to an internal electoral revolution. Externally he succeeded in diplomacy and the conduct of the war. But he was defeated by the Labour Party at home. His work as a war leader was over after the defeat of Germany. He is a man of war not of peace. He has no social reforms to his credit in his long career as a minister and politician. His main interest and work lay in the preservation of the British empire and the organisation of her fighting services and equipment.

The difference between Hitler and Churchill, or Germany and Britain, is this, that in Germany the idea of chosen race and imperial rule was explicitly discussed, and reasoned, proclaimed and preached, and finally put to the test of war. In England, however, it was assumed in silence as truth so self-evident historically as to call for no discussion among people. Germany wanted to prove it by new wars. England had already proved it by old wars and conquests, colonies and possessions.

In this connection let us read the speech of Lloyd George at the time of the Agadir crisis of 1911. He warned Germany in these words :

"If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace can only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

Now compare this speech on Agadir crisis and Hitler's speeches on Versailles peace. Churchill was a member of the Liberal Cabinet along with Lloyd George. You cannot conceive that Agadir crisis affected even remotely the life of England as the Versailles peace affected the life and death question of Germany and also the question of its security and honour. Agadir was not a part even of the British empire, while parts of Germany were handed over or separated from Germany just to weaken and humiliate her, and she was deprived of all her colonies by England.

But leaving this comparison aside, the fall of Hitler was necessary from the point of view of European humanity, if not of European unity. Hitler's methods were very violent and tyrannical. His crimes against Jews, non-Nazis, Communists and others were crimes against European humanity and human morality. The fall of Churchill has a similar significance from the point of view of coloured and conquered humanity within the British empire. The atrocities attributed to British officials during and after 1942 or earlier in India during his Prime Ministership are not more justified than those of Hitler's agents or officials in conquered countries. The history of those atrocities is not unwritten. The record does not show any liberal pattern, though Churchill had not to wage any internal war within the empire.

The rise and regime of Hitler has changed the course of world history, the political, economic and moral map of the world. It will be a significant and continuing event in history. It cannot at present be fully or correctly elucidated and estimated. No doubt due to the Allies' successes Germany is now completely in ruins. But Churchill's rise and regime has not left any tradition or measure of social welfare or reform at home. His only contribution is the active part he played in winning this war. Hitler, however, has left a tradition of German unity, economic reconstruction, educational reform, and military invention and organisation which will require a close study for understanding it. His work in German rehabilitation was great. He removed the feeling of fear and frustration from the German mind. But his foreign enemies proved too great for his adventure. He, therefore, fell because the world went against him.

Was Hitler then an adventurer and a tyrant cast up by the merest chance or was he a truly German phenomenon, taking the needs, the environment and aims of Germany at that time ? If we accept the thesis that the Versailles peace and the Russian Revolution and politics created a problem for Germany of "unite or perish," then Hitler's rise and regime was a logical sequence of tremendous weight for Germany. His achievements in German unification, regeneration, education, army, industry and science are worth considering. His was not purely a war-mind but also a welfare-mind, though it was also a racial mind. Therefore, Hitler's German revolution was a great political and social phenomenon in her national history. It transformed German spirit and values of life. It was a new way. If he had succeeded, he would have given unity but not humanity to Europe, both political and economic, and made it a coherent whole. It would have been possible for the succeeding generations to create on that basis a new spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity in Europe but under a new leadership and ideology. George Bernard Shaw says :

> "If the allies had not abused their victory over Germany after 1918 instead of restoring her to health and sanity as carefully as they restored German prisoners of war, Adolf Hitler's rise to power would have been impossible. We and our allies were stupid and cowardly enough to reduce Germany to that condition (of ruin) and give Adolf Hitler his opportunity. For seizing that opportunity he deserved from his country all the gratitude he got."

To raise them from that ruin Hitler gave the message :

> "You are Germans—the world's supermen. Unite and follow me. A mighty destiny awaits you."

His Potsdam utterance was :

> "We wish to restore the unity, spirit and will of the German nation. We wish to preserve the eternal foundation of our life, namely, our race, and the forces and values given to it."

No such problem of ruin or survival, fear or frustration ever awaited Churchill's England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet study Churchill's life carefully from 1895 to 1945. It is that of a soldier indulging in Colonial warfare and of a soldier engaged in politics. Here is what A. G. Gardiner says about him (1914) :

> "The whole spirit of his politics is military. It is impossible to think of him except in the terms of actual warfare. The smell of powder is about his path, and wherever he appears one seems to hear the crack of musketry and he feels the hot breath of battle. To his impetuous swiftness he joins the gift of calculating strategy. If we could conceive him in a great upheaval he would be seen emerging in the role of what Bagehot calls 'Benthamite despot,' dismissing all feudal ideas and legitimist pretensions, sweeping aside all aristocracies, proclaiming the democratic doctrine of the greatest happiness of the great number (of Englishmen) and seating himself astride the storm as the people's Caesar at once dictator and democrat."

Thus his real political philosophy is the philosophy of Caesarism. But as the British governmental foundations are solid and its Parliamentary steel-frame is fixed Churchill's genius and force have to find their scope within its existing limits. Therefore, he could shine only as a war, navy or munitions minister. He is a man of action, a soldier of politics, who lives for adventure, and loves his fight more than the cause, more even than his ambition or his life. He has one purpose—to be in the firing line either of war or peace. He loathes the canker of long peace and a calm world. He sees life in terms of war. To him politics and war are one.

His speeches against the Labour Party during the recent election showed how he scorned Labour. He would have out-Hitlered Hitler if he had been born in Germany. His only field of activity and devotion is the British Empire. His only object of hatred is Communism and colonial nationalism. Englishmen could not afford to give up India, Mr. Churchill once explained to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Americans, because 'two out of every ten Englishmen depend on India.' He says like Duryodhan, 'I shall not give one inch of British empire or liquidate the British empire.'

The destruction of Germany would be a world tragedy. Nothing can alter the inevitable fact that Germany is a nation of eight crores with its gigantic resources of industry and science, intellect and patriotic spirit and unity. Can the big four establish democracy, security, peace and welfare in Europe with these eight crores permanently excluded or enslaved ? The problems of Europe, political, economic and cultural, have to be regarded and solved from the point of view of Europe as a whole. Germany has suffered in the past from a number of causes. Her geographical position being central in Europe, and having no natural boundaries has brought in foreign invaders like France, England and Russia who have always interfered in her internal political structure and civil warfare. Her lack of internal unity, being split up into a large number of feudal states and into religious divisions, made her weak against foreign aggression. Her interest and leadership in the Holy Roman Empire kept her entangled in non-German areas and politics for a long time and made her weak at home, giving rise to two new schools of German unity and empire, besides the old feudalist and sectarian schools. She, however, lacked a central idea or force which would unite her.

Political unity and economic security are an absolute necessity in an age of democracy and nationalism. It is to the credit of Prussia that these were given to her in the nineteenth century with the help of her strong administration and army, her advanced science and industry. She possessed great intelligence, ability and adventure. Her great men of science and technology lifted her to the top of the world of nations. Her strength was envied and feared by France and England. They were responsible for her break-up and ruin in 1919. The peace which was imposed on her involved annexations, dismemberment, humiliation, disarmament, reparations, and also spoliations of her colonies. France and England took a leading part in it, having created a bogey of German danger to world peace. The result of this Carthagenian peace was that there was a breakdown in international morality. It ushered in an era of fear, suspicion and frustration, and economic separation all over Europe. The power politics of the allies in the shape of division of spoils, reparations, partitions, indemnities remained, though a new organisation for international co-operation and peace was created. It was merely used as a cloak or camouflage to protect the national and imperial interests of big powers and to promote their ambitions. It therefore failed. Its sanctions failed. Its methods of collective security could not work because the members themselves betrayed its ideals and principles. Their methods, interests and spirit did not change. The Treaty settlements and the League of Nations aims could not be squared. The international League surrendered to national rivalries. It did not create any fundamental change in the nature and scope of old power politics. The principles of balance of power, partition, national rivalry and autarchy all remained. There was a scramble for territories and national boundaries in Europe and Asia, as Britain and France had grabbed almost all available colonies.

The nature of old politics was boundary-making in the interest of national sovereignty and security. It embodied the idea of imperial dominance in old quests and colonies and their economic exploitation partition. Internally it meant conflict of four parties Conservatives, Liberals, Religionists and Socialists their sects. The methods of old politics consisted the process of stabbing, stealing and strangling. example, externally France and England stabbed Germany, Germany stabbed Czechoslovakia and Pola Poland stabbed Lithuania and Russia, Russia stabbed Finland, Poland and Baltic states, Persia and Japa Japan stabbed China and America. They all wanted steal from and to strangle one another. Internally, example, the communists and communalists stabbed nationalists. Every one betrayed the other. This was actual nature of current political practice. It is usurping, encroaching and boring process. Russia wan ascendancy and dominance in the Eastern Europe all Asia in the name of strategic security only. Brita wants ascendency in Western Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, Middle Asia and South East Asia also in the name of security. France, Holland and Belgium want their empires for the same purpose. America wants to control the Pacific for the same purpose. Thus the actual treaties are creating new spheres and zones of influence and new regional interests which do not envisage a common organisation for world security.

The Potsdam settlement of 1945 is a Carthagenian peace. It is not a process of peace but of death to Germany. Her territory is partitioned and annexed. Her self-government and central government are destroyed. Her economic life and resources are ruined. Her scientific equipment, laboratories and machinery are taken away. Her scientists are kidnapped. She is militarily disarmed and occupied. Thus her territory is dismembered and her wealth and resources spoliated and she is now to be reduced primarily to an agricultural country. Thus the whole European economy is to be destroyed for the sake of revenge.

Will this military peace lead to civil peace ? Will international warfare end ? Will Germany survive ? Will this new strategic and economic imperialism create any world security ? Vienna settlement of 1815, Berlin settlement of 1878, and Versailles settlement of 1919 have not led to any durable peace but only created a new world disorder. The Holy Alliances, Grand Alliances, Continental Concerts, Communist Internationals and Leagues of Nations have all failed in this object. Now this new victory settlement and new Freedom Charter of 1945 do not seem likely to usher in a new world of peace and prosperity. The life of any peace settlement and its accompanying ideology is not more than roughly 20 years. As long as there is not one unitary dominant power and one determining ideology wars will come. There is always a time-lag and a value-lag between actual peace settlement and ideal peace settlement. Merely temporary balances and equilibriums will not cover the distance between its theory and practice. Under such a system and process of politics old Germany cannot be reformed. She may lie low. But she possesses enormous internal strength—physical, mental and spiritual. Her economic subordination cannot kill her spirit. Love of Germany and for Germans is held together there by something invisible as it were. Hers is not a merely clinging to the soil and race idea. It stands for a unique spirit, sentiment and welfare. Germans are still young and inventive, adventurous and scientific. This valuable possession of theirs

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cannot be easily destroyed. Unless there is established a new way of world organisation and world life, where freedom and equality, security and fraternity are properly balanced and assured to all, it is futile to expect a new Germany of liberal outlook to arise.

No doubt at present the most important political fact is that the global war has ended, and that the big four are dominant. There is primarily a shift in the balance of power from the Axis to the Allies. Only Germany, Japan and Italy are eliminated as great powers. France has become a second rate power and China appears to pose as a first rate power. Russia dominates Asia and Europe, America dominates the Pacific and the Atlantic, and Britain the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Thus there is a fundamental change in the strategic position and diplomatic relations of big powers. But the legacy of war as such is disastrous. The moral life and cultural unity of Europe is broken. There is a collapse of international law and a casualty of human morality. Small and weak states are either absorbed or terrified. There is mutual suspicion and distrust everywhere. There is greed and grab all round. Russia, Britain and America are taking a leading part in this process. In this way one cannot build a new world order. Conflict between old parties continues in all countries. There is racialism, religionism and nationalism rampant everywhere. There is no change in the mentality of Russia, Britain or even America. The principles of their new peace are more exacting than before. There is the principle of unconditional surrender and atomic bombing, of zonal occupations and military dictatorships, of permanent disruption and subjugation of Germany, of the old type of alliances for strategic security and economic exploitation. In this connection the terms dictated to Germany and Japan are to be studied. What will happen to their future economic life and social welfare? Today the problem of world peace, security and welfare is integral. It is indivisible. By disarming and dismembering merely the Axis powers it cannot be solved. All others are armed and arming and encroaching. Weak countries like Poland and France who were defeated easily are allowed to play their own political game against Germany as if they are great powers. The United Nations Charter is purely a sop to the national and regional sentiments of small powers at others' cost. So long as the three big powers retain for themselves irresistible military and economic power, the institutions and settlements they create for the government of mankind will be a disguise for their own dictatorships. If the old diplomacy remains and separate alliances and enmities are nurtured, then there is a great danger to the life of peaceful peoples and small nations of the world. The era of atomic power will promote human destruction and not construction, if the world does not co-operate and unite for its own peace and welfare. We want really a world state and a common world citizenship. Without it peace-planning and welfare-planning are impossible.

There are four ways of life contending for their acceptance in every country in the modern world: (1) old religionism, (2) old conservatism, (3) new liberalism and (4) new socialism. Christianity and Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism still think that they can solve all modern problems with their moral values and old apparatus. Similarly the conservatives, liberals and socialists are keen on their own ways of life and solutions they offer. Our problem is, will the pre-war system and morality which are tribal or national serve the purposes of a world state and a united humanity? The fall of Hitler and Churchill shows that they cannot. Let us see who gives us the new lead and system. The world has become too small to be split up and zoned into small groups. Our scientific development, economic needs and social contacts cannot depend on this process. The present world politics seems to split the world into more or less two main groups on a neighbourly basis, Russia and China on one side and England and America on the other. The Communist Russia seems to join the nationalist China. The socialist Britain will keep on the side of the nationalist America. Free India is likely to join the Asian group, so also other eastern countries. Africa being controlled and colonised by European nations will join the American group. Europe is already divided into zones of Russian influence in the East, and American influence in the west. Thus we shall now have two real world camps or regional associations on vast continental scales and one world security Council completely under the control of these two camps and four big powers. Whether they will co-operate or quarrel with one another is not easy or possibe to forecast now. But the future is not likely to be all rosy in view of internal ideological and economic conflicts amongst associating nations, though the fall of Hitler and Churchill has strengthened the socialist influence and trend all over Europe. But this trend is that of a socialised nation. It is the era of national socialism in a new totalitarian sense. The nation covers and controls all the political, economic and cultural activities of the people. It is socialism in one land, with its strategic and economic conceptions of security and alliance. The Laissez-faire state is gone. The Social service state is supposed to be coming. But this state means the socialisation of the nation where socialism becomes nationalised. Here the spirit of liberalism disappears from all states in their mutual dealings. It has both a nationalist and socialist face. Its planned economy is meant to achieve social purpose for and within the nation. Its conception of self-determination and secession is its national aspect. Its economic and social planning is its social aspect. Its monopoly and protection of foreign trade and internal commercial and industrial policy and subsidy, its control of immigration and emigration are all national aims. Its control of scientists, and of science and its application, of literature, art and culture under the name of Soviet science and culture or Anglo-Saxon science and culture are of the same pattern.

National Socialism does not make any difference between the soldier and the civilian. All are soldiers and civilians and workers. It considers individual merely as unit or functionary in the organised forces of the socialised nation and for its organised purposes. There is no question of any recognition of international law between nations. At present there is a catastrophic deterioration in its rule and observance. There is a great change in international spirit of the old liberal period. It has extended from the methods of its present inhuman warfare to its purposes also. It has become clear that the terms of peace, whichever side emerges victorious, would constitute an attack on the standard of living of the defeated nation. The kind of policy reserved for colonial wars against backward peoples is for the first time being turned by European powers against one another. War among socialised nations has inevitably become an instrument for securing economic advantage for the victor and inflicting enormous dis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abilities on the defeated. Modern wars are being fought to a point and the defeated have no rights.

Modern national governments cannot and will not observe international treaties or rule of international law when they become burdensome to the security or welfare of their own nation. Study, for example, German and Russian policy, before, during and after the war. The expulsion of population from their homelands, the destruction of their economic resources and industries, despoiling them of scientific inventions and equipment, interference in their educational and cultural life, all characteristics of the new era of national socialism which is being born in the world among great socialist nations who have succeeded in this war. The great sage Vyas observes about the results of the great war, जयस्तस्मात्पराजयः — Success involves therefore defeat.

———:O:———

THE PRE-HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF KERALA

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.

Archaeology in Kerala remained till recently a virgin field for research. The paucity of research in Kerala was due to the absence of trained workers with a diversity of knowledge. According to one scholar, it is the science of antiquities previous to the earliest human documents.[1] This view is not generally accepted, as it takes stock of only countries which possessed documentary evidence for centuries and leaves out of account those primitive peoples, who up to our own times, have lived outside history. It should, therefore, include all peoples and all those questions of man's existence of which written documents by the peoples concerned are wanting. In the words of J. de Morgan, it applies to the most remote as to contemporary times, for it is impossible to dissociate ethnography, that is, the study of modern homogeneous groups from that of peoples of whom classical writers speak or from the study of men known to us by the traces they have left, men whose name is lost to posterity. In short, it will be more precise to state that the study of archaeological pre-history deals with peoples who have not bequeathed their annals. Here ethnography merges with pre-historic archaeology since it begins with history. Sir Leonard Woolly, the distinguished archaeologist, stressed on the want of sufficient contact between archaeologists and anthropologists, and suggested an interesting possibility of unravelling the problem of the past by significant survivals among existing peoples. He thinks that more light may be thrown on the problem of ancient burial customs in South India by the survivals among backward tribes than by direct archaeological evidence.

It may not be out of place to point out that the pre-historic branch of ethnographic studies began as a French science. The archaeology of the pre-historic remained a mere sub-division of ethnography until it was perceived with the aid of geology that traces of man in the alluvium, in caverns and in soils contribute materials of great importance to the study of origins. Thanks to the researches of M. Boule, Tournal, and Abbe Breuil, evidences multiplied, though the thinking world was at first incredulous. It shall be my endeavour to sift from the scrap-heap of information about the pre-historic antiquities of Kerala, and arrange them in their proper perspective with the aid of ethnology on the basis of European methods. My endeavour shall be to retell the history of human progress of the earliest man in Kerala in the light of developments in Europe. Fergusson treated a part of the subject in his *Rude Monuments of all Countries*, while Logan made a survey of the *Old Chipped Stones of India*. As head of the Geological Survey of India, Bruce Foote was the first to make a notable contribution by the publication of his *Pre-Historic Antiquities*. Thus the science that was born in France has spread in every continent.

The pre-historic archaeology of Kerala is in the making. The traditional ancient history of Kerala is enshrined in the *Kerala Mahatyam* and the *Keralopathi*. They recount that the axe-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (Parasurama) was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmans. This was accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Viswamitra's suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water in possession. The Brahmans turned him out of the land he thus gave away, but with Subramania's assistance he obtained by penance from the God of the sea, Varuna, the grant of some land, to dwell on. The throw of his axe was to determine the extent. He threw it from *Kanya Kumari* (Cape Comorin) to *Gokarnam*. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won and called it Parasurama's land, and Siva condescended to be worshipped at *Gokarnam*, the metropolis of the Province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people the land, Parasurama is said to have brought first of all a poor Brahman from the banks of the Krishna river. This man had eight sons, and the eldest was made the head of all the Brahmans of Kerala and located, so they say, at a place near *Gokarnam* and others say at *Trisivaperur* (Trichur) in the Cochin State. Other Brahmans were next brought and located in sixty-four *gramams* or villages. Ships with seeds and animals also came, also eighteen *Samantas* (sons of Brahmans and Kshatriya women) also *Vaishyas* (Chettis) and *Sudras* and the low castes.[2]

The extermination of the Kshatriyas referred to in the above legend may be considered as pointing to the struggle between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas in which the mythical hero is supposed to have played a part. He is supposed to have been the leader of a band of Brahman colonists, who pressed from behind, had to seek for fresh lands and pastures new. This is said to have taken place between 1400 and 1000 B.C. There can be scarcely any doubt that Kerala was known to the Aryans at a very early period at least in the first half of the fourth century B.C.[3] In the absence of direct

1 Jaques De Morgan, *Pre-historic Man*, p. 22.

2 Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, p. 221.

3 L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *Lectures on Ethnography*, p. 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

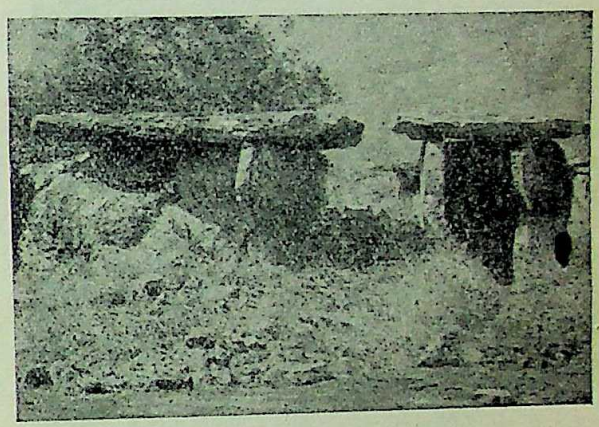
evidence bearing on the question of the first settlers of Kerala, we have to rely on evidence derived from materials scattered all over Kerala in the forests in the shape of dolmens, cairns, and stone cellars.

Distribution of Pre-Historic Monuments

The distribution of pre-historic monuments follows the zones of the primitive tribes in India. They are found in Assam, Chota Nagpur, South India, and the North-West Frontier regions. They exist over the whole country drained by the Godavari, more commonly in the valleys of the Krishna, and on both sides of the ghats through Coimbatore as far as Cape Comorin. "Pre-historic dolmens or burial cairns, in which are found bones, stones and other implements, pottery and beads, are to be met with here and there, especially in the upland tracts of the country, and the people who found their sepulchre in these cairns must have been among the first settlers of Kerala. Subjugated and harassed by the succeeding waves of immigrants or invaders, the race seems to have become extinct many centuries ago, and left no trace behind them except their own sepulchres."[4] The men of the Bronze Age used to bury their dead either in an unburnt condition or after cremation, and raised burial mounds over them. The ashes of the cremated bodies, together with tools, weapons and utensils were often placed in or beneath urns. In Travancore they are found in the Anjanad valley and the Cardamom Hills. The dolmens are found on both banks of the Pambanar in the Anjanad valley and command a wide view of the surrounding country so as to be eminently suitable for defence. On the highlands they are larger in size than in the lowlands, where they exhibit a progressive deterioration in size. The great concentration of dolmens is in Bellary where there are as many as 2127 dolmens. Such concentration of dolmens is found in the Anjanad valley in Travancore. The custom of burying the ashes and bones in pots prevails among some castes, and Logan thinks it to be the latest development of the art which dictated the construction of the megalithic monuments.

Purpose of the Megalithic Monuments

Respect for the dead seems to have been a prominent characteristic of man in the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods. It implied a belief in after life. The most interesting aspect of Neolithic life lay in the rituals of the dead which consisted in the raising of works of rough stone over the dead who were buried in urns. The idea was that the spirit of the dead should be given a location as in life and that the chamber of the dead should be the proto-type of the home. They apprehended that "unless the departed spirit had a home and other things as in life, it would hover restless and troublesome around its old abode doing thereby harm to the living."[5] To accommodate the spirit they constructed various megalithic monuments which were rude structures built of large pieces of stone. We get an imperfect glimpse of the remote past from Ward and Conner who stated "that there is no monument deserving particular notice."[6] "The *pandukuzhies* or barrows, those remains of primeval customs so common throughout the Peninsula, are also found here though they are not numerous. In one opened by me at Chokkanad there was found a large earthen jar containing a few rice husks." Menhirs have been observed in parts of North Travancore and Cochin. When the Varkala tunnel was bored, old pots, human skeletons were found. These remains indicate that the tracts were inhabited by the same race of men that constructed the *pandukuzhies* of the adjoining British tracts. The absence of any implements associated with such burial places probably indicate their antiquity.[7] Coming to modern times, the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer made a notable contribution on the subject to the *South Indian Encyclopaedia* and Mr. K. K. Sen Gupta, a distinguished Geologist in Cochin (1910-1913) published the results of his valuable research on the megalithic monuments of the State in the *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute.* The



A view of two typical dolmens

present writer published the results of his researches in Travancore in the State Census Report for 1931 and in the third volume of *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, while Mr. Vasudeva Poduval made a notable contribution by his excavations in the High Ranges. Dr. Ayyappan published an interesting account of his excavations in North Malabar in *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.

The study of primitive people living in our own day and thus coming within the range of modern prehistory is extremely useful in helping us to an understanding of the customs of the earliest inhabitants of our land. Like the Veddas of Ceylon, the Hill-Pandarams of Travancore afford us a ready example. Their customs bespeak a people devoting little thought in their subsistence, which nature provided in abundance. Their dwellings are of the simplest character, being rock-shelters or break-winds resting on a junglewood post or small huts made of junglewood posts and wild plaintain leaves. Weapons they have none but the digging spud. They live by hunting or on tubers which they find in the jungle. The dead are buried where they die. They illustrate the gradual disappearance of a people without leaving any archaeological trace.

Palaeolithic Man

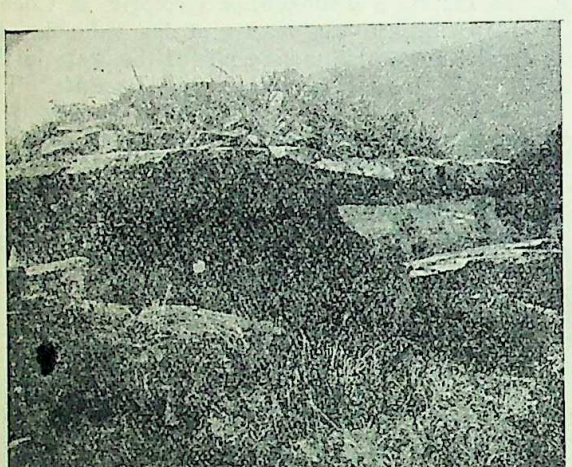
The occurrence of rock played an important part in the selection of sites for habitation by palaeolithic man. We find thicker settlements in South India than in North India. It is in the river districts of South India that palaeolithic man is traced most often

4 C. Achutha Menon, *State Manual* (Cochin), p. 30.
5 V. Rangachari, *The Prehistoric India*, p. 111.
6 Ward & Conner, *Memoirs of Tr. Survey*, p. 19.
7 V. Nagamiah, *State Manual* (Travancore).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Dyaksh Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exhibiting various stages of culture. The Billa Surgam caves of Karnul offer us a sure proof of very early palaeolithic cave-dwellers in South India. It appears to have been resorted to from very early times to neolithic times by a race who were mighty hunters like the Hill-Pandarams of Travancore. We have so far no evidence of palaeolithic man or his industry in Kerala, as quartzite is not to be found in abundance. Further palaeolithic man appears to have scrupulously avoided forest regions to clear and explore which was difficult with his crude primitive weapons. Thus while in the Deccan plateau and the East coast, Palaeolithic man lived, Kerala was without any human life.[8]



A view of a dolmen with rubble stone packing on the cover slab

The palaeolithic passed into the neolithic in South India, which became the emanating centre of the later neolithic culture over other parts of India. Throughout the world we see a number of innovations emanating with neolithic industry. This phase of development of human intelligence opened up the real high road to progress. Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar teem with monuments to illustrate this phase of culture.

II

Neolithic Monuments in Travancore

The New Stone Age is marked by the steady development of social and religious ideas, the steady improvement of tools, weapons, and utensils, the extended conquest of material, and the laying down of all the essential bases on which the society of the present would be resting. Men were bent on improving their hammers and axes, on raising the standard of comfort, and on evolving an impressive and worthy form of burial for their leaders. They became very practical and very religious.

The dolmens are rude structures consisting of large unhewn stone resting on two or more others placed erect. They are found scattered on the long chain of wooded hills in Travancore. They are generally considered to be "stones of the monkeys of India," but most of the primitive people of Travancore have no knowledge of them, nor do they evince any interest in them. The people of Anjanad call them *Valividus* or abodes of monkeys. Of their antiquity, Professors Macdonell and Keith point out references in the Rig-Veda, while the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao refers to passages in *Tolkapium* and *Purananuru*. The Uralis call them *Pandukuzhies*, pits made by the Pandus or Pandavas to whom ancient mysterious monuments all over India are generally ascribed. They are looked upon by the credulous as sacred and dangerous. It is said that peasants in France will not take shelter under them or go near them at night, but the Vellalas and Mala pulayas of Anjanad have no such fear. They sit under them when they graze their cattle. Drs. Borlase and Stukeley in England think that dolmens were connected with the activities of a shady priesthood. It is averred by Walhouse that the people who built them were a race of dwarfs about a span or cubit high, but the results of excavation unfold a different tale. The bones found are neither of dwarfs nor of giants, but men of ordinary stature and the stone-slabs used for monuments indicate that they were cut from solid rock and carried some distance, and the people were physically equal to the present race of men.

The Uralis of Travancore believe that dolmens are places where treasure is hidden. But no such treasure has been found in any of them. Dolmens are burial chambers in which people of late Neolithic times buried their people of importance. In Travancore they are invariably found on the crests of hills in the Rani reserve, and they are built of unhewn blocks of stone. In the erection of dolmens, certain architectural methods and principles are observed. By the use of the orthostatic rock, the maximum of wall area was provided with the minimum of thickness. With the upright wall technique went hand in hand the roofing of narrow spaces by means of horizontal slabs laid across on the top of the uprights. The second feature of megalithic monuments was the use of more or less coursed masonry set without mortar, each block lying on its side, and not its edge. A series of uprights is first put in position, and over these are laid several courses of rather smaller stones.[9] A variant of the latter is found in the Anjanad valley.

Types of Dolmens

According to Colonel Meadows Taylor, the dolmens are of two kinds, those consisting of four stones, three supporting stones and one capstone, leaving one side open, and those in which the chamber is closed by a fourth stone ; in the latter case, the fourth stone has a circular opening in it. Both these types of dolmens are found in Travancore. The dolmen at Kadukuthi in the Rani Reserve is rectangular and the position above ground is 8 feet by 2¼ feet in dimensions. It has only one gallery. Lengthwise, it has one single upright on one side and two others on the opposite side. Sideways there is one on each side. The floor is paved with a single stone slab. The capstone is 7 feet × 7½ feet and is rudely triangular. The dolmen is situated on the crest of a hill. It appears to have been a dolmen of the earliest times as it is built of unhewn blocks of stone. The presence of stones lying scattered around the dolmen shows that it might have been covered with them. Excavation yielded no results.

Rev. Mateer found another group of dolmens on the hills inhabited by the Malayarayans. They stand north to south with a circular opening facing the south. A rude stone is fitted to this aperture with another

8 *A Guide to the Study of the Antiquities of the Stone Age*, pp. 113-114.

9 Fergusson, *Rough Stone Monuments*, p. 465.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

acting as a lever to prevent its falling out. The stones like stones at the top and bottom are single slab.[10] To this day, the Arayans make similar little cells of stone, the whole forming a box, a few inches square.

Dolmens are also found at Perunthalpara on both sides of the Thalayar or Pambanar river, a small tributary of the Amaravati which flows into the Cauvery. Here on a flat level rocky tableland are seen a large number of dolmens in groups of three, four, or five. Around each group is a circular packing of roughly hewn stones or boulders. These groups of dolmens are found distributed in a circle. The disposition of the majority of the dolmens is east to west. A few are also in the north to south direction. The upright stones are rectangular in shape and are about 10 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 7 feet high. The cover slab is 17 ft. × 7 ft. 8 inches. The floor is paved with a flatstone slab 9 ft. × 4 ft. 6 inches. The inner chamber is 9 ft. × 4 ft. Over some of the cover slabs are found remnants of rubble stone packing. There is a semi-circular entrance to the dolmen on one side. Most of these dolmens have four uprights, but one dolmen in some group has only three uprights and one capstone, thus leaving one side open. At Vadattupara in the Malayattur Reserve there is a dolmen consisting of four uprights, but it is smaller and cruder in shape than those found in the Anjanad valley.

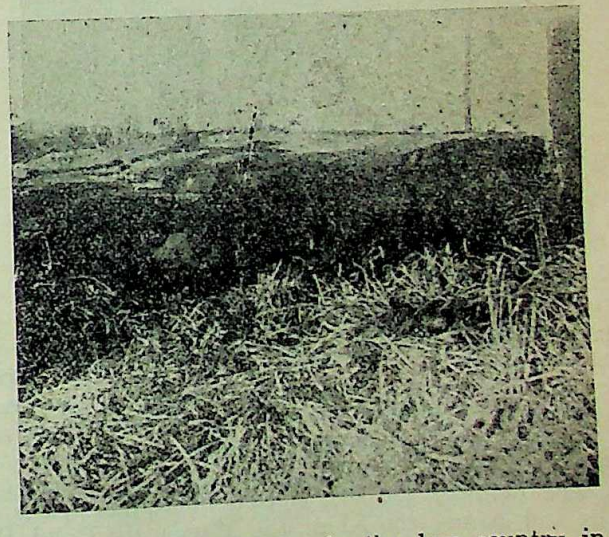
The State Archaeologist Mr. Vasudeva Poduval has conducted extensive excavations at Tengakkal near Vandiperiyar on the High Ranges. In cist 1, the measurements of the capstone were on an average 9 ft. 6 inches length, 6 ft. 10 inches breadth, 1 foot thickness, and the area excavated was 10 ft. × 8 ft. to a depth of 4½ ft. Two burial urns were unearthed one of which was 5 ft. 3 inches in circumference at the mouth, 7 ft. 1 inch in the middle and 2 ft. 10 inches in height. The smaller urn had a circumference of 3 ft. 8 inches at the mouth, 5 ft. 6 inches at the middle and 2 ft. 6 inches in height. They were found side by side with an intervening space of 1 foot 4 inches. The thickness of the bigger urn is eleven-sixteenth inch, while that of the small one ½ inch. The bigger urn has all round it a ring chain with parallel symmetrical ends. There were two more cists in a stone circle whose circumference was 85 feet. Trial diggings were also made at Velimalai in South Travancore, where they brought to light twenty sepulchral urns. Two of them were unearthed from one of which two iron axes were discovered. The pottery of the burial urns at Vandiperiyar and Velimalai is not painted and has very little decoration. The larger urns have a chain pattern or bead pattern drawing on the exterior close to the mouth. The smaller pots found inside are of the thin slip variety. Two of the smaller pots inside were wide mouthed with deep narrow bodies and round bases. The relics unearthed at Velimalai may be ascribed to the early Iron Age, and those exhumed at Vandiperiyar to the Neolithic period. Being half-baked earthenware, they had become very fragile on account of being buried in damp earth and had all got so broken or cracked that they could not be removed.[11]

Further excavations and observations were made by Mr. Poduval in the Bison valley. He discovered a group of four dolmens situated within two furlongs of the zig at the ninth mile sixth furlong stone of the main Devikulom-Periakanal road. These dolmens are parallel to each other and face southwards the Muttukad valley. Only the third from the west is in a state of good preservation. A cist is also found adjoining these dolmens and has been considerably damaged. The measurements of the dolmen in good condition are as follows :

	Length ft.	*Breadth* ft.	*Height* ft.	*Thickness* ft.
Capstone	10	6¾		¾
Side stoneright	7 1/3		5 1/12	½
Backstone	5¾		5	½
Inside width	4¼			

The discovery of more dolmens was made on the Venad side of the Bison valley on the Muttukad ridge. Of these, the first is a group of four dolmens, three in front facing south, and the fourth in the back facing east. The measurements of one of them are given below:

	Length ft.	*Breadth* ft.	*Height* ft.	*Thickness* ft.
Capstone	8 5/12	5		2/3
Side stones	7 5/12	3½		5/12
Back stone	3 7/12	4¾		½
Inside width	2½			



A dolmen of small size in the low country in Malayatur Reserve

The other dolmens are more or less of the same dimensions. The front of this dolmen is covered by a standing stone 4 ft. × 3 ft. × 4 inches thick. A dismantled rubble masonry surrounds this group and the inside is paved with stone slabs.[12]

At Thondimalai, Mr. Saunders excavated six of the graves found on hill-tops. They were situated in a straight row, the graves being placed close to one another. After removing the broken stones that marked the spot was found a flat circular stone that gave a hollow sound to a light tapping with a crow bar. Underneath it was found a large urn, the mouth of which was 15 inches in diameter and the vertical height about 3½ ft. placed in a vertical position in the ground firmly embedded in clay and gravel. Inside each of the large urns were found six or seven small urns, eating and drinking vessels, vases, chattis of various sizes and

10 S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, pp. 8-10.

11 *Travancore Archaeological Administration Report* (1112), pp. 8-10.

12 *Ibid* (1115 M.E.), pp. 8-10.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shapes, some of red clay, others black polished both inside and outside, of very thin material and very brittle to handle. They were firmly embedded in fine red clay that seemed to have silted in and partly filled up the large urn, and the small vessels were filled with the same clay very tightly packed, and were wedged in upon one another in such positions as to make it very difficult to remove them unbroken. Bones were found embedded in the vessels in one urn, and bones crumbled and mixed with clay in others. The Doctor was able to identify one of the bones as the hip bone of a man. On the top of one urn was found the blade of a sword, almost completely rusted through, about 2½ ft. long with no sign of a handle. Inside the urn were found two iron spearheads and what appears to be an iron chisel. The urn itself and the vessels found inside conform to the various types of what is called "Iron Age Pottery" in the *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, in the Government Museum, Madras; some of which were taken from Tandigudi in the Palni Hills and other parts of the Madura district, but most of which are from the Nilgiris, the Coimbatore, Malabar and Tinnevelley districts.[13]



A view of Pambanar on both banks of which the dolmens are found

The dolmens are still erected by certain tribes of India and Burma, the Khasi, the Munda, the Gond, the Oraon, the Bhil of Central India, the Kurumba of the Nilgiris, and the Malayarayan of Travancore. In no case are the dolmens of the size characteristic of the prehistoric phaze of civilization. The earliest known examples are the largest. The dolmens in the Anjanad valley and the Cardamom Hills bear out this point. Those found on lower elevations in the Rani and Malayatur Reserves are smaller in size. The loss of culture in the case of the tribes who built megaliths is observed from the fact that the present-day tribes do not usually display any tendency to construct dolmens in Travancore.

Dr. Rivers has brought out this feature very prominently among the Todas of the Nilgiris, where dolmens are largely found. They furnish us with an example of a tribe at a low level of material culture living in a district filled with remains of a fairly high civilization. Sarat Chandra Roy has observed the same fact in Chota Nagpur and Cooper in Assam. In Travancore, the Muthuvans and the Vellalas who live in the dolmen area in Anjanad, evince no interest in them. In the case of the Malayarayans who erect miniature dolmens, a loss of culture can be detected in that they do not manipulate large stones as their predecessors did. Travancore furnishes an example of the Anjanad valley to illustrate the loss of the material side of culture and shows that regions now inhabited by them were once the scenes of a thriving civilization.[14]

Menhir

Menhirs are found in parts of North Travancore on the Cardamom Hills. They were very few in number. Bruce Foote found some menhirs of moderate size in the Madura district, though without any markings. There is a miniature menhir, 3 ft. high at Marayur called Vathamkolli.

The State Archaeologist Mr. Poduval found four menhirs and a group of dolmens in the grassland by the side of the zig on the 9th mile 6th furlong stone of the main Devikulom-Periakanal road in a damaged condition. Trial diggings were made at two different spots on this site. The first was beneath a menhir 2 ft. 7 inches in height from the surface, 3 ft. 5 inches in width and 3 inches in thickness. The area dug was 10 ft. × 8 ft. or eighty square feet. After digging 4½ ft. below the surface, a burial urn was found. It was covered by a stone slab 1 ft. 11 inches square and 4 inches thickness which served as its lid. The measurements of the urn were :

Height : 3 feet.
Diameter of rim : 1 foot 4½ inches.
Thickness : 5 inches.
Inner diameter : 2 feet 4 inches.

Inside it was found one chatty, three broken pots and one iron axe 5½ inches long 3¾ inches wide at the sharper end, 1¾ inches at the other end and ¼ inch in thickness. The objects measured were :

i) One chatty, rid with round bottom and in good condition with height 4½ inches, thickness 5/15 inches, and diameter 10¼ inches.

ii) One small pot (broken) blade, glazed, and with pointed bottom with height 3 inches, thickness ⅛ inches and diameter 4⅜ inches.

iii) One large pot (broken) with pointed bottom, glazed and black with height 5¾ inches, thickness ⅛ inch, diameter 5 1/6 inches.

iv) One small glazed (broken) pot, top black and bottom red, with height 5 inches, thickness ¼ inch and diameter 4¾ inches.

Excavations at other menhirs revealed more or less the same result.

The urns are found on examination to be coarse earthernware imperfectly baked and ornamented by a circular chain pattern or leaf pattern drawing on the rim. Their contents mostly consist of earthenware domestic vessels, such as pots, pitchers, pot-stands, bowls, and flat bottomed chattis with red and black surface. The discovery of iron axe on the site of one menhir indicates that the monuments belong to the Iron Age.[15] No modern cenotaph has the simple grandeur of a menhir. They are probably memorial stones.

13 A. J. Saunders, *Dolmens in the Palni Hills* (Madras Mail Annual 1928).

14 *Tr. Archaeo. Report* (1931) and *The Travancore Tribes and Castes.*

15 *Tr. Archae. Report*, pp. 14-17.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

III

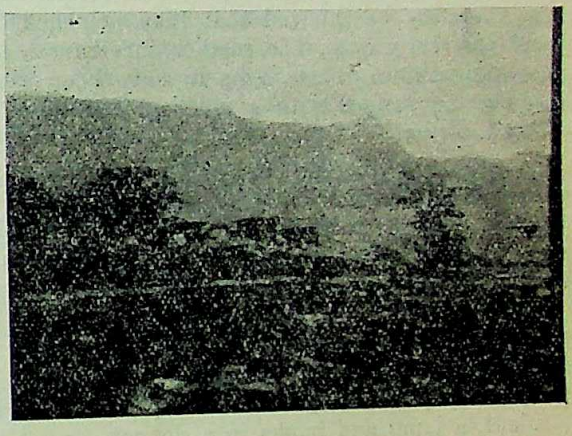
Pre-Historic Archaeology of Cochin State

Archaeologists owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer and the State Geologist Mr. Sen Gupta for their contributions in the field of pre-historic archaeology of the Cochin State.

One class of sepulchral monuments found in the Cochin State is Kodakallus or umbrella stones,* which are really dolmens. In Eyyall, a village 17 miles from Trichur about thirty-five dolmens were found. Only three of them were found intact, while the capstones of the rest have been pulled down. Two of the former are very similar in size, while the third is a little smaller than the other two. The capstones rest on four slightly inclined strong laterite supports measuring four feet in height above the ground and 11½ ft. in diameter at the base and have a circumfertnce of 36 ft. The verticals are rudely triangular laterite stones with the base underground. They are 9 ft. in height from the apex to the middle of the base which is 5 ft. long, while the other measures 7 ft. and 4 ft. 6 inches above ground respectively. Excavations unfolded vessels of the most fragile state and a few bits of bones not easily distinguishable were obtained. "Numerous Kutakallus and Topi-kallus are found in a village adjoining the Vellarakel busti, half a mile north-east to the ninth-mile stone on the road from Wadakkancheri to Kunnamkulam, some of them being in a very good state of preservation. The place is a regular Stone-henge, but on a miniature scale consisting of hat-stones and umbrella-stones in place of dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs . . . Flat stones with both plano-convex and flat circular cap-stones are found near Puthia Angadi and Manjeri (Ernad Taluq, Malabar District respectively)."[16]

Numerous are the dolmens found on the Cochin hills. They are generally of a rectangular pattern formed of single slabs of granite, verticals on the sides and flagged at the bottom by similar slabs with a large superincumbent block which is rough and unhewn. The one opened by Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer had two cells partitioned by a single slab of granite 6 inches thick with a circular ring about 12 inches in diameter. The two slabs extending east to west were 7 feet long and 4 feet broad and were very thick and massive. The interior dimensions were 6 ft. 3 ins. × 3 ft. 7 ins. Excavation of one of the cells showed two big burial urns filled with earth. They could not be removed unbroken. The other cell yielded two jars filled with earth and other chattis in a broken condition. They are said to be wheel-made and free from decoration except a few lines of simple mouldings around the rim of the lid and the neck and base of the urn. No lid covering the mouth of any of them was found, but they were packed to the brim with fine red earth which is originally said to have been poured into them in the form of liquid mud which must have later become transferred into a small mass similar in shape to the urn. It is in this mass of earth that bone bits, vessels, and beads are found embedded. The smaller vessels may have contained offerings for the spirit of the dead and the circular hole in the middle slab must have been the passage through which the spirit was allowed to take the offerings. The iron implements placed in the grave represented the tools used by the men during their lifetime.

Mr. Sen Gupta found dolmens round about Mukkathode and on both sides of the tramway to Parambikulam. They are small cellars built up of three upright slabs of stones with a capstone measuring 2 × 1½ × 1 cubic yards, where it is said some *munis* (sages) passed their days in prayer and meditation. Trial excavations resulted in disappointment, as no human bones were found. In general, the entablature stones are observed with their plain faces downward or inward. The entrance to the dolmens is invariably directed to the west, there being no doors either with a circular, oval, or rectangular aperture as are observed in France or in other parts of the world. Most of them are simple and no evidence is observed as to their being covered with a cairn or tumulus.[17]



A view of dolmens in Anjanad

Mr. Gupta also found a dolmen 8¼ ft. × 8 ft. × 4 ft. on the ridge of Munniara Thandu, north of Anapanthan. The capstone is irregular and fractured at the north-east corner. The slabs consisted of banded gneiss. No stone floor is observed and in this characteristic it resembles most of the dolmens of the State. The dolmen at Koothandan Thande is the only one in the State that has all its sides enclosed by slabs but the western one has a parabolic opening very neatly chiselled measuring 1½ ft. high and 1½ ft. wide at the lowest part and this is closed by a slab 2½ ft. × 1½ ft. placed against it from outside. The inner apartments are 6 ft. long 3⅜ ft. wide and 2⅝ ft. high. The capstone, on the other hand, is 9 ft. long and 6¾ ft. broad. The stone floor is covered by 9 inches of soil which when removed increases the height of the parabolic opening to 2¼ feet.

Menhir

Although the dolmens are a characteristic feature of the hills and jungles, the menhirs are conspicuous by their rarity. The only instance is the solitary row of menhirs at Komolapara Thala. The largest menhir consists of an irregular and flat upright monolith 12¾ ft. high and 7⅛ ft. wide at the foot, tilted towards the west, the width at the top being much less at the foot. Three other small monoliths form a straight row with the principal menhir in its north tilted to the west and the

* The reader's attention is invited to the *South Indian Oriental Encyclopaedia* where Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer had dealt with Cochin Pre-historic Archaeology (L. A. K.).

16 K. K. Sen Gupta, *Megalithic Monuments of Cochin State* (J. I. A. I.), p. 106.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

south. In India the form of the menhirs varies greatly in widely separated localities.[18] Two menhirs were observed by Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer in the Trichur taluq.

Burial urns are big earthenware pots filled with earth and found buried at a depth of a few feet from the surface. They are found in the forests of the plains, villages and in the neighbourhood of towns. On excavation fourteen of them were found in an area of twenty square feet in one locality. They were brittle and fell to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth was removed. One of them measured 2½ ft. in height, 7 ft. in circumference at the broadest point and 16 inches in diameter at the mouth. Examination shows iron implements, knives, and small swords in a crumbling state and fragments of bones. Beads and bracelets which must have been worn by women were also found in some of the urns. Pottery of various forms, vases, basins, cups, small vessels of antique and graceful forms all filled with earth were seen in them. Some of the vessels were neither glazed nor ornamented. It must therefore be inferred that they belonged to a comparatively early date. The smaller ones have a kind of glossy appearance. This seems to have been caused by rubbing the surface with a mucilaginous gum of *Abutilum indicum*.[19]

The suggestion that the construction of the dolmens may be attributed to Jaina ascetics should be taken for what it is worth. Dr. N. Subramania Iyer of Travancore cites the case of a dolmen at Santhanpara believed to have been the abode of a hermit Santhan by name. Mr. Gupta says that the hermit must have used the pre-existing dolmen and turned it to his own use just as hermit crabs take shelter in shells of gastropods. Anantakrishna Iyer also speaks of a reported discovery of a trident, a lamp and hooka in a dolmen, and if the report is true, the reason for their occurrence could be found in the explanation suggested above. Jaques Boyer thinks that the numerous polished stone-hatches, pieces of crude pottery, granite millstones, and primitive tools found in the vicinity indicate that the cromlechs served some other purpose than mere encirclement of funeral mounds. They invariably have openings facing west, a fact of much significance and importance bearing on the mode of disposal of the dead. "The thick-lipped, small-bodied Kadars, Lords of the Hills," are considered by Sir W. W. Hunter as "the remnant of a higher race than the Pulayas and the Munduvaras of the Annamalais. These hills, now very thinly peopled, abound in the great stone monuments which the primitive tribes used for the dead."[20]

IV

Pre-Historic Monuments in Malabar

Rock-cut cave tombs* are found at Chemmapara and Parambantalli hills. Babington was the first to discover such tombs in 1819 and Rea in 1910, but their descriptions lacked details. Prof. Jouvehu-Dubreuil was the first to draw attention to the very great interest attached to these rock-cut tombs by assigning to them a Vedic origin. The surface indication for the underground tomb is a circular or square slab of stone covering the top opening. The tombs explored by Babington had symmetrically arranged stone-circles as in typical cairns, and urn burials *i.e.*, those at Adichanallur. At Feroke and Parambantalli there have been too much interference for the stone-circles to survive. The capstone stands out prominently and is quite unmistakable.

Popularly these rock-cut tombs and similar funerary monuments are considered to be places of *samadhi* of sages or sanyasis. A Malayali poet ascribed them to Buddhists. The places where Buddha sages attained *Nirvana* are still to be seen everywhere—the *Kutakallu*. They are rendered unmistakable by the rosary of beads, the lamps, arrows and earthenware that are found in them. The large pyriform urns are supposed to have been for in-urning aged people alive when they were reduced by sheer senility to a frog-like shape and hopped about. It is said that the eldest son would put the frog-like father in an urn with sufficient food to last him for a pretty long time and bury the urn with proper rituals. *Nannannadi* is the name for such a burial urn. In the opinion of Dr. Ayyappan, the Buddhist tradition is more reasonable.

Popular traditions are not at all helpful to us in getting an idea of the significance of the rock-cut tombs. So far as numbers go, they run to thousands in each taluq of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Dolmens and other purely megalithic structures are few and far between. Rock-cut tombs are more numerous than dolmens and were considered to be a variant of the megalith. Architecturally, Malabar is even to-day a backward area in South India ; in funerary architecture too the forbears of the modern Malayalee may have been easy-going and heterodox.

The simplest excavations in laterite for burial purposes in Malabar are square or circular pits to receive large pyriform urns. Then we have the slightly more complex Kutakkallu, a hollow large enough for an urn with a ledge cut over the hollow for placing minor funerary articles and a flight of two or three steps leading from the surface level to the urn. A seat for the dead is a feature of many of the dolmens in common with the Feroke tombs and similar stupa caves. Cremated remains have been found in many unmistakable dolmens, so that, in fact, there is little evidence to dissociate the rock-cut tombs of Feroke from the general South Indian megalithic culture complex. The presence of a tripod found in Feroke is not said to imply fire-worship. Prof. Dubreuil is of the opinion that the rock-cut tombs are Vedic remains surviving in the seclusion of Malabar, but Dr. Ayyappan differs from it. Taking the crudeness of the pottery and the absence of bronze into consideration, the Feroke tombs are considered to be slightly earlier in age than the Sulur graves which have been fixed at about 200 B.C.

The human remains found in megalithic monuments in India have been sometimes buried, but perhaps more frequently cremated. Occasionally a single sepulchre contains traces of burial as well as cremation. Instances of urn burial of the whole body are met with in Sind and Tinnevelly. Large jars narrow at the neck and pointed at the bottom were used and the body must have been reduced in bulk by dissection or pounding before it could be passed through the narrow neck. Similar jars are found in Babylonia where they are coated with bitumen, a black smear or false glaze pre-

18 *Ibid.*

19 L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *Cochin Archaeology* (S. I. Ency.)

20 K. K. Sen Gupta, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-111.

* The author is indebted to Dr. A. Ayyappan's paper on *Rock-Cut Cave-Tombs at Feroke, S. Malabar* read before the Indian Science Congress in 1933 for information relating to Malabar.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pared from the juice of *Abutilon indicum*. Burial is also supplemented by other precautions against the return of the ghost. According to Sir James Frazer, the practice of placing stones over the corpse may have a similar origin; graves are provided with mounds, tombstones or enclosures in order to keep the dead from walking or to prevent the ghosts from returning to their old haunts.[21]

The mode of disposal of the dead by burial is one of considerable antiquity. Professors Macdonell and Keith hold that the epithet "agnidagdhah" applies to the dead who were burnt in a funeral pyre; the other custom being burial "anagnidagdhah" not burnt with fire. They also refer to "paroptah", "casting out" and "uddhita", exposure of the dead. They add that burial was not rare in the Rig-Vedic period.[22] In the Vedic period, both customs appear in a modified form. A stone is set up between the dead and the living to separate them.[23] *Manimekhala, Tolkappiyam,* and *Poruladigaram* afford a valuable mine of information regarding the methods of disposal of the dead in pre-Brahmanic days. They are very old Tamil works said to have come into being about the 8th century A.D. Some scholars give them an earlier antiquity. The practice of erecting monuments in honour of the dead must have belonged to the non-Aryan tribes known as Mlechhas, Rakshasas, Dasyus and Nishadas who were the Pre-Dravidians. There are references to this custom in *Tolkappiyam* and *Purananuru*. "Oh potter, who makes earthenware, do please prepare the urn meant for the finding out of a fit stone to be set up in memory of the deceased hero." It is possible that the cremating people were the Aryans who are said to have entered India about 2000 B.C.

V

Age of the Megalithic Monuments

Antiquarians after careful researches have been able to divide megalithic monuments into three classes according to their contents:

i) The Tumuli of the Stone Age are considered to be the most ancient. They are often of great size and are distinguished by circles of stones and stone-chambers in which are found the remains of unburnt bodies with objects of stone and amber. The dolmen opened by Ward and Conner at Chokkanad contained no implements, and probably belonged to the Stone Age. This represents the lowest state of civilization before the introduction of metals.

ii) The Tumuli of the Bronze Age contains relics of burnt bodies, vessels, and implements, and ornaments of advanced civilization. Tumuli of this period are rare in Kerala, but it appears that Mr. Bourdillon once picked up a bronze lamp which probably belonged to one such tumulus.

iii) Tumuli of the Iron Age are the most recent and represent a comparatively advanced state of civilization. Iron implements, swords, spearheads, and highly polished vessels are found in them. Excavations made in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore go to show that all the tumuli are of the Iron Age.

The crucial point for consideration is the probable time of the Iron Age. This is a knotty problem, and it is only possible to fix the time approximately. Iron was known to Vedic Hindus from very early times. In the Rig-Veda, there are references to weapons of iron. In the opinion of A. C. Gupta, the age of the Rig-Veda has been set down to Miocene or at any rate the Pliocene or Pleistocene epoch.[24] Though the estimate is based on internal evidences, such remote antiquity has not attained the rank of scientific certainty. Prof. Macdonell's estimate may be taken as correct. The Iron Age in India may be approximately fixed as being prior to 2000 B.C.

Significance of Dolmens

Major Munn claims that the dolmen-builders of the Deccan were mining for gold, copper, iron, and diamonds. He points out that the two districts where the dolmens are thickest are Bellary and Dharwar, which are riddled with old workings of gold, copper, and iron. The Anjanad valley is the home of a large concentration of dolmens. The spade of the geologist can alone determine what the mineral contents of the soil are in Anjanad. The late Mr. Vincent Ball says that gold-washing, as practised in India is an example of human degradation. The Gonds of Central India are assiduous gold workers. They still erect miniature dolmens and thus show strong signs of continuity with people of the archaic civilization. The Kurumbas of the Nilgiris are the chief gold-washers of the Madras Presidency dating from 500 B.C. The Malayarayans of Travancore, according to Walhouse, make imitation kistavan of small slabs of stone in the Rani reserved forests, but gold washing is not in evidence. It may have become a forgotten art.

Megalithic monuments in different parts of the world present such a uniformity of structure that it is hardly compatible with the theory of their independent origin. Montelius focusses attention on the continuous influence of the east on the west from remote times. Fergusson thinks that the dolmen-builders were Dravidian in origin. Ruggeri strikes a different note and opines that they are Veddaic or Australoid in origin, and between the Mundas of the north and the Veddas of the South there intervene the Kurumbas, Irulas, the Muthuvans, and the Uralis, representing the Pre-Dravidians who once over the whole of India and later came under the influence of the Dravidians and the Aryans. According to Flinders Petrie, the date of the Pre-Dravidian culture is about 2500 B.C. This view is confirmed by Mr. Perry who holds that "all the world over, the dolmens present such similarities of structure that they must have been the work of a people, showing a common culture."[25] Beyond Indonesia which includes among other areas, Assam and Burma, megalithic monuments are in evidence in the region of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Todas of Nilgiris, and the hill-tribes of Travancore.

Conclusion

Palaeontological evidence also supports the theory of the common origin of megalithic monuments. No skeletal remains have been so far unearthed to bear any direct evidence of the Negrito race in Travancore. "Judged by the nature and contents of objects found, the megalithic remains of the Deccan and Southern India are post-Vedic and later than any similar remains

21 Westermark, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, p. 514.
22 J. A. Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, p. 90.
23 D. A. Mackenzie, *Indian Myths and Legends* (Introduction), pp. xxxii-xxxvii.
24 A. C. Gupta, *The Rig-Vedic India*, Vol. I.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the Central Indian Plateau, from where the culture would seem to have spread southwards."[26] Two fossil remains have been found in India, the Bayana cranium, and the Sailkot cranium. Dr. Keith is of opinion that they are of a Veddaic type which represents the Pre-Dravidian (Proto-Australoid) people. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa reveal that one of the skulls is Proto-Australoid. A correspondence in type is revealed by one of the South Indian skulls at Adichanallur which is called Proto-Australoid by Elliot Smith.[27] The physical characteristics observed in the skulls are found among the existing South Indian tribes and among the Veddas of Ceylon. "There is a remarkable similarity between these and the skeletons found in the tumuli of Great Britain, France, and Germany which exhibit features of a dolichocephalic people. The uniformity in the structure of the monuments is marked by a uniformity in the structure of the contained skeletons which belong to a dolichocephalic people."[28]

While pre-Dravidian is their time-honoured appellation, Dr. Eickstedt would call them Veddid and Guha, Nishadic. Dr. Hutton has labelled them Proto-Australoid after Sewell. Though the pre-Dravidian has for long stood the test of time, it is but fitting that the term Proto-Australoid should continue.

(*All rights reserved*)

26 J. H. Hutton, *Census Report* (India) 1931, Vol. I, Part III, pp. lxv-lxvii.

27 J. H. Hutton, *Op. Cit*, p. lxix.

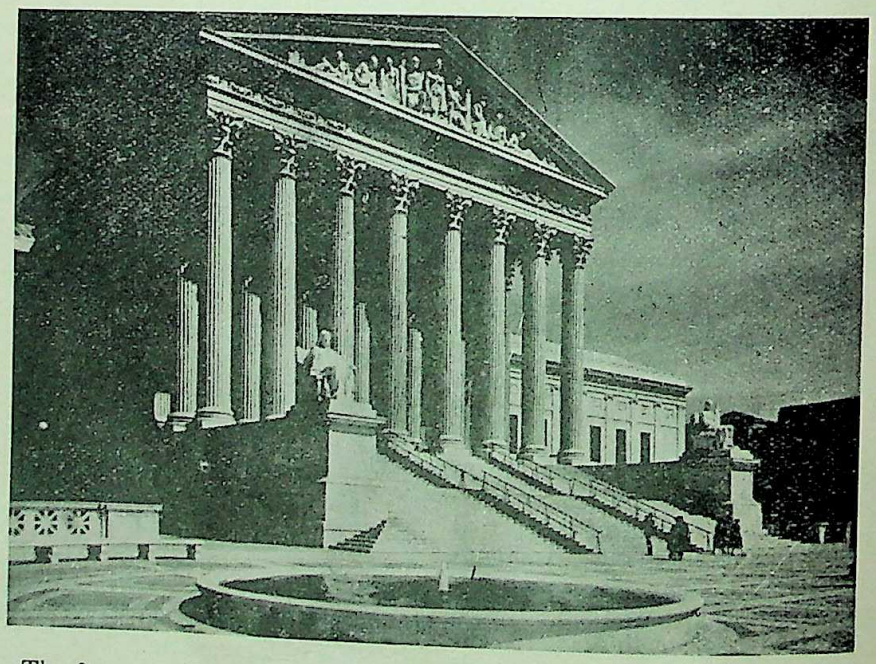
28 Newbingen, *Modern Geography*, pp. 203-204.

——:0:——

SHRINES OF THE UNITED STATES

LIKE all people, Americans love their native land. Whether America is a land of their birth or their country by adoption, they have a deep sense of pride in the surroundings and an abiding devotion to the way of life that are their heritage as citizens of the United States. As permanent symbols of their nation's zeal for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, Americans venerate shrines that are milestones in the life of the United States. Old and young make pilgrimages to the scenes of great events in the struggle for freedom, to monuments commemorating outstanding U. S. leaders, and to the halls of their government. All these shrines are symbols of the high aspirations embodied in the principles of American democracy.

Plymouth Rock marks the landing place of the first settlers of New England, the North Atlantic Coast states. The Washington Monument in the national capital recalls the strength of character and direction of the first U.S. President, George Washington, who led the war that won the country's freedom. The Supreme Court Building symbolizes the power and majesty of justice for the individual in the American pattern of government, a pattern which categorically rejects the dictator's creed that the individual is nothing, the state everything.



The Supreme Court Building, a marble temple in Washington, where the nation's highest tribunal meets

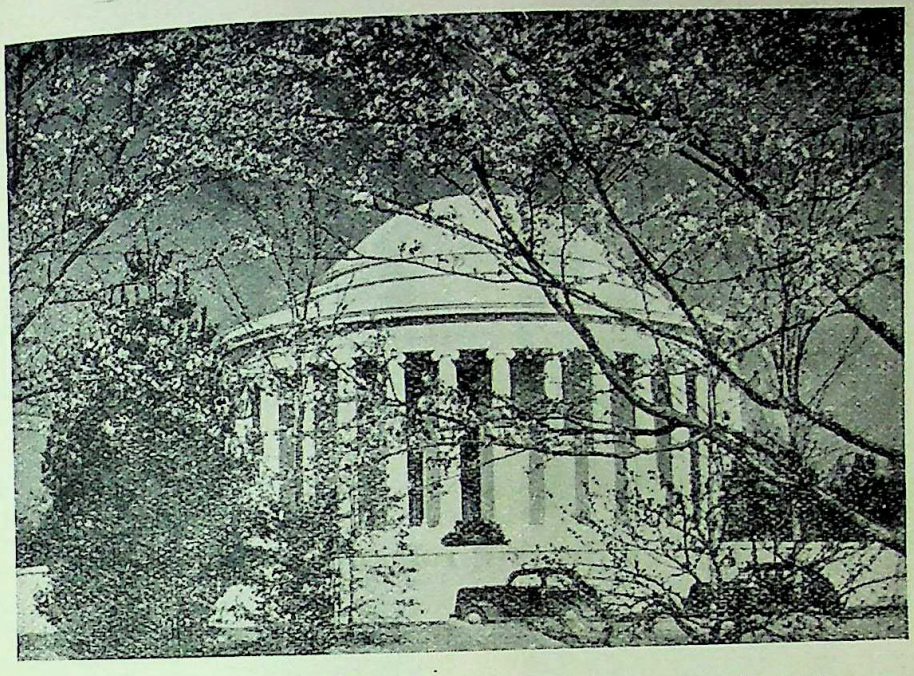
Such shrines, and others like the Statue of Liberty, which the people of France presented to the people of America, and the Liberty Bell, which pealed out the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

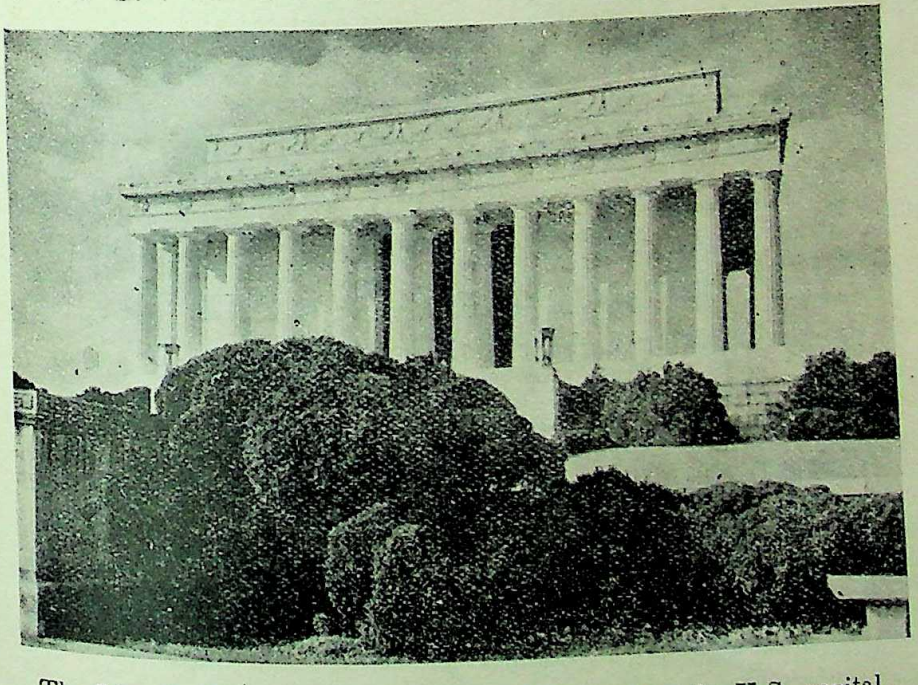
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

news of America's Declaration of Independence in 1776, have inspired generations of Americans who visit them in respectful, almost religious mood.

secuted millions from other lands. They draw from America's monuments a new appreciation of the sacrifice and perseverance by which past generations so



The Jefferson Memorial, a round, colonnaded, low-domed structure, designed after the Pantheon in Rome, stands at a point on the south side of the Potomac River Tidal Basin in Washington, in memory of Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States and the author of the Declaration of American Independence



The Lincoln Memorial in the heart of Washington, the U.S. capital, commemorates Abraham Lincoln, "The Great Emancipator," who was President of the United States from 1861 to 1865

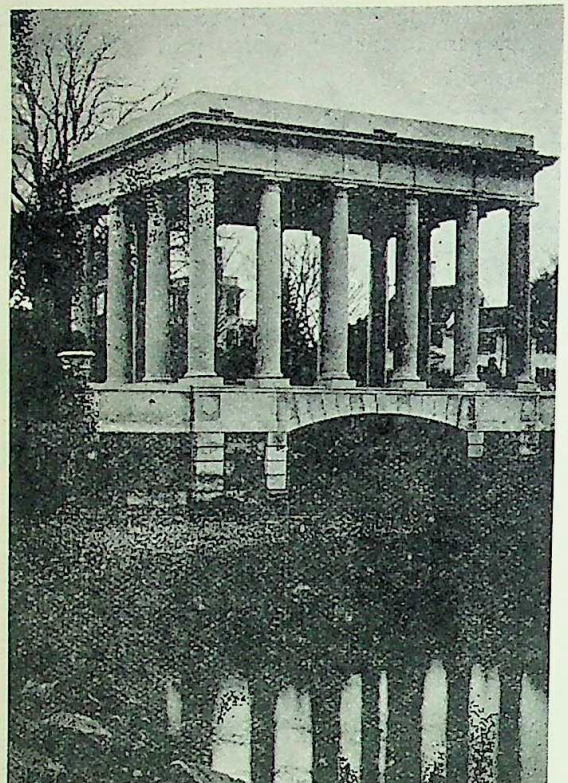
richly endowed the nation in which Americans live, and for which they were fighting.

Americans receive from their nation's shrines a new awareness of the dignity and the spiritual depth of the "land of the free", which has been a refuge for per-

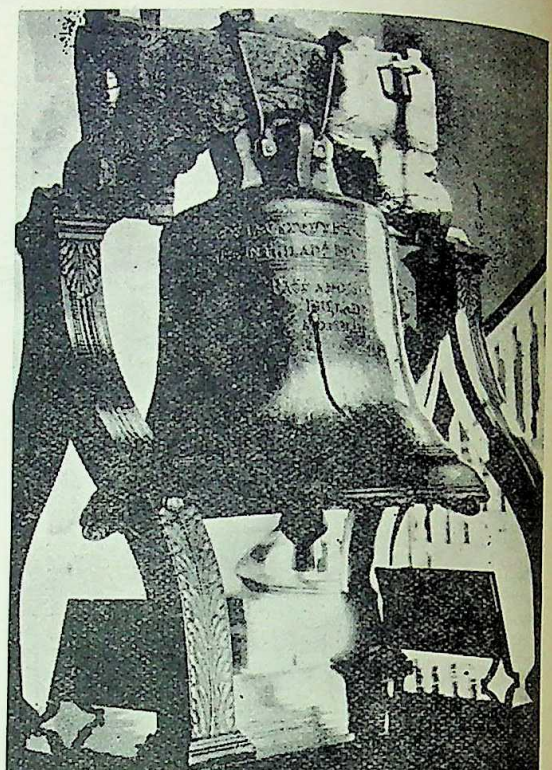
Courtesy : USIS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



In 1920, a protective portico was built over Plymouth Rock where the first settlers of the North Atlantic regions of the U.S. landed on December 21, 1620, after crossing the Atlantic from England in their sailing ship, the Mayflower



The loud pealing of the bell, now known as the Liberty Bell, proclaimed the birth of a new nation, the United States of America, in July, 1776, when representatives from 13 English colonies in America met in Philadelphia and signed the Declaration of Independence

—:o:—

BURJORE TREASURYWALLA

Collector and Connoisseur of Indian Art

By KAUNDINYA

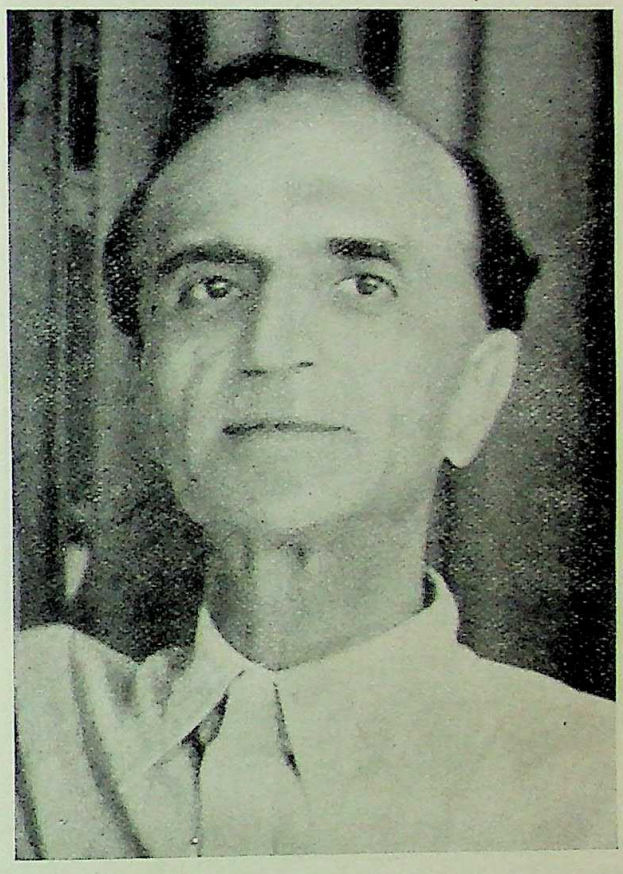
The death of Mr. B. N. Treasurywalla on the 21st December, 1945, after a long illness in Bombay, removes from the field of Indian Art, a picturesque figure, a passionate lover, and a distinguished connoisseur of Indian Art. The Parsis of India occupy a peculiar position. Driven by Islamic persecution in their own country, they had migrated to India and preserved their individual religion and culture which is the twin-brother of the Old Vedic culture and religion. Adopting India as their own motherland, this great community had thrown in their lot with Indians and had taken an active part in Indian life in all its phases. In politics and industrial life, they have rendered distinguished services to India, and the names of Naoroji, Wacha, Tata and others shall for ever live in shining letters in the records of Indian national life. In the fields of letters and learning the community has made very distinguished contributions. And during the last few years many talented Parsis have made good use of their riches in collecting works of art, and have, directly and indirectly, contributed to the growth of Indian national life. The well-known Ratan Tata Collection of Works of Far Eastern and Indian Art occupies a large wing of the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay to which city the merchant-prince made a valuable gift to demonstrate at once his great bounty and the responsibility of his great citizenship. For gifts of works of art are also a valuable service to the community and rank as high as gifts for hospitals and refuges for the poor and the destitute. For, if hospitals

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

help to make sick men well, museums and galleries "make well men better."

But whether collectors of Art make gifts of their treasures or not, they perform a signal service to the cause of culture, to the cause of the history of the Art of a nation. And as servants of national culture, their position and function is as valuable as those of historians, antiquarians, and archaeologists. Unfortunately, in popular appreciation, the collector of works of Art has not yet received his place of honour, and he is generally placed in the ranks of misers, hoarders of wealth and other "selfish" individuals who guard their treasures from any participation by the community at large. But we are beginning to realize that art-collectors render a valuable service to the nation for they dig up from oblivion, and save from destruction and exportation valuable records of the spiritual culture of a nation—data and evidences of the nation's highest achievements in civilization and culture. In India, the functions of art-collectors are particularly valuable, for the public museums and galleries are not in possession of adequate funds to save from destruction or exportation *all* the valuable records of Indian civilization. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act has done something in this direction, but is wholly inadequate and impotent to prevent the exodus of our portable art-treasures, particularly, manuscripts, pictures, images, coins, and textiles. There is nothing in India corresponding to the *Editio Pecca* of the Italian Government, which controls, even, if it cannot perfectly prevent, the exodus of the treasures of Art. Our politicians and economists rightly deplore the economic exploitation and the consequent poverty of India. But the loss of our portable Art-treasures cannot be estimated in terms of their market values. An enormous amount of our valuable masterpieces of Art has been taken away from this country by tourists, globe-trotters and British merchants and officers in high positions of advantage. This appalling exodus and exportation of innumerable masterpieces of Indian Art has impoverished our national wealth, the eternal heritage of Indian culture, to an extent, which even many of our learned men have not the requisite "education" to estimate and realize. This cultural exploitation has been partially, though inadequately, mitigated by the growth of a small group of Indian collectors of Art, who with very inadequate resources have valiantly tried to stem the flow of our Art-treasures to other countries. All honour is, therefore, due to them for the great service they render to preserve our portable monuments of Art. From this point of view, the death of Mr. Burjore Treasurywalla, the son of an humble merchant, is a distinctly national loss which we in our passionate pursuit of political salvation may be liable to overlook. "He who steals my purse steals trash." He who takes away my Art-treasures is the ruthless of all bandits. In patiently collecting valuable documents for the history of Indian paintings and sculpture, Mr. Treasurywalla has rendered a signal service to the cause of India's national history, of far more value than those of our learned professors and teachers. By a long course of training in handling and selecting Indian paintings and sculpture, he had developed into a connoisseur of highest taste and equipment. As a passionate lover and admirer of Indian Art and culture he stood in the highest pedestal of devotion. Though he occasionally contributed stray articles and reviews in some journals he was not an educated man in the narrow sense of the term. Born in the year 1889, he studied in the New High School in Bombay and later in the Wilson College for two years. He joined his father's business of Wallace and Co., in



Burjore Treasurywalla

which firm he was a partner for 25 years. But the real story of his life is richly told in his distinguished collection of Indian paintings which is assiduously collected through a large number of years and in which he assembled valuable evidences for the rich history of Indian Art—the study of which is still in its infancy in this country. He studied Indian Art with a passionate devotion and with the trained eyes of a talented connoisseur. We have many learned antiquarians but very few connoisseurs and from this point of view it will be difficult to fill up the void and vacancy caused by his lamented demise. His home of Art-treasures, which he called "Shiva-mandiram", was a veritable Temple of Art—a place of pilgrimage of all lovers and admirers of Indian Art.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AN AMERICAN ARTIST PRESENTS A PANORAMA OF LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

A democratic interest in many phases of art has long been a characteristic of the American people. In recent years a large share of this interest has been directed to a renewed and surprisingly widespread interest in painting.



A group of students at the University of Wisconsin, in the agricultural North Central U. S. State of Wisconsin, visit the studio of John Steuart Curry

Young American painters have turned again and again during the past decade to portray the diversified aspects of their people and their country. Increasing numbers of young people have become interested in painting. Individuals, museums, art schools, business organizations and government agencies alike have aided in the democratic encouragement of these artistic endeavors. Competitions have been arranged to discover new talent; pictures have been bought and distributed on an unprecedented scale; artists have been employed to write a comprehensive history of the development of design in the United States; smaller cities and towns have established art centres, and commissions for murals have been awarded to many artists of recognized ability.

One of the leaders of American regional art is John Steuart Curry. Among other important projects, he was commissioned to paint murals for the new U.S. Department of Justice building, in the capital city of Washington. Curry was already popular for his vigorous pictures of the American Midwest and its people. Curry's boyhood in the Midwestern U.S. State of Kansas was the inspiration for much of his work. Kansas, where he was born in 1897, is located in the exact geographical center of the United States, and is an agricultural state with severe contrasts in weather.

Curry's paintings are typical of the latest trend in American art. There are no limitations on his subject-matter. All materials are part of the panorama of American life.

This democratic approach to art is found in Curry's teaching methods. Under another important commission as Artist in Residence at the University of Wisconsin he painted rural scenes depicting the American farmer's life and environment in the agricultural State of Wisconsin in the North Central part of the United States. Curry's studio, a plain white frame structure of his own design, was a meeting place for students. He held painting and drawing classes there regularly, and each student was encouraged to develop his own individual style. Thus he made an important contribution to the rising interest in art in all forms, especially painting among American students.

One of his major projects at the University of Wisconsin is a mural in the Bio-Chemistry building. Located on a stair landing, the scene is a contrast between a neglected farm and one that is managed by modern scientific methods. In the center of the mural life-sized figures surge forward, symbolic of a healthy, vigorous society led by uniformed research workers and a crew of husky American youngsters.

True to his own way of life, Curry is typical of the group of American regional painters who attempt to paint the scene they know and love best, the actual tragedies and ambitions of the people of their own sections or in their own sphere of life.—*USIS.*



J. S. Curry works on a mural for the Bio-Chemistry building at the University of Wisconsin

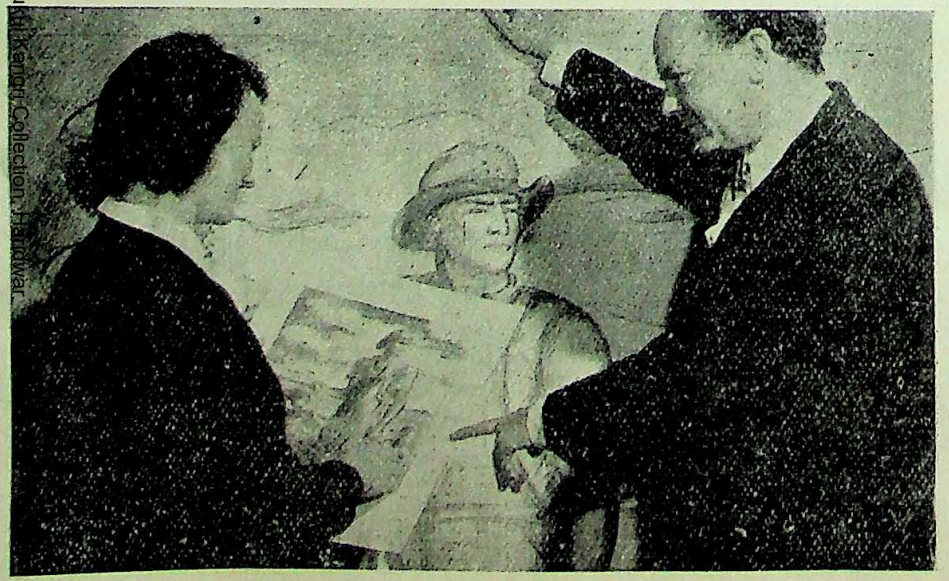
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



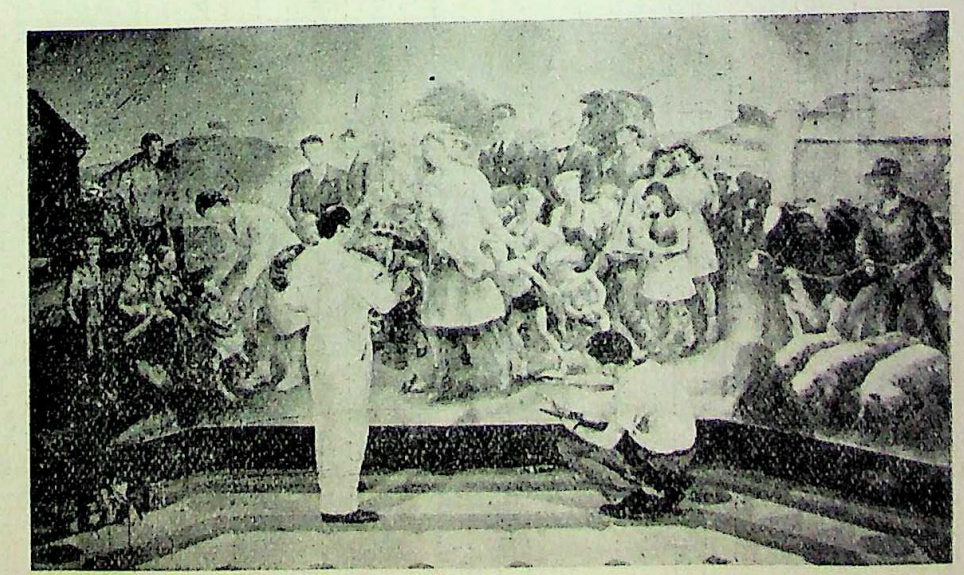
J. S. Curry, leader among regional artists, holds drawing and painting classes in a white frame studio of his own design, in Wisconsin



Artist J. S. Curry and a student from the Midwestern U.S. State of Kansas work on a mural in the Bio-Chemistry building at the University of Wisconsin



J. S. Curry explains the principles of painting to a student at the University of Wisconsin where he is Artist in Residence



John Steuart Curry, prominent among regional artists, works on a mural

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE AUSTRALIAN LITERARY BACKGROUND

By GEORGE MULGRUE

The literature of Australia is the new literature of a young country. Unlike the literature of India, with its background of three thousand years of writing, that of Australia goes back ninety years at the most. And for many of those ninety years, what was written in Australia was written *about* the country rather than *of* it.

For the first eighty years of Australian history, it was natural that the people as pioneers had little time for writing. A country where men were preoccupied with the business of existing in the face of enormous difficulties was hardly the environment for literary people. It is surprising that the Australians of those days found time even for reading, but G. B. Barton's survey of 1866 shows that they spent almost £11,000 on English periodicals in that year, and £50,000 on books —amazing sums if we consider that the population at that time was about 400,000.

But even in those days, men and women were writing in the Colony. In 1824, W. C. Wentworth, better known as a politician, produced a poem called *Australasia*. It was not a good poem, but it disclosed a feeling of patriotism and indicated a confidence in the country's future that was to underlie the work of the best of Australian writers in the years to come. It was perhaps the first writing of the country.

Thirty years later, a young Australian named Catherine Spence published a novel. It was called *Clara Morrison*, and it had, like other works of hers that followed it, a bias towards social reform. In this and in her personal career, Miss Spence pointed the road down which Australian literature was to travel, for like those of America, many of Australia's best writers moved with the social rebellions of their day.

A little later, the first of the novels *about* Australia appeared. It was Henry Kingsley's *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, and it was the first of a long series that has continued up to the present day. The most outstanding is D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo* and many of them are good and give a true picture of the country. But they are no more Australian than the works of E. M. Forster or Louis Bromfield are Indian.

In the meantime, a new feeling was arising in the country. In 1862, Henry Kendall, a native-born Australian, published a volume of poetry. Although, like Wentworth's, his verse was not great, it did demonstrate a desire to make poetry of the Australian scene, and to set forth his dream of Australia as a Utopia, another topic that has exercised the minds of Australian poets ever since. Shortly afterwards, too, came Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life* and Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms*.

The first was a novel of the early convict days, and the other a story of the Bushrangers. Both of them established for all time the fact that Australia is a country rich in material for the novelist. At the same time, Adam Lindsay Gordon, still erroneously thought of by many Englishmen as the Great Australian Poet, was writing his poems about horses and horsemanship, topics that could be treated in a typically Australian manner. Gordon's work is of little value, but it still lives among people who have never heard of better poets.

And then, in the nineties, writing in Australia began really to progress. Till then no one had possessed real stature. It was only then that writers arose who were important when viewed against a world background. For the first time in its history, too, most of the country's writers were native-born, and it was then that they began to claim that they wrote, not as English Colonists, but as Australians. Joseph Furphy, when he wrote his book *Such is Life*, under the pseudonym of Tom Collins, summed up their attitude by describing the bias of his book as being "offensively Australian". It was in this period that the real foundation of Australian literature was laid.

Social Consciousness

The two main influences at work were a desire to write as Australians, and a desire to change social conditions . . . a feeling of rebellion. The writers of the time were critical of the world as they found it, and they believed that it was possible to change it for the benefit of the Australian common man. Moreover there was at the time a vehicle for their work. For the Sydney *Bulletin* had appeared upon the scene.

A. G. Stephens, the Literary Editor of that paper, and a very gifted man, believed that if a man could say something worth saying and say it vigorously, his work was worth printing. Were his writing not literary enough, the paper could apply a little polish. The main thing was that he should write as he felt. Thus it was that there was no distinctively Australian activity in those days that had not been discovered, or at least fostered, by the *Bulletin*. And thus it was also that Australian literature developed first, not in terms of the novel, but in terms of poetry and the short story.

This development has continued right up to the present day. Even now, much that is best in Australian prose appears in the short story form. It is not surprising then, to find that the greatest name in Australian literature is that of a man who was primarily a writer of short stories.

Henry Lawson was the giant of his day. He made the Western Bushman real. He was bothered with neither style nor plot nor pattern. He saw things and wrote down what he saw, with humour and pathos, and when it was done it had style and plot and pattern. He had more effect upon Australian literature than any other man, and it is in this regard that he may be compared with Rabindranath Tagore. There is one other point of resemblance, too, for Tagore, like Lawson, wrote simple stories of the simple people of his native land.

Such is Life

Then in 1903, Joseph Furphy's *Such is Life* was published by the *Bulletin*, and A. G. Stephens said that it was likely to become an Australian classic. He was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

right. It remains as one of the outstanding novels written in and *of* Australia. Furphy was an ordinary bushman, but he was well read, and had a democratic soul, and he put between the covers of his book a whole lifetime of physical wandering over the Western Plains, and mental wandering over the Universe. His book was written over forty years ago, but like India's Ram Mohun Roy, he is a modern, because he put truth above traditionalism.

In the field of poetry, too, Australia was attaining stature. While Furphy was writing his novel, Bernard O'Dowd was formulating his theories about verse. Poetry, he said, must be *militant ;* it must answer the questions of the age. And thinking of him, we immediately call to mind the Urdu poet Iqbal, who has been described as passionate, virile, racy of the soil ; his poetry a burning torrent of energy. These words could be equally well used of O'Dowd. O'Dowd, who still writes, has been publishing verse since 1903, but his prose work *Poetry Militant,* published in 1909, established him for all time as one of the great Australians.

Other names spring to mind as representatives of the period, but the most important is that of Miles Franklin, a woman, who like O'Dowd, is still with us ; who in fact only recently produced a fine historical novel in *All That Swagger*. Her book *My Brilliant Career,* published in 1901, gave her a place among the giants, and it had the same quality as the work of Lawson and Furphy and O'Dowd—pride of country, rebellion against the world as it was, glorification of the ordinary man, and a high hope for Australia's future.

Writers of To-day

And so we pass through the period that preceded the 1914 war, and come across names of many competent novelists and poets ; names like Louis Stone and Barbara Baynton, A. B. Paterson and C. J. Dennis, till we come to the writers of to-day. These again are far too many to be noted individually, but at their head are those of Katherine Susannah Prichard, Henry Handel Richardson, Eleanor Dark, Kylie Tennant and Xavier Herbert. All of these, except the last are the names of women.

Katherine Prichard is the most powerful of Australian writers of fiction. She has strength, intuition and a definite style. She has brought many aspects of Australian life to the stage of her novels, and has probed each of them with the accusing finger of one who insists that wrongs should be righted. *Working Bullocks* and *Haxby's Circus* are the most outstanding. Many of her short stories appear in a volume called *Kiss on the Lips.*

Henry Handel Richardson lives and writes out of Australia, but her work is none the less truly Australian. Although she had been publishing novels for twenty years before its appearance, she achieved her reputation chiefly from her great trilogy *The Fortune of Richard Mahony,* a magnificent psychological study of the effect upon a highly strung, cultured man, of the raw new country that was Australia in the gold rush days. She has been called one of the greatest literary psychologists of the day.

Xavier Herbert's novel *Capricornia,* when it was published in 1938, placed him immediately among the ranks of the great Australian writers. It was a passionate demand for a better life for the half-caste population of the Northern Territory, and caused more discussion than any other Australian book since *Such is Life.* The Australian tradition of revolt of the underdog was being faithfully followed.

Eleanor Dark, like Henry Handel Richardson, has a strong trend towards the psychological in her work. *Her Prelude to Christopher,* a deeply phychological study, established two things, first, that she was a novelist of the first rank, and second, that it is possible to write a novel about Australia, in which no mention is made of the locale; which could quite easily have been written about any other place in the world, and which was yet intrinsically Australian.

Voice of Common Man

That, in fact, is the preoccupation of many Australian writers at this time . . . Australia is an urban country. Despite its vast open spaces, most of its population live in towns, and writers are trying to kill the convention that books about Australia must necessarily be about the bush and country people. Among these writers are Bernard Eldershaw, Frank Dalby Davison and Vance Palmer. They do, of course, write about the country . . . Dalby Davison is best known for *Man Shy,* a novel which deals with animals . . . but they are more concerned with psychological studies.

Kylie Tennant won the S. H. Prior Prize in a yearly competition sponsored by the *Bulletin* for the best Australian book with a novel called *Tiburon,* a story of small town life. Since then her output has been large, and all her work points a finger at something that is faulty in Australian life—the Sydney slums, the fortunes of the wandering country workers. She has a great vogue in the United States, where she is one of the best known Australian authors.

It has been impossible in this review to mention more than a few of the outstanding among Australian writers, but perhaps it has shown the background against which Australian literature must be viewed, the short vivid ground of a nation's birth and brief history ; a struggle against nature, and a revolt against social conditions ; of the published voice of the common man. That is what Australian literature has in place of the three thousand years of unbroken literary tradition that is India's. And from this background the Australian writer has evolved his own tradition which has been described as a compound of sound learning, rebelliousness, ardent faith in the common man, and an even more ardent faith in the Australian future. With that tradition, the Australian writer is satisfied.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL

By Prof. UPENDRANATH BALL, M.A.

For administrative purposes each province has been divided into a number of districts with a Collector-Magistrate as the Chief Executive Officer. When the East India Company assumed the Dewani of Bengal such divisions did not exist. There were a number of Sarkars for the collection of revenue. But the officers in charge of the Sarkars did not possess such extensive powers as the District Officers of the present time. Murshid Kuli Khan divided the province of Bengal into 13 large *Chaklas* or districts, which were divided into a number of Parganas. Mir Kasim Ali surrendered to the Company the three districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong in 1760. Midnapore then consisted of the faujdari of Hijli, and the Chaklas of Midnapore and Jaleswar. The faujdari of Hijli was then not an independent charge. It was attached to Hooghly, and comprised the whole of Sarkar Maljyatha, four salt Mahals in Sarkar Jaleswar, and the zamindari of Tamluk in Sarkar Goalpara. The rest of Sarkar Goalpara constituted the Chakla Midnapore, some Mahals of which have now been transferred to the neighbouring districts of Bankura, Manbhum and Singhbhum, while some Mahals of Chakla Jaleswar are now included within the district of Balasore.

In the beginning the Chaklas of Midnapore and Jaleswar were placed under one officer with the designation of Resident, who had varied functions such as head of the revenue, criminal and judicial administration, and also served as a Commercial Agent, Political Officer and Military Governor. In 1777 an officer known as Collector was appointed for the supervision of revenue collections, while the other functions were performed by the Commercial Resident. In 1781 a civil court was established for the trial of civil suits. In 1787 the offices of Collector, Judge and Police Magistrate were vested in the same person. But in 1793 a separate Collector was appointed, and the offices of Judge and Magistrate were in the hands of one person. The Salt Agents at Tamluk and Hijli worked under the Collector of the Salt Districts and in addition they did some revenue work. Their powers as revenue and judicial officers were transferred to the Collector and the Judge-Magistrate of Midnapore in 1793, and the office of the Collector of the Salt Districts was abolished. From 1800 to 1836 the revenue collections of the salt divisions were made by the Collector of Hooghly. Ghatal and Chandrakona Thanas were also included in the district of Hooghly from 1795 to 1872. There have been several adjustments of boundaries since the district came into the hands of the British. As it has been the case with Midnapore so it has been with other districts.

Although the Company obtained the Dewani in 1765 the actual work of collection of revenue by the agents of the Company were not undertaken till 1772. Six Supervisors were appointed in 1769 for supervising the revenue and judicial work of the officers appointed by the Nawab. But their work was not satisfactory and it became difficult to check the Nawab's men. So in 1772 when the Company took up the direct administration of the revenue affairs the Supervisors were designated as Collectors. In 1774 the European Collectors were recalled and the Province of Bengal was divided into fourteen districts, each under an Indian Faujdar. This arrangement was set aside in 1781, when 18 Civil Judges were appointed for apprehending criminals who were sent by them to the Daroga of the nearest Faujdari Court. Then the Daroga, the Magistrate and the Zamindar exercised concurrent authority for the prevention of crimes.

Lord Cornwallis considered the combination of revenue and judicial functions unsatisfactory and therefore annulled the judicial powers of the revenue officers in 1793. For each district there was a European Covenanted officer as Judge and Magistrate, and the Collector was relieved of judicial work. Lord Bentinck found the work of Judge-Magistrate too heavy and transferred the magisterial responsibilities to the Collector in 1831. Since then the head of the District has been the Collector and Magistrate. To assist the Collectors the posts of Deputy Collectors were created in 1833. Lord Auckland with the sanction of the Court of Directors separated the offices of Magistrate and Collector in 1837. But after some time the offices were combined in 1859.

The district is the pivot of the entire machinery of administration. The District Officer is the head of the district and as such his functions are of a varied nature. As Collector he is the head of the revenue organisation and as Magistrate he exercises general supervision over the lower criminal courts and directs the police work. He is responsible for law and order, collection of revenue, co-ordination of all nation-building activities and general administration. And the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee considers that only a superman can bear such a heavy burden. The incompatible functions of a policeman and tax-gatherer are combined with the beneficent activities of promoting the welfare of the people. It has been held that such a combination of non-homogeneous functions in a single executive is in normal circumstances unsound in principle and in practice. But the members of the Committee consider that Bengal is now in an abnormal condition.

The ratio of the higher administrative cadres to the population in Bengal has been found to be lower than in any other Province in India except perhaps Orissa. The *per capita* expenditure on government in the province is less than that of the four other major provinces and therefore Bengal has been under-administered. Besides, there are inadequate communications which make the task of administration not quite satisfactory. The chief complaint against Bengal is that it has not the Revenue staff which the provinces where land is not permanently settled possess. These Revenue staffs are an important source of information to the Government and they are very useful in carrying out executive orders in the rural areas. Another defect of Bengal is that it contains a number of big districts. The population of the district of Mymensingh is nearly six millions. The failure of the executive authority to control the legislature by winning the support of the majority of the members has exposed the hollowness of the Provincial Autonomy extended by the Government of India Act, and the province has been without a regular Ministry for a number of years. These are the special conditions of Bengal.

The Revenue of Bengal is much less than that in the other major provinces, although Bengal is the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

richest province in India. The Permanent Settlement is no doubt responsible for shortage of revenue. But that is not the only cause. There must be other factors leading to the low financial position. The Enquiry Committee has made a number of recommendations for increasing the expenses. This is just like a physician prescribing very costly medicines to a patient who has hardly any means for a bare living. If Bengal is in need of anything it is a plan of economic development. Without sufficient resources at its disposal the Government is not in a position to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the people. Other major provinces are not lacking the machinery for administration and they enjoy no doubt better income. But whether the interests of the people are better promoted is the main question. The Enquiry Committee have not asserted that the people in the other provinces are better off. A costly machinery of administration does not necessarily mean that the interests of the people are better cared for. We can expect this condition when the Government is thoroughly identified with the people.

A Development Board has been recommended for the Province. This Board will be a purely official body consisting of the heads of the Departments. A number of experts may be attached to the Board, such as a Scientific Adviser, an Economic Adviser, an Engineering Adviser. The District Officers should be expected to work out the district plans and put himself at the head of all the departments in the district. He should be required to co-ordinate the activities of all the departments. He would thus be a Governor on a small scale.

In the course of the long list of recommendations one finds no reference to the necessity of consulting public opinion or the need of enlisting the co-operation of the people. The machinery has to be perfected for efficient administration, that is the most effective way of organising a system with a view to impress the people of the majesty of the official world. It has been very correctly analysed that the governmental organisations generally resist evolutionary changes and lag behind progress in political ideas and advances in administrative techniques. We were therefore expecting that a system would be evolved which would respond to the demands for progress. Instead it has been recommended that the hands of the District Officer should be sufficiently strengthened. All the departmental officers in the district, such as the civil surgeon, the district agricultural, fisheries and veterinary officers, inspector of schools and inspector of co-operative societies would be made responsible to the District Officer who would be enabled to build up a combined operations' team from the personnel at his disposal. Co-ordination of the activities of all the departments is surely very necessary, but this can be achieved without reducing the heads of the departments to a subordinate position or without suppressing the activities of the people.

The administration of India has to be reoriented from the village to the top. Without co-operation of the people the stability of the government cannot be ensured. There will be a circle officer in each Thana to guide the people. He should be properly trained in the work of rural reconstruction. But evidently he will be a young man without any experience of administration. The Union Boards and other rural organisations require the guidance of sympathetic friends with a view to improve the local affairs. It is doubtful whether young officers will have sufficient tact to deal with the villagers with a view to lead them to further advance. They may point out the pitfalls or check the undesirable tendencies in the rural bodies, but will they have sufficient enthusiasm to put new vigour in them? If an administrative officer of good education and wide experience interest himself in the affairs of the villagers, he can render immense good. Even then he should thoroughly identify himself with the people and work as one of them. Unless he sheds off his official hue he will not be able to inspire confidence. As there is a union board for a number of villages, there should be a circle board for a number of union boards. The Circle Officer should work as the executive officer of the circle board. He should place at the disposal of the board his views on all questions, and should educate the representatives of the people about the different plans they could adopt, but in no circumstances he should dictate to them about their duties. He should loyally carry out the wishes of the people. He should see that all the plans of rural development decided upon by the representatives of the people are given a fair trial. If, on the other hand, he puts obstacles in the way, the conflict would lead to chaos. A circle should be the unit for development of minor projects. Education, sanitation, communication, economic development, social welfare should be organised by the people within each circle according to its resources. The Circle Officer may guide the people about the ways and means and the method of giving a shape to the plans. He can warn if a false step is taken but he should never control or coerce.

The Circle Officer may be entrusted with the collection of revenue within his area. The union boards in their turn should have expanded activities. The collection of revenue in the villages can very well be done by an official of the board under the supervision of the members. This would save a lot of botheration to the people as well as to the Government. The records should be available at one place for all purposes and the board may derive thereby an increased income. There are different persons in the rural areas appointed for the collection of different taxes and levies. Unification of all the collections in one organisation would bring great relief to the people. By this process the rural life is likely to be improved and the circle is likely to develop as a self-supporting unit. All administrative activities will then be concentrated and the local interest stimulated. The reconstruction of the administrative machinery should be undertaken with a view to create greater interest in the public affairs and to secure the most efficient method of co-operation. The best machinery will fail to produce the desired effect if it is based upon any other principle than the co-operation of the public. The Rowlands Committee is silent about popular control at any stage in any sphere. It has drawn up its recommendations without any reference to the public opinion.

The new machinery of government must be sensitive enough to respond to the general will. It will be a waste of energy if the democratic ideas are ignored. The system of government should be broad-based on the association of the people with the administration. The union boards would form the foundation of the advance. All the affairs within the union should be made over to the management of the people. The union boards should be represented on the circle board with the circle officer as its executive officer.

At present the district consists of a number of subdivisions and the subdivision contains a number of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thanas. The area of the district is in many cases considered unwieldly, and there is no denying the fact that the life within the district is not sufficiently organised except in certain affairs of the administration and for the landlords and the litigant public. The communications within the district are inadequate and rarely do the people meet for any public purpose. The interests of the people require that they should organise themselves for certain general purposes excepting for litigation. They should exchange their views regarding education, sanitation, economic problems and other affairs in which they are all interested. An area with about 20,00,000 of population may easily undertake measures for its own development. Such an area should form the constituency for the election of representatives to the provincial legislature. In these circumstances all the activities of the district administration can easily be concentrated in such an area and these areas should be managed by a popularly elected body with a competent staff of executive officers for various departments. The modern system of district administration should be superseded and there should be an elected district council to carry on the adminstration in all spheres of government with the help of men regularly trained for the purpose. The existing machinery is unpopular and in many cases not prepared to accommodate to the modern spirit. The Rowlands Committee has rightly pointed out the spirit of aloofness in the officers. Such a spirit cannot be controlled unless the entire machinery is overhauled and subjected to the guidance of a popularly elected body.

The administration of the province is carried on by the Indian Civil Service. The members of the Service have in them a sense of superiority and this spirit has been communicated to the provincial and the other services. There is no work within the province which an Indian cannot perform, and in the interest of economy all the services should be Indianised. For efficient administration of the district it is neither necessary to import men from outside nor to pay such high salaries. An intelligent and well-educated Indian will ordinarily be satisfied with a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month. A new cadre of district officers from Rs. 500 to 1,000 should be established and for other services a subordinate cadre of Rs. 150 to 450 will be able to carry on the administration with efficiency. A district officer should be assisted by a number of men of the lower rank. These officers must be properly trained for the work of administration.

One more reform is necessary in this connection. The administrative officers should be divested of all judicial work. For administering justice judges should be recruited from the lawyers. The judges again may be put in two ranks, such as District Judges and the Assistant Judges. The District Judges may draw from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 and the Assistant Judges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 450. Promotion from the rank of Assistant Judge to that of District Judge will depend upon merit and scholarship. These judges should administer justice both civil and criminal. The judiciary should be placed entirely under the supervision of the High Court and the Executive Authority should not interfere in the administration of justice.

According to the scheme thus laid out, the judiciary should be made independent of the executive authority and the district administration should be placed entirely under popular control. The provincial Government may indicate to the District Council the line of development and there should be officers appointed by the Province to guide the administration in the different departments. All the activities within the district should be co-ordinated by the District Council. The District Officer will help it as its Chief Executive Officer. The work of the technical departments should be guided by the Provincial Board of Development. But the District Council should act as the agent of the provincial board. There should be officers appointed by the Provincial Board to supervise the work of the districts.

For local purposes there are union boards, local boards, and district boards. In many places the Local Boards have been abolished and the functions of the other local bodies have been restricted. If the scheme drawn up here is properly worked out the existing district boards shall have to be abolished and in their place district councils should be established with expanded activities. These district councils will elect their own chairman, and other office-bearers. The District Officer appointed by the Provincial Government will be the Chief Executive Officer of the Council. All the officers in the district should submit to the control of the district council. The recruitment of the officers should be in the hands of the Public Services Commission. The qualifications of the officers should be specified by the Commission and all cases of insubordination and inefficiency should be reported to the Commission. The Commission may also be entrusted with the work of promotion, dismissal and disciplinary action.

The district work will go on smoothly under a popularly constituted District Council with an efficient body of officers and an independent and competent judiciary. The technical departments of the administration should be worked according to the requirements of the people and all schemes of development should be approved of by the district council. The major works will remain in the hands of the Provincial authority. The District Council may be consulted on such works, but these works will depend upon the greater needs of the province and as such the determining voice will not lie with the district council.

The district thus organised will form the basis for an well-organised nation. People will be able to participate in the activities of the Government and every step taken for promoting the welfare of the people and safeguarding the interests of the state will have the benefit of their criticism and co-operation. The work of government will become easy on such a strong foundation.

Briefly the rural activities and the work of reconstruction of the village life should be entrusted to the union board. A number of union boards, say twenty, should constitute a circle. The circle will thus become a fully-organised centre for administrative and local purposes. There should be a circle officer, a development officer, an overseer of works, a medical and health officer, a police officer, a registrar and an Assistant Judge in a central place within the Circle so that the villagers may easily avail themselves of their services. Twenty circles should ordinarily constitute a district. The present subdivisions will, in this case, become redundant. They shall be split up into a number of circles, and the subdivisional offices should be utilised for the circle offices in the jurisdiction of the circle within which they would fall.

The district will be the field for comprehensive

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

work of general administration, economic development, and justice. The District Council consisting of the representatives of the people would become units of national government. If anything is necessary in India at the present time, it is a well-organised district administration based upon popular control. National government will be a mockery if the actual administration of the people remains in the hands of a bureaucratic organisation like the present Indian Civil Service.

———:O:———

INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

By Prof. P. C. MALHOTRA, M.A.

The Indian Fiscal Commission Report (1922) deploring the fact that the Indian Industrial Commission was debarred from considering the question of tariff policy made the following significant observations :

"Education can be improved, banking facilities can be extended, technical assistance can be offered to industries, but what is mainly wanted is a policy that will inspire confidence and encourage enterprise, and we do not think that the recommendations of the Industrial Commission provide this."

Over twenty-two years have passed since these words were written but the need for "a policy that will inspire confidence and encourage enterprise" has not abated. In fact now that the fortuitous protection provided by the recent war will have ended the necessity for such a policy is imperative.

The discriminate protection of industries in the pre-war period gave over to their indiscriminate protection (though accidentally) during the war. If the industrial growth resulting from discriminate protection was halting, limited and sporadic, that obtaining from war-created shelter to industries was haphazard and had in it the seeds of decay. The industrial expansion in the pre-war period was slow and restricted within a narrow field, that in the war-period was rapid and more wide. The problem before the war was to accelerate the pace of development and widen the sphere of industrial expansion. The problem after the termination of the war is to consolidate the gains during the war, to prevent war expansion from melting away, to stay the collapse of war-born industries, to restore to health war-wounded industries.

Factors Bearing on the Policy of Protection During Transition

What should be the policy of industrial protection during the period of transition depends upon four factors :

(*i*) The industrial future envisaged for the country,

(*ii*) The industrial problems of the transition period,

(*iii*) The duration of the transition period,

(*iv*) Protection policy inherited from the pre-war period.

In all schemes of post-war economic reconstruction in India, industrialization occupies a prominent place. The principle has been admitted that an industrial drive should not only make up the existing leeway but also blazon new trails. Closely connected with the question of industrialization is the matter of tariffs.

Dr. John Mathai in the Oxford pamphlet *Tariffs and Industry,* observed :

> "As far as one can judge at present, it is likely that in the next few years protection will assume less importance in the economy of the country than in the past."

He opined that during the war and for several years after the termination of hostilities foreign competition in manufactured goods will largely be eliminated. The colossal destruction of material assets which the present war has caused would call for a prolonged period of reconstruction. The problem during this period would be how to meet a reviving demand from countries which have been starved of goods with the limited supply available rather than restrict supplies so as to avoid overproduction and uneconomic competition. This is more a theoretical attitude towards a concrete problem rather than a real one and such a generalized belief may lead to the taking of a false step which would prove detrimental to the interests of the country.

Need for a Comprehensive Industrial Survey

An immediate step which must precede the formulation of a suitable policy of protection both during the period of transition and in the post-transition period is a comprehensive survey of the industrial situation as it has been attained to-day. Such a survey if viewed analytically would indicate clearly three phases of the industrial situation—the pre-war industrial position, the industrial situation attained during the war and the post-war industrial position. Such an examination would give a clearer perception of the industrial problems of the transition period than any type of guess reading. There are certain types of consumers' goods industries which would not need immediate tariff assistance in view of their being a strong foreign demand for their products at present and on account of the temprorary elimination of foreign competition, *e.g.,* cloth and sugar. In the case of building material industries like cement the pent-up internal demand and the developed position of the industry may be relied upon to give a strong buttress to such industries in the period of transition and even afterwards. Then there would be an omnibus list of consumers' goods industries which found a sheltered market during the war. In this category we can group paper, glass, aluminium ware, medicines, etc. In this field the resurgence of foreign competition is not expected to take much time. Moreover, the war-developed and war-born industries are working at a high cost. In some cases the machinery has been recast to suit the purpose.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In other cases improvised machineries have been used. In nearly all cases the machinery employed has been old and would need renovation. As soon as foreign competition appears and with the disappearance of government orders these industries would be in the doldrums. The industrial survey suggested would also reveal some war-wounded industries which would necessitate immediate attention. The most important group of industries would be the producers' goods—light and heavy. The manufacture of tools, implements, appliance and heavy machinery has been a neglected field and yet these industries would be found to be the corner-stone of any wide and stable industrial edifice. The chemical industries would stand a class by themselves in the list of basic industries. Then there would be industries essential for national defence like ship-building, air-craft manufacture and automobile. And finally, there might be a miscellaneous group which would include industries not coming in the suggested classification.

The International Economic Background of the Transition Period

It is both a complacent and an unrealistic view to hold that foreign competition would not appear for at least some years on the termination of the war. Britain's position depends upon her foreign trade. As a consequence of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement Britain needs to increase her exports by 75 per cent over the 1938 figure and the whole of this increase must come from manufactured exports. She would certainly give priority to such export industries as would regain prosperity for her and not completely bury herself in tasks of internal reconstruction. Munition manufacturing factories can be switched on with some adaptation to the production of goods needed in peace time. The U.S.A. will undergo an immense and a speedy process of this type of adaptation. And countries which have lost capital equipment but retain the knowledge, technique, organization and what we have now come to call the know-how, would build their economies within a surprisingly few years. In the list of such countries we may place Japan and Germany.

If the foregoing estimate of economic tendencies is correct, the need for a suitable and a planning conscious tariff policy during the transition period stands emphasised. To say that is not to minimise the importance of direct assistance by the State to Indian industries in the form of finance for capital requirements, scientific research, transport, education, etc.

Industrial Protection and Economic Planning

Another fear that the necessity of industrial protection during the transition period may be overlooked arises from the implications of economic planning in post-war India. Sir J. Coyajee in the Oxford pamphlet *The Economic Background* observes that protection in the post-war period will be subsumed in economic planning. But even in economic planning the need for regulation of foreign trade (which is more extensive application of tariffs) would remain, "for national planning and the regulation of foreign trade are interdependent. While every new restriction on imports encourages the 'regulation' of the industry concerned, industrial or agricultural regulation is impracticable without a control of competition domestic and foreign"* Thus, the extension of national planning—a snow-ball process, each industrial plan postulating for its success the control of other industries—is accompanied by an extension of control over foreign trade.

Significance of the Time Factor in Period of Transition

In formulating the policy of industrial protection during the transition period the likely duration of transition stage is of importance. The period of transition may be anything from at least six to ten years. Economic planning if it comes under way may also require the same time for preparation. It is inadvisable that in this duration there should be a make-shift arrangement with respect to the policy of protection to be followed. While the policy of protection to be adopted during the transition period will get its legacy from that prevailing during the pre-war era, this policy of protection must be developed with a view to its being easily dovetailed into the scheme of things adumbrated whenever economic planning comes into being.

Policy of Protection During the Transition Period

The period of transition must not only be looked as a time for readjustment but also an interregnum for a long-term policy preparation. From this point of view any tinkering with the tariff policy in the transition period is not desirable. The Government of India has appointed a Tariff Board for protection of war-born industries. The Tariff Board has been asked to scrutinise the claims of the following industries for protection: non-ferrous metals including antimony, grinding wheels, caustic soda and bleaching powder, sodium thiosulphate, sodium sulphite anhydrous, sodium bisulphite, phosphate and phosphoric acid, butter colour, aerated-water powder colour, rubber manufactures, fire hoses, wood screws, steep hoofs for bating, bichromates, steel pipes and tubes, aluminium, calcium chloride, calcium carbide, starch. But the present situation demands the reopening of the wider problem of industrial protection in general and determination in this light of the place and function of a permanent tariff board. It has already been suggested that an Industrial Commission should be appointed immediately now that the war has ended, the findings of which would greatly assist the formulation of the correct industrial policy both during the transition and the post-transition period. In the mean time an Emergency Import Duties Act should be passed which would be able to safeguard against the blizzard of foreign competition whenever and in whatever form it appears. 'Fore-warned is fore-armed' should be the working motto lest we may be facing the task of digging the well when the fire is on.

The immediate task before the Tariff Board would be (*i*) to evolve a scientific Emergency Tariff out of the faggot of Emergency Import Duties Act; (*ii*) to investigate the claims for protection and other means of assistance to (*a*) war-born industries, (*b*) war-expanded industries, (*c*) war-wounded industries; (*iii*) to arrange for bulk purchase from abroad of producers' and capital goods; (*iv*) to explore and recommend scope for bilateral trade agreements.

* *Industrialization and Foreign Trade, the Inter-War Period*, p. 148—League of Nations (1942).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The functions of the Tariff Board in the post-transition period can be developed so as to include in addition to its ordinary functions of reviewing the working of protection, imperial preference, or other commercial treaties and the operation of excise duties, the study of the tariff system of other countries, to investigate the charge of discrimination of Indian products abroad, to enquire into cases of complaints regarding combination of manufacturers of the country to the detriment of domestic consumers, to examine cases of dumping of foreign goods in the home markets; to examine cases of profiteering by foreign manufacturers in certain circumstances (*e.g.*, the Board of Trade's attention was drawn to the cases of unscrupulous profiteering by British manufacturers who were taking advantage of the fact that India was unable to buy from the United States, raising their prices as much as 80 per cent.—*News item supplied from London, dated 22nd January, 1946, by U.P.A.*).

India's Tariff Policy and the International Trade Organisation

The terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement bind England to a pattern of commercial policy indicated by America in the proposals for an International Trade Organisation. India's membership of the Bretton-Woods also implies her acquiescing in the commercial policy finally shaped at the I.T.O. While England's problem is to expand exports, India's need is to diversify and expand industrial production in the country. India must be free to adopt whatever commercial policy suits her economic planning. She may be expected to co-operate in international economic policies but not to an extent that makes her deviate from her economic goal for the sentiment of international liberalism. The earlier India frames a comprehensive tariff policy the better; in lingering for a decision she might be faced with a *chose jugee* at the I.T.O. which would seriously restrict her freedom of choice.

———:O:———

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE BACKGROUND FOR AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

By K. M. GURURAJA RAO, L.Ag.,
Mysore Agricultural Service

Never in the annals of Indian Agricultural History have promises of all-sided agricultural improvements been held out, as now, when they are seen to descend in cascades. Agriculture with us forms the bed-rock of a hoary civilisation, which, to quote H. G. Wells, "is but the agricultural surplus." Considerable care and judgement is called for before any upset of the placidly moving "apple cart" of empirical methods, based on patient toil, is thought of.

Agriculture—A Way of Life

The flood of achievement of modern science in agriculture in more advanced countries, backed up by their national Governments, is apt to take us off our feet. Except for a few plantation and money crops our agriculture is, mostly, still run on a subsistence basis. Our cultivation methods are the ones, which man found out patiently working with nature. These methods have developed silently out of the reach of the blaring din of modern science into a technique, which has given the farmer results. What with the vagaries of seasonal conditions, slowly impoverishing soil, his own progressive poverty and system of taxes from landlords and Government, which are inexorable, the farmer has adjusted his life and his profession to a fine balancing comfort, of desires without hopes and responsibilities without rights. Life, we are told, is essentially centrifugal and agriculture has found a fitting base for this expanding life's demands; *vis-a-vis*, we have the modern dynamic scientific materialism, centripetal in action, driving the life-blood of the country into the congested urban factory life with its enchanting promises of rights before responsibilities, competitive pleasures, soaring ambitions and hectic leisure. Wisdom and experience beckon us to accept the coming change. But it is imperative to reduce the shock of this impact by diverting carefully the flood of modernism in agriculture through fertilising channels to yield happy results.

Agricultural Improvements

These may be judged from five aspects: (1) Scientific or technical, (2) Economic, (3) Educational, (4) Social and psychological and (5) Administrative.

Scientific Approach

The scientific approach of the improvement of the Agricultural problem may be said to have begun in India from about the year 1905, when the Government of India announced their intention of setting aside annually 20 lakhs of rupees for development of agricultural research, experiment, demonstration and education. Twenty-three years later the Royal Agricultural Commission reviewing the work of the agricultural departments said, in their report "that great progress had been achieved by the agricultural departments cannot be denied; but their influence has so far reached a very small fraction of the total area." Professor N. V. Joshi, presiding over the Agricultural Section of the Indian Science Congress last year, pointed out, that the yields of crops in India have not shown in general any improvement over what was reported upon by Voelkar in 1891. These are significant remarks and show in all their naked truth that all that science has done for the cultivator, barring a few money crops, had ended so far in brilliant futility.

It is a compelling necessity, therefore, to seek for the causes and expose them so that scientific knowledge may be diverted into fruitful channels. Science, it must be admitted, is, by nature, international. Scientists must

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

therefore conform themselves in their methods of research to international standard. This outlook gives added strength when their own national standard of agriculture has reached a high level of efficient organisation to make use of valuable results of research. This cannot be said of our agricultural methods and hence while the Indian worker has to toe the line set by other standards the result of research fails to have local values. In the main, "Science", as C. H. Waddington says, "is analytical" and is interested in fact-finding. It cannot assess values. It is here we see the tragic failure of agricultural science in that we are assessing research facts with local values over which it has no manner of control. Thus the agricultural worker is set a difficult task of deciding whether he has to stay with the pole of local values for his findings or sail with the punt of research on international standard. The result is that though the research sections are manned by highly trained staff, whose anxiety to keep meticulously to international standard, even to the crease of their trousers and their cut, is barren of results in raising the general standard of agriculture in the country.

There is another aspect of the working of science, which should be noted. Science, being essentially analytical, has given room for specialisation so much so that the specialists are made to work in blinkers "knowing more and more about less and less." Agriculture, to be successful, is to be practised as an integrated whole—a co-ordinated, convergent drive of allied subjects for increased crop production. A practical successful demonstration of such farming to interest capitalists for large-scale farming or to fill the gap of food-grain shortages, is notoriously conspicuous by its absence, which shows the weakness in the grouping and handling of scientific knowledge to yield results. These conditions remind one of the reported custom in China of having two chauffeurs for every car—one to drive and the other to teach him how to drive.

The Economic Aspect

Ruskin says in his Political Economy, "What is chiefly needed in England at the present day is to show the quantity of pleasure that may be obtained by a consistent, well-administered competence—modest, confessed and laborious. We need examples of people, who, leaving Heaven to decide whether they are to rise in the world, decide for themselves that they will be happy in it and have resolved to seek, not greater wealth, but simpler pleasure; not higher fortune, but, deeper felicity, making first of possessions, self-possession and honouring themselves in the harmless pride and calm pursuit of peace." Those that are conversant with the life of the Indian agriculturist can without hesitation say that such an ideal, which is recommended for England, had been put into practice in old India thousands of years back. Even now without such an outlook, life in an Indian village is almost impossible. A life dedicated to such an ideal is being shaken to make the agriculturist answer to the definition of a modern economic man. Sir Maurice Gwyer defines the modern economic man as "a person who acted wholly from motives of self-interest without regard to the interests or indeed feelings of other men, and who took advantage of every opportunity, which presented itself to add to his own wealth." Now, I ask, is this the kind of economic man we want to make our farmer?

Considerable light has been thrown recently on the want of reliable statistics on the subject of agriculture which should hamper reliable planning. Speaking on the subject in opening the Indian Economic Conference, Sir A. Dalal said:

> "This science is the latest and as far as statistics were concerned not only were there substantial inaccuracies in the material available, but, there were also large gaps even in such statistical material as had been so far collected in this country."

Sir L. K. Hyder in his presidential address pointed out that "the field of Economic History of our country lies unexplored." Speaking on agricultural planning in the post-war period, Sir Manilal B. Nanavaty emphasised that

> "Rural population was composed of all grades of civilisation from the primitive man to the highly efficient cultivator and planning must be on a sociological basis, covering every aspect of a man's life and must keep in view needs and possibilities of different regions."

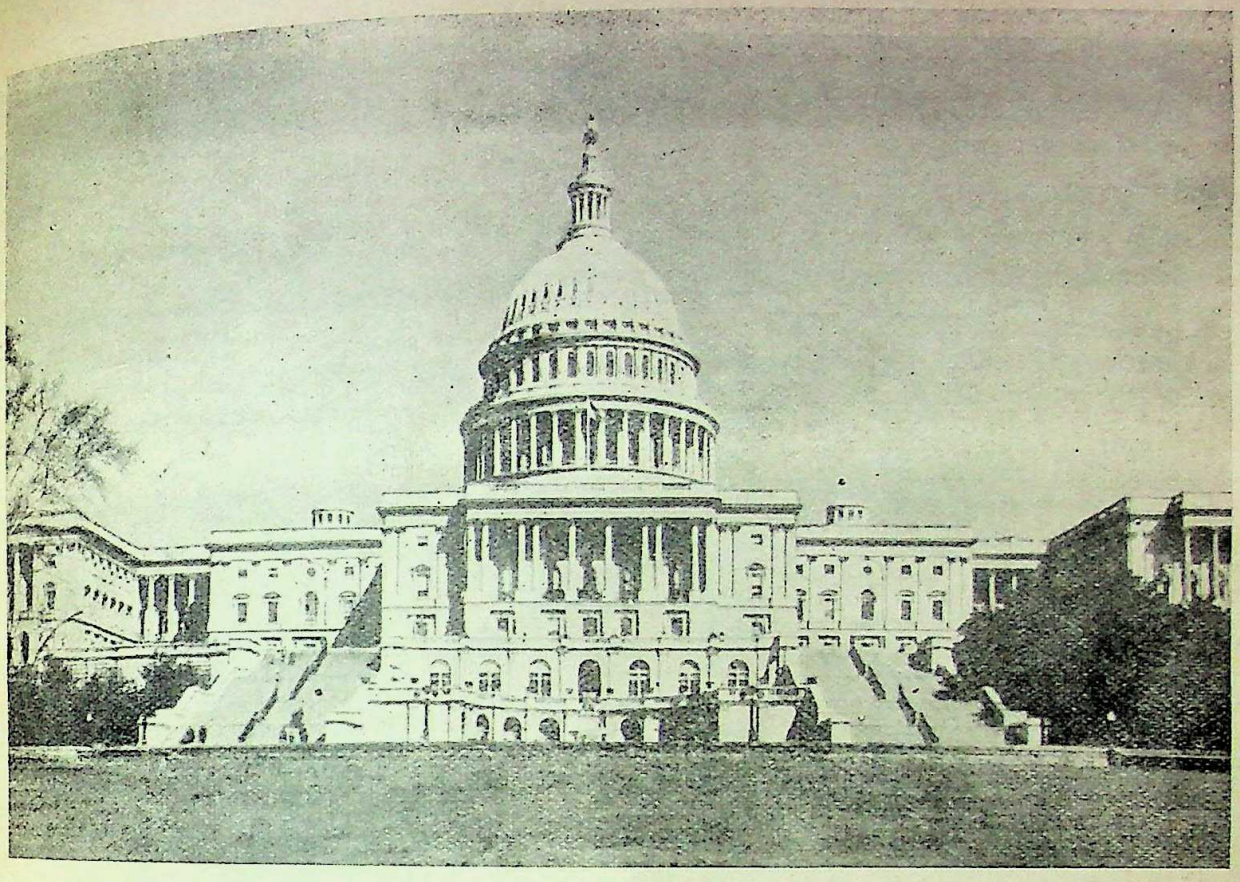
Bombay Plan makes it clear that agricultural improvement is necessary so as to raise puchasing power of the farmer to absorb increasingly the output of industrial concerns. Those that are in intimate contact with farming will not hesitate to admit, so far, the word economics as applied to other professions, has no place in the scheme. A local Kannada proverb shows what the farmer thinks of statistics—*Setti Lekka Bittu Ketta, Ryata Lekka Ittu Ketta,* which means that a setti (merchant) is ruined if he does not maintain accounts whereas a ryot is ruined by keeping accounts. I am very doubtful if even Government farms keep accounts which can stand up to accurate auditing and for striking a proper profit and loss account. For a long time yet the local farmer will have to carry on without the application of economics in the modern scientific sense.

Agricultural Education—A Failure to Turn Youngmen to Agriculture

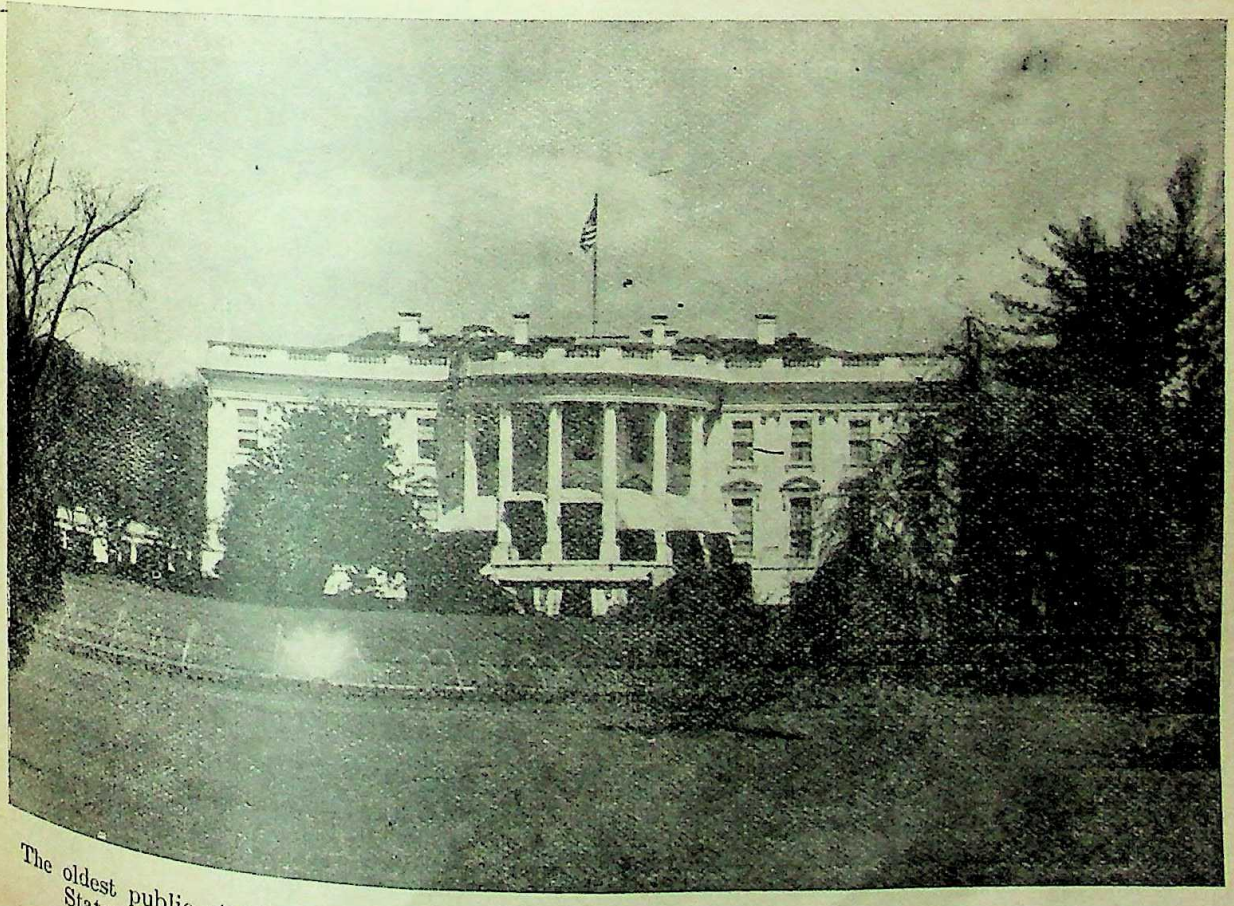
Agricultural Education through its organized institutions began about the year 1905. In keeping with its sister literary education, which prepares boys for a better life without providing with the knowledge as to what standard of life he can afford, so also the agricultural education has been training students preparing them for an advanced scientific agriculture without teaching them what exactly the life of the agriculturist means. Without labouring much on the point, it may be said, that most of the men, who have gone out successfully from agricultural colleges and schools, are to be found in any vocation but agriculture. They are to be seen in such jobs as Station Masters in railways and telegraphists and even in Government service in the departments like Police, Revenue or Magistracy. Every agricultural college or school, while calling for applications for admission, makes it a point to emphasise that the applicants must be from agricultural classes and own lands. The minimum standard for admission into the college is a pass in Intermediate Examination of the University. This almost imposes a condition on the students of their having left all connection with rural life for at least five years because, when the boy leaves the primary school, he practically bids good-bye to agricultural bias he may have, as no High Schools or Colleges are situated in villages.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The U.S. capitol, a great white domed building where the U.S. Congress convenes, dominates the capital city of Washington

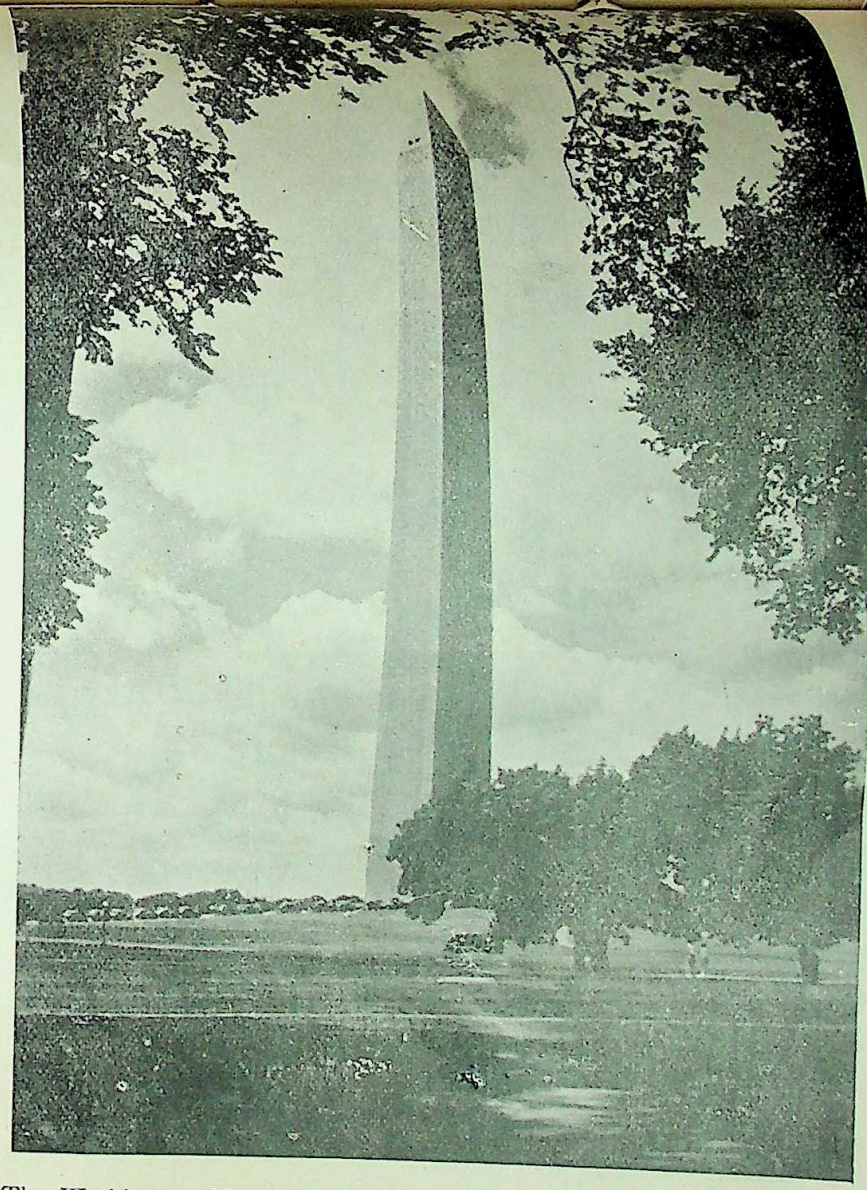


The oldest public structure in Washington, the Executive Mansion of the President of the United States, has been known as the White House to millions of Americans for generations

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



The Statue of Liberty, towering above Bedloe's Island in the harbour of New York City, is symbolic of the principles upon which the U.S. Government was founded. The statue towers 305 ft. from the foundation of the pedestal to the torch



The Washington Monument, erected in honour of George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the American Revolution and first President of the United States, is 555 ft. high, constructed of masonry and is the tallest structure of its kind in the world

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Agricultural education therefore becomes, on all fours, a training for a qualifying degree as other university degrees are. It should be no shame to admit its failure in as far as it cannot be made use of in full in its application to a resourceless, poverty-ridden farming. Even the few cases where the trained graduate takes to farming are almost sure to answer to the description of Mark Twain about Henry Ward Beachor, 75 years ago. Mark Twain said of him, "He was a very inferior man, when he first began, and he is now fast rising from affluence to poverty."

Attempts at covering up this failure are very much in evidence as one can see in the rapid development of the agricultural departments to absorb the stream of successful students.

Social and Psychological

It is common knowledge that though the profession is one of the noblest, as a man in this profession can live a life of honesty and integrity, the farmers occupy in modern society the lowest status.

Mr. W. H. Moreland, while speaking on the "Outlook of the Indian Cultivator" says in the Report of Royal Agricultural Commission :

> "It may be affirmed with confidence that the welfare and prosperity of rural population will not come by technical advances alone. The will to live better must furnish the driving power that is required . . . in other words the central problem is psychological, not technical. . . . The dominant feature in Rural India at the present day is that the will to live better is not a force to be reckoned with except in particular circumstances."

A deep probing into the case will show that in regard to the older folk their tribulation, experience and deferred hopes have brought on a feeling of frustration. Though for themselves it is too late to change to modern life, they are forced, against their will and knowing the disastrous consequences such a step will entail on their age-long estates, to allow their ambitious youngmen to leave the agricultural profession to seek a better living in urban areas.

Agricultural Administration

It would be interesting and instructive to study how the improvements, which have been worked out in the laboratories and experimental farms, are made to reach the cultivators on the field. There are three agencies at work with varying degrees of knowledge and power.

First comes the scientist, who, with his eye on recognition from foreign workers, sets standards and attains results, which cannot be made use of fully by the resourceless cultivator. Then comes the District Officer and his staff, who is expected to apply these results through propaganda and demonstration to change the age-old methods of the cultivator. They find in the majority of cases that, in the complexity of the ryots' condition (economic, social and psychological), the improvements emanataing from the scientific sections are mostly unco-ordinated and fragmentary and so unacceptable by the ryots. Finally, we have the inescapable fact that the Agricultural Departments are part and parcel of the huge machinery of Government and are worked by the inexorable and common rules and regulations of general administration. Seniority in service must have precedence over ability, knowledge and aptitude in giving promotions, and communal politics has, of late, come no second in making confusion worse confounded. When the departmental machinery under such conditions fails to reach efficiency standards as measured by the yard stick, not of scientific achievements, but of service standards, it is not uncommon to see a civil servant from general administration being posted as head of the department who, being accustomed to impose administrative authority, relegates research to a secondary place and standardises efficiency through a round of recognised routine of reports and returns. Under pressure of administrative exigency it has become common to see officers from scientific sections with no knowledge of agriculture and who have never been on any agricultural farms being made to play the role of agricultural advisers, as district officers, to the very men who, through patient toil and tribulation, have built up a system of agriculture which is full of results.

With the background sketched above it should make one doubly doubtful, if, in post-war planning, agricultural improvements mean merely an extension and elaboration of the existing system, it would not merely be holding out promise to the underdog of agriculture of another tail to wag and nothing more.

———:O:———

LAW, LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

A Synthetic Approach

By Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY,
Law Department, University of Allahabad

Law stands to be illuminated by literature and philosophy. Law is the "concrete realization of phiosophy" and law and philosophy are lit by literature. Law is the "synthesis of speculations of ages as to the rules of human conduct, imposed in order to protect, not merely society as an organisation, but the individual from evil."

Manu, a legal philosopher of great renown, draws the motive for desisting from crimes from a deep delving into human nature :

> सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभोहि शुचिर्नरः ।
> दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते ॥

> "The whole race of men is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to be found ; through fear of punishment indeed this universe is enabled to enjoy its blessings."

Philosophy is "investigation and love of wisdom," and wisdom is an *achievement*. The wise person is beyond the dualism of hope and fear. The true philosopher is a "synthetic thinker and spiritual seer who by knowing *Brahman* realizes everything else and communicates *his wisdom to others*."

"The State," says Aristotle, "comes into existence for the sake of life but it exists for the sake of the *good life*." (*Pol. I*, 2).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What are the things that make men *happy* as distinguished from pleasant? "To watch the corn grow or the blossoms set, to draw hard breath over plough-share or spade; to read, to think, to love, and to pay" —(Ruskin) these make men *happy*.

How literature serves a handmaid to philosophy?

"All that is really beautiful is offered to us as a gift from the Maker. We are allowed to see the sun arise and set, to watch the clouds sailing along the sky, to enjoy the forests and the fields and the glorious sea, all without spending even a copper-coin. The birds sing to us for nothing and we pick up wild flowers as we walk along the roadside. There is no entrance fee to the starlit halls of the night. There is so much beauty all around that the thirst for it need never go unslaked or unsatisfied. A thing of beauty is a joy for ever."†

Where Law and Philosophy Meet

In ancient Hindu theory, the temporal sovereign was not the source of law. Man-made law and revealed law were incompatibles.

Where law is a revealed one, sanction is a religious and moral one. In ancient Hindu society, where religions and secular elements were interwoven, and where civil and criminal sanctions were found in the state of non-separation, fear of consequences in the other world was as much a reality as in the present existence. A certain dread of divine displeasure always acted upon the human mind.

The divine origin of law and the great antiquity of it going to a dim past produced in the mind a sympathetic attitude of willing compliance. Deference to authority and to a superior is a characteristic of all minds steeped in tradition. Conditional evil *a la* Austin is not the only force that secures obedience to law. Man finds it easier to acquiesce than to resist.—(Bryce: *Studies in Histoiy and Jurisprudence,* Vol. II, p. 41).

Democritus (460-360 B.C.) laid down, "The laws would not forbid each to live after his own liking so long as the one did not injure the other." The famous appeal of Antigone to the eternal unwritten laws is couched by Sophocles, a great Greek tragic dramatist, in these words:

"Yea, for these laws were not ordained o. Zeus
And she, who sits enthroned with gods below,
Justice, enacted not these human laws,
Nor did I deem that thou, a mortal man,
Couldst by a breath annul and override
The immutable unwritten Laws of Heaven,
They were not born today nor yesterday;
They die not; and none knoweth whence they sprang."

In Socrates, we find the identification of justice with obedience to the law. He associated with the idea of the unwritten law, the notion of the universally valid law which came from the gods.

"One of the most moving episodes in all literature is that which describes how Socrates in prison, when urged by his friend Crito to escape, praises the laws of his fatherland as the basis of all social order and firmly refuses to depart from them, though he knows that obedience is death."—(Max Hamburger: *The Awakening of Western Legal Thought,* p. 111).

Plato laid strongest emphasis on the moral fac in relation to the idea of justice.

'Man is a social being,' says Aristotle, the fai disciple of Plato. The distributive measuring rod is principle of *Isotes*, equality before the law.

Law and Morality

Morality has been a source of law, a supplem of law, a prime test of its interpretation and an u mate limit to its sphere and degree of enforcement.

Conception of "Right"

When the claim of each is only limited by t power of each, we can have nothing of the nature o right.—(J. Brown: *Underlying Principles of Mode Legislation,* p. 245). But when the claim of each limited by reference to the claims of others we ha rights.

Methods of Studying Jurisprudence

"Any constructive study of jurisprudence mu be historical, it must be analytical, it must face th facts of our present social order, and to be produc tive of the highest results, it must be broad in it scope."—(*Political Theories*: Merriamak, p. 176).

The purposes of criminal justice have deep adve tance to its *philosophical* basis. Transgression of the La which bound king as well as the subject had to b punished. The primary principles of punishment were for the *protection of the people* and restraining them in paths of virtue through fear of punishment. For according to Manu, if the king were not without in dolence to punish the guilty, the stronger would roas the weaker like fish in their elements.—(*Manu,* Chapte VII, 20).

It is not at all surprising that Jhering should con sider punishment as no unmixed evil but having the effect of purifying the offender and reconciling him again with gods and men.

The Basis of Property

"Property is objectified will." This metaphysical theory of property is perhaps the nearest approach to the concept in a historical sense. The subjective will of man acquires for it an objective existence by appro priating the material objects and others. Such an ex clusive acquisition and use of material objects that are scarce and desirable have been important factors in the life of man. "Such ownership or property has been desired and striven for, partly for pleasurable consump tion, partly as means to further acquisition of consump able goods, but also for power over other human beings and for the prestige that attaches to ownership and power."—(J. A. Hobson, *Property and Unproperty* p. 13).

In such a complete grasp of juristic principles, the names of a few legal philosophers emerge themselves out of the archives of time. Manu, the austere Hindu Law-giver, Yogi Yajanavalkya, Solon, the Greek Law giver, the noble Papinian, who died a martyr for truth and justice, stand out as beacon lights for future genera tions. In the last century England produced one such in Sir Frederick Pollock. The science of law would become an arid track if it be not lit by philosophy and literature. This border-land was called the "penumbra of legal science." It is in such a deep and extensive study that the end of all social sciences can be realised. If the desires of men are always deserved that society would consist of *happy* individuals indeed.

† Sir J. Wadia in the *Indian Review,* December, 1944.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRAGJYOTISHAPURA

By JOGESCHANDRA RAY, Vidyanidhi

The name Pragjyotishapura occurs in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and meant a city which had formerly been a seat of *jyotisha*, astrological and astronomical learning. Who, why and when gave this old name to Kamarupa? It seems to me certain that Sakadvipi Brahmins while migrating to Kamarupa carried the memory of their father-land and applied the name to their new home a few centuries after Christ. These Brahmins are known in Bengal as Acharya and in Assam as Daivajna. Their ancestors were devoted students of jyotisha, computed almanacs on which depended the social and religious observances of the Hindus and weilded enormous influence thereby on the society. Every king had his astrologer as much as the family priest as a member of the royal court. The performance of Grahayajna, the Tantrika rite of propitiating the planets, was their exclusive function. Even now the majority devote themselves to the study and profession of jyotisha.

The ancestors of these Brahmins originally came from Sakadvipa, one of the seven countries of Asia known to the Indians in ancient times. A Dvipa, primarily means a piece of land having water on its two sides. Jambudvipa, India, is a typical example. Sakadvipa was the country surrounding the sea of Aral and extended southwards to the Karakorum and Hindukush ranges. There are passes, though high, across the Karakorum, the Gandhamadana Parvata of our ancient geographers. Hindukush was probably known as the Varaha-parvata.* Sakadvipa contained population of four classes. The highest class contained as among the Aryans, the intellectual priests called Maga. They were worshippers of the Sun, made his image like a human being, introduced Sun-worship in India and formed a sect called Saura. The Aryans of the Rig-Veda worshipped the attributes of the Sun but did not conceive a human form of the luminary. The Maga Brahmins were great astrologers and astronomers. They introduced the Saka era, when the summer solstice took place at the first point of Pushyanakshatra. When it receded a quarter nakshatra space which it did in 241 years the so-called Gupta era commenced in 78 + 241 = 319 A.C. Both the eras are of astronomical origin. Scholars have searched in vain for historical events which they imagined were commemorated by the dates.

According to the Mahabharata, Pragjyotisha was situated somewhere on the southern border of the Sakadvipa. We learn this from the account of the military expedition of Arjuna, who went out to exact tribute from the kings of the northern quarter (Sabha, p. 25). "He defeated the kings of the countries which lay in the north and those of Sakala-dvipa. Sakaladvipa was one of the seven dvipas. With these kings he marched to Pragjyotisha. Bhagadatta was the king. He had armies of Kiratas, Chinas and the people who lived in the coastal tracts of the sea." The Kiratas were the turbulent hill-tribes and the Chinas the Chinese. The sea referred to here is the sea of Aral about which lay the Saka-dvipa. From this account, it appears that, Pragjyotisha was situated far to the south of the sea.

This situation of Pragjyotisha is corroborated by another passage of the Mahabharata (Asvamedha, p. 75). Bhagadatta is described in many places as the king of the Yavanas. The Yavanas lived beyond the present Western Frontier of India in the fourth century B.C. Hence it appears to have been what was known as Chinese Turkistan. It is at present a Republic of Soviet Russia.

There was another Jyotishapura, Uttarajyotishapura, *i.e.*, the city which took the name later, 'Uttara', as distinguished from former 'Prag'. Uttarajyotisha lay to the south of Indraprastha, and was conquered by Nakula (Sabha, p. 37). In the absence of connecting links it is impossible to identify the two Jyotishapuras. It is, however, obvious that Pragjyotishapura became famous for the jyotisha learning of the Saka Brahmins. The date of the chapters on the conquest of the four quarters may be put down as the fourth century B.C. It is to be noted that the poet knew the river Lauhitya, modern Brahmaputra, but not the country on the other sides.

The Ramayana also mentions Pragjyotishapura in connection with the search for Sita in the four quarters (Kisk. 42). The town is said to have been in the western quarter, in the Varaha-mountain which was ruled by wicked 'Danava' named Naraka. The mountain is, however, placed in a deep ocean, though no instruction was given to the scouts to cross it.

The situation of a place indicated by the points of the compass can not be fixed unless the central place is known. In the Ramayana account the central place is apparently Ayodhya, Lucknow. Now, if two straight lines be drawn from this place, one along the south-west and the other along the north-west point, the region included between the lines would be the western quarter. In the Mahabharata account the central place is Indraprastha, say, Delhi, which is far away to the north and west of Lucknow. The north quarter will include the region between the North-West and North-East points. It thus appears that Pragjyotishapura lay somewhere in the North-West Frontier of India. It might be a place like Chitral. The sea mentioned by the poet of the Ramayana was probably a wide river

In the Mahabharata (Vana, p. 241), we are told that as the Pandavas were approaching the Gandhamadana mountain they saw a white hill formed of the bones of Naraka Asura mixed with stone. This account also shows the position of Pragjyotisha on the North-West Frontier of India.* In his *Arthasastra*, Kautilya praised the white silk of Suvarnakudya in Assam. Apparently he did not know Pragjyotishapura.

---

* See Brahmandapurana.

* The situation raises an important question: Was Pragjyotishapura, the place of the Vedanga Jyotisha, the celebrated astronomical tract for computing the dates of Vedic sacrifices? The latitude was 35 deg. N. and the date (as shown by me in 'The First Point of Asvini', Prabasi Press, Calcutta) was 1372 B.C. The latitude of Chitral is 35 deg. N. Therefore, the place of the Vedanga Jyotisha was Chitral or somewhere about it. If this conjecture be correct, Pragjyotishapura had been a seat of astronomical learning of the Vedic Aryans as well as the Saka Brahmins, before the Mahabharata account.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Brahmandapurana (48.50) has Pragjyotishapura for Kamarupa. The Purana is said to have been taken to Java in the fifth century A.C. It is, therefore, as old at least as the third century A.C. There was a colony of Sakas in Upper India giving the name Saketa o Ayodhya. They were defeated by Bhima who went towards the east. Probably the Saka Brahmins migrated from Upper India, entered Kamarupa about the second century A.C. and made their influence felt by transplanting Pragjyotishapura with all its old traditions and geographical names from the north-west to the north-east corner of India. Examples of old names given to new places are common. And who would think of jyotisha except those that were interested in it?

The Kalikapurana was composed in Assam about the eighth century A.C. But it received interpolations and additions about the tenth or eleventh century. It gives a fantastic explanation of the reason of the name of Pragjyotishapura given to Kamarupa. It says that in a previous age staying in this place Brahma left out a Nakshatra, hence the name Pragjyotisha (प्राङ्नक्षत्रं ससर्जह 38. 119. Bangabasi edition, Calcutta). Evidently this refers to the omission of Abhijit from the circle of Nakshatras of the ecliptic. There were twenty-eight Nakshatras. The number was reduced to twenty-seven, when the vernal equinox used to occur in Rohini (Mahabharata—Vana, p. 228 or 229). The date is about 3250 B.C. at any rate before the composition of the Yajurveda (2500 B.C.). If the reading of the Sloka be: प्राङ्नक्षत्रानि मसर्ज, Brahma created the Nakshatras, *i.e.*, if the formation of the circle of twenty-seven Nakshatras were meant, its date would remain the same.

This does not, of course, mean that the Grahavipras of Assam were not ardent students of Jyotisha since their arrival in that country. I understand a large number of manuscripts on Jyotisha have been collected in Assam. There are, undoubtedly, many still lying neglected in remote parts of the province. These should be collected and all classified with dates. Among them may be found original works of importance. I am personally interested in tracing the existence of a manuscript dealing with a remarkable Yuga of 247 1/12 tropical years, probably known as Mahesvara Yuga. Every Yuga commenced on a Sukla Saptami of the month next to that of the preceding Yuga. The Sukla Saptami of every month thus became sacred to the Sun. The Yuga gives a solar calendar and was probably in use for the daily affairs of life. It is a remarkable fact that the solar calendar is followed in all the eastern provinces of India, from Assam to Madras, unlike the rest of India. Who introduced the solar calendar, is a question, that has not been answered. Light may be obtained from Assam.

The Kalikapurana, as seen above, felt called upon to explain the origin of the name Pragjyotishapura. The author certainly knew that the Nakshatras of the ecliptic were designed in the Punjab and not in Assam. Barring similar instances of partiality for Kamarupa he seems to have predilection for astronomy. He knew many astronomical cycles and had remarkable insight into it, unlike most Puranic writers. A few instances are given here to illustrate the point:

(1) Take the birth of Naraka. His mother was the Earth and father, the heavenly Boar, the white Boar, the sacrificial Boar, all well-known names of the constellation Mriga (The Orion of European Astronomy). Vishnu assumed this form to raise the Earth from water which submerged her. The constellation while rising in the east appears to come in contact with the Earth. This is poetically described as sexual union of the Boar and the Earth. The union took place on the day of the summer solstice when the Earth receives the first showers of the rainy season is supposed to be in menses and unclean. The union took place at midnight. We guess it from the fact that Naraka was born at midnight. A little calculation will show that this happened six thousand years ago. Naraka, the issue of this union, was an Asura like Bali whom Vishnu in the dwarf incarnation placed in Patala (southern sky). Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* invokes the names of Bali and Sambara, Naraka, Kumbha and Nikumbha as magic *mantra* to cause slumber.

It is, however, quite possible to have an earthly counterpart of Naraka. There are many examples of such double representation. He was produced from the Earth like the Bhumija, 'indigenous', of Orissa, a sturdy race, and happened to be the chieftain ruling over Kiratas. The heavenly and the earthly traits have as usual been mixed up in the legend.

(2) Apart from the story it is noticeable that the author of the Purana takes particular care to tell us the dates of events, showing his fondness for astronomy. We know there were two systems of measuring time, Daiva and Manusha. A Daiva Yuga is 360 times longer than the Manusha Yuga. The Puranas as a rule make no difference between them and speak of Yuga without the qualifying adjective. The author of the Kalikapurana often specifies the Yugas stating them to be Manusha. For instance, he says, Rama slew Ravana in Manusha-Treta-yuga, Devi Dasabhuja manifested herself at the beginning of the Manusha-Treta-yuga of the first Manu. This habit of limiting the period is characteristic of one who deals with measurable time.

(3) Several Puranas have described the birth of Parvati. But the Kalikapurana appears to be the only Purana in which the date of the birth is given (41.41). She was born at midnight of Sukla-ninth with Nakshatra Mrigasira in the Vasanta season. The date appears to be the Sukla-ninth of Chaitra, the first month of the Vasanta season when the preceding summer solstice happened on the Sukla-first of Sravana. In the same chapter we learn that Mena, the mother of Parvati, observed vows for twenty-seven years. Evidently the Nakshatra cycle of twenty-seven years was in mind.

(4) An interesting instance of the author's insight into the facts of legends is found in the statement that the buffalo which the goddess Durga slew was the body of Rudra (60.156). Perhaps no other Purana would have ventured to tell us the nature of the buffalo. Rudra in the Rig-Veda is said to be as terrible as a wild buffalo, a boar, a lion. These animals could be pictured in the Mriga Nakshatra representing the body of Rudra.

(5) The author of the Kalikapurana has taken many stories from the Matsyapurana. Among these is the story of the marriage of Siva with Uma, the daughter of Himalaya. The date of the marriage is not found elsewhere. It is thus defined in the Purana (44.41): "It was a Thursday, the Sukla Fifth of Vaisakha, the Moon in Uttaraphalguni and the Sun at the beginning of Bharani." Uttaraphalguni appears to be incorrect.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and should have been Ardra if the other data are accepted. The Nakshatra Uttaraphalguni is auspicious for marriage and perhaps some astrologer wrongly introduced it. On the other hand, Ardra whose presiding deity is Rudra would have been more appropriate. The Sun enters the Bharani division on the thirteenth-day of Solar Vaisakha. Strange to relate traders of this district of Bankura in West Bengal, at least the older generation, observe the date for opening new account books, called *Hal Khata*. Business account books are changed on the New Year's Day. There is, therefore, no doubt of the thirteenth Vaisakha having been once the New Year's Day, exactly like the first of Vaisakha observed at present. In a legendary account, Ramai Pandit, the founder of Dharmapuja in West Bengal, is said to have been born on this date, which is defined by the same terms except the Moon's Nakshatra. His followers observe it as a holy day. As far as I am aware, no other part of Bengal, not even perhaps Assam, remembers this date.

The year satisfying these conditions is found to be 571 B.C. when the vernal equinox happened on a Wednesday, the Sukla Fourth of Vaisakha. Therefore, the new year began on the day following.* Varahamihira says that the astronomer Garga reckoned the Nakshatras from Bharani. There is reason to believe that Garga was a Grahavipra. He was a famous astrologer and astronomer of old. It was he, who gave the name Krishna to Nanda's son and alone knew who he was. [The boy Krishna who performed the wonderful feats was the sun. He was later mixed up with the historical Krishna.]. Probably Kalikapurana and the astronomers of this district owe the date to some common source. Did the author of the Purana know that the date of Siva's marriage was too near to be believed? Was he tempted to quote the date because of its association with the name of Garga?

Being ignorant of the social history of Assam, I am unable to adduce evidence of the influence and status of the Grahavipras in olden days. Much can be gathered from the examination of the surnames of the Brahmins. These surnames were at one time titles enjoyed by their forefathers. For instance the surname Dalai is a corruption of Sanskrit 'Dalapati', the captain of a company of troops, a title found also in Midnapore. Baradalai is a head captain. Grahavipras officiated as priests of temples. They still retain the privilege in some parts of India. It will be interesting to enquire who the priests in the Kamakhya Temple were before the present Vaidika Brahmins came and took up the duties of the priests of the temple. Was the author of the Kalikapurana a Grahavipra priest of the temple? If not, it becomes difficult to understand why he attempted to justify the name of Pragjyotishapura for Kamarupa while he displayed enough knowledge of astronomy and why he devoted so many chapters to the description of Kamarupa.

* According to many Siddhantas the rate of precession of the equinoxes is 54 seconds per year. The equinox, therefore, takes 889 years to recede one Nakshatra space. In 319 A.C., the epoch of the Gupta era, the equinox was at the beginning of Asvini. Hence it was at the beginning of Bharani in $(-889+319) = -570$ A.C. $= 571$ B.C. Here is a proof that Saka $241 = 319$ A.C. was the year when the Nakshatra circle commenced with Asvini. If we take Saka $421 = 499$ A.C. as the starting year we come to $(-889+499) = -390$ A.C. $= 391$ B.C. when the conditions are not satisfied.

BEETHOVEN AND HIS MUSIC

By J. N. GUHA

In the musical world Beethoven is as much a genius as Shakespeare and Leonardo da Vinci are in the domains of literature and art. I do not think any other composer has ever reached such prolific height, no, not even Brahms or Wagner, as Beethoven has in his incomparable sonatas, symphonies, and later quartets. In fact, it can be rightly stressed that had there been no Beethoven, the world would never have had Brahms and Wagner. The latter are so much steeped in the spirit of Beethoven that Wagner had even been heard to remark, "If one studies Beethoven's ninth symphony meticulously in all its aspects, one is bound to learn everything that is in music", and it is a well-known fact that Brahms' first symphony was hailed by everyone as Beethoven's tenth.

Beethoven's Genius

The reason of Beethoven's greatness lies in his independence of mind and spirit. Beethoven, in his earlier compositions, followed the same classical style of Mozart and Haydn—one has only to hear his first symphony and first piano concerto to prove it. At their first hearing, it is very difficult to differentiate them from any similar works of Haydn and Mozart, although, I must say, both the works distinctly bear the masterly stamp of Beethoven. His fifth symphony stands out as a landmark in the symphonic world; for the first time a symphony is composed which does not adhere completely to the age-old traditional style and forms of classical works. All his subsequent works show definite signs of the romantic elment, which greatly influenced the later generation of musicians. In other words, Beethoven was dynamic and versatile and never was afraid to adopt new and revolutionary methods.

In all, Beethoven composed nine symphonies, five piano concertos, a good number of sonatas for solo pianoforte, overtures, and chamber music.

The most popular symphonies of Beethoven are third, fifth, sixth (pastoral), seventh and ninth (choral). The last one is very seldom performed as it requires a large orchestra along with a trained chorus to sing the finale, Schiller's poem, "Ode to Joy." Wagner asserts that not in his life-time had he ever heard a faultless performance of the ninth, which is indeed a giant among symphonies. The recording of this work by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra is anything but satisfactory.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Symphony of Victory

The fifth symphony is, of course, well-known to the present generation for its majestic opening bars, which represent the symbol of victory over tyranny. In the third movement, grand 'appreggios' by the Cellos and Double Basses very appropriately reminded Berlioz, the great French composer and music-critic of "the gambolling of elephants." The sixth (pastoral) is the first of its kind to depict nature in its different phases. There are divergent views on the "Pastrol" being played with animation in Walt Disney's "Fantasia." Personally, I thought it was grand. The seventh shows the master in his dominatingly gay mood and Wagner aptly calls it "the apotheosis of dance." Of the eighth, Beethoven used to call it "my little symphony." There is an episode on his third (Eroica). After the French Revolution, Napoleon's rise to power infused great hopes in the masses of Europe but alas! he turned out to be a Dictator. Beethoven originally dedicated his third to this saviour of mankind but when the French army beseiged Vienna, where Beethoven had been living then, he tore off the score and rewrote it, adding a funeral march as one of the movements.

All the above symphonies are brilliantly recorded by H. M. V. under the inimitable conductorship of Arturo Toscanini.

Piano Concertos and Sonatas

Among his piano concertos, the most favourite are the fourth and fifth (Emperor). The last one—surely it can be called "Emperor" for its majestic movements—is brilliantly recorded by both Artur Schnabel and Walter Giesking while the fourth could be heard on records played by that eminent pianist, Wilhelm Backhaus. Beethoven's first concerto is also a favourite piece with music-lovers, but as I said before, definitely Mozartian in style.

Beethoven composed a lot of sonatas for pianoforte. He himself was an expert virtuoso pianist and therefore his music for pianoforte is always grand and inspiring. His famous sonatas are as follows :

'Pathetique', 'Appassionata', 'Hammer-klavier', 'Waldstein', 'Moonlight' and a host of others. The finest slow movement of all musical works is, I think, the Andante from 'Hammer-klavier.' Geisking's recording of this is worth collecting, while Edwin Fischer interprets the rest very efficiently.

Besides these piano sonatas, there are sonatas for violin and piano and for cello and piano. The most notable one is "Kreutzer" sonata for violin and piano, skilful interpretation of which is given by that wonderful virtuoso violinist, Yehndi Menuhin and his sister, Hephziba. One of the finest chamber music pieces ever composed is "Archduke" Trio by Beethoven. Brilliant recording of it has been done, the players being Solomon (piano), Holst (violin), Pini (cello). At least, this is in no way inferior to its previous rendering by Cortot, Thiband, and Cassals.

His Masterpieces

Beethoven's quartets, composed in his later years when the master was in full maturity of his spiritual upliftment, are masterpieces of highest excellence, rather difficult to comprehend at its first hearing even for the most musically-inclined ears. In one of the Brains Trust Sessions of B.B.C., a question was put to this effect, "What would you must have, if you are stranded in a lonely island in the remote corner of the Globe ?" Dr. C. E. M. Joad, the philosopher, answered "Beethoven's later Quartets." This is the highest tribute I think, one can give to this sublime music of celestial beauty. Likewise, Beethoven's Mass in D Minor should be always considered the most heavenly music of this kind ever composed.

Last but not the least, mention of Beethoven's grand and majestic overtures must be made. The most prominent of these are : Neonara Nos. I, II, III, Egmont, Coriolanus, Prometheus, Ruins of Athens, etc.

Leonara No. III, according to Sir Charles Grove the erudite music-critic, is the quintessence of all music, and musically it is a piece of music more perfectly composed than any other. And we are given a superb recording of it by the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Bruno Walter.

Beethoven's Life-sketch

Ludwig Van Beethoven was born in Bonn, Rhineland, of a Dutch father and a German mother. He showed aptitude for music from his childhood and was given early musical teachings by his father and the local musicians. Then he was, when very young, brought to Vienna, the hub of the musical culture in those days. Mozart was then at the peak of his fame. When he heard Beethoven for the first time playing a piece of his own music, he embraced him and publicly kissed him on both cheeks and prophesied that the young boy was the budding Prophet of the musical world. Mozart's words were not uttered in vain—Beethoven did become the Prophet in the art of music.

For the best part of his life, Beethoven lived in Vienna. He was mostly poor excepting in the later period of his life, when he had a few years of comparative comfort. He had among his friends a few of the then European nobility, such as, Kreutzer, Waldstein, etc, in whose names he dedicated some of his works. Beethoven's contemporary was another great man, Goethe, and their meeting is still regarded as one of the great historic events of the world.

Beethoven's love-life was not successful. It is a fact that he fell in love with three ladies but each time his love was turned down. The C sharp minor sonata, so commonly known as "Moonlight", was composed when Beethoven was under the influence of violent love—it is not very difficult to believe in the authenticity of this episode, particularly when one hears the serenely melodic slow movement with which the sonata opens.

Life's Greatest Tragedy

It is easy to divide Beethoven's life into three stages, of which the middle part is very rich with the finest music ever written by him or for that matter, by any other composer.

The greatest tragedy of Beethoven's life was the infliction of gradual deafness and afterwards complete deafness, which denied him listening to his wonderful music composed at the full height of his genius. At the first public performance of his immortal masterpiece, ninth symphony (choral), Beethoven was present. With the last bar of music, the whole house rose to offer the master its tumultuous cheers, but alas! he did not even know that the symphony was finished. Then when he was told of the vociferous joy and thunderous applause of the audience, he rose from his seat and acknowledged their greetings. Such is the irony of fate.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It has been argued that Beethoven's slow movements are so serenely beautiful, yet so full of pathos, that only he, being so sad and disappointed in life, could have written such music. Against this contention, Emil Ludwig, that distinguished critic of music, says in the preface of his book, entitled *Beethoven*, "It is true Beethoven was sad at heart and his slow movements only too clearly reflect this. But he never let himself succumb to this low-down feeling as one finds in all his third or final movements when he always emerged victorious."

That was Beethoven, the conqueror. Throughout his life he fought his adverse fate squarely and always came out with his head high above the pettiness and insignificance that environ the mortals. Like Shakespeare and Leonardo da Vinci, his contributions will ever bring forth joy and solace to the multitude of human beings throughout the vast expanse of this universe.

———:O:———

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

We have been so much accustomed to hearing, as also the world outside, unmixed praise of the Indian services, in particular, of the Indian Civil Service that occupies the key position in the Indian Administration and practically runs the show, that its efficiency, wisdom and certitude have been taken for granted without dispute. There was a time when the compliment paid to the service was not altogether unmerited but as it is often said power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The Indian services have been no exception to this law. Exercise of power without responsibility has corrupted them intellectually and morally. The process of their degeneration has long set in, although it attracted notice and stirred public conscience to an extent never before thought of when the administration in Bengal practically broke down under the strain imposed by the emergency conditions created by the imminent threat of Jap invasion on the borders of the province. The most glaring evidence of incompetence and corruption of administration is furnished by the catastrophic Bengal famine of 1943, the worst in living memory which carried off about two millions of people according to admittedly modest computation. Although Bengal and parts of Orissa were worst affected, scarcity of food was general throughout the country. There has been a lot of controversy as to how far the famine was man-made and how far it was an act of God. An attempt has been made on the official side to attribute it to the failure of the *Aman crop* in the winter of 1942-43, but even making full allowance for this factor the calamity can not be even partially accounted for by it and the conclusion of official incompetence and indifference cannot be avoided on any showing. By November of 1942 it was clearly evident that the season's harvest was exceptionally poor and the peak of the famine was reached in the last few months of the year 1943. So there was enough time to adopt the necessary measures to avoid the worst features of the famine, at least to minimise the mortality rate and other effects of scarcity. But far from adopting necessary measures to cope with the impending calamity the Bengal Government kept announcing stolidly that there would be no scarcity even when the year was advanced and scarcity was well under way. Then there was mutual recrimination between the Central and Provincial Governments as to the allocation of responsibility for the famine. These facts themselves hardly indicate a healthy state of affairs in the administrative organisation of the country.

The account given in the report of the Famine Enquiry Commission of the stages through which the famine came about and the steps taken by the Government to cope with the crisis makes a dismal reading and a sad commentary on the incapacity, lack of foresight and imagination and a callous indifference to the sufferings of the people on the part of the officials of the Governments of India and Bengal. The whole business was a tale of bungling and muddling. It showed beyond doubt, as nothing before had done, that a bureaucracy tends to become mechanical and wedded to routine. It runs smoothly so long as the routine conditions prevail, but fails miserably before any unforeseen emergency. The same story of bungling was repeated in the confusion and chaos which was experienced at the time of the bombing in Calcutta and the consequent mass exodus of people from the city. The mismanagement of the system of controls introduced, universal corruption and jobbery in the Civil Supplies organisation also point to the same conclusion. It is in this background that a committee was set up in Bengal to enquire into the working of administrative machinery of the province in December, 1944. We propose to deal with some aspects of the work of the Committee in this and subsequent articles. The first thing that strikes us about the work of the Committee is that the scope of the enquiry, as laid down in the terms of reference* and as conceived by the Committee itself, was too narrow. They related only to a reorganisation of the machinery of government and personnel management while the real problem is deeper and more fundamental than this. What is wanted above everything is an administration inspiring confidence in the people, that is, an administration under the full control of the ministers responsible to the people. Without this condition any amount of reorganisation and reform in administration is bound to prove futile. But the scope of enquiry as laid down in the terms of reference and as accepted by the Committee itself assumes the existing framework of government as its basis. This was certainly an initial handicap imposed on the Committee.

---

* Vide Government of Bengal, Chief Secretariat Resolution No. 5505-A, dated the 5th December, 1944.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The terms of reference of the Committee are as follows :

1. "To assess the work to be done by the Government of Bengal both now and in the foreseeable future in order to ensure the efficient government of the province of Bengal on modern and progressive lines.

2. "To report to what extent the existing administrative machine is adequate in structure, extent and quality, and to recommend methods of improving it at all levels to render it adequate, for the efficient discharge of that work.

3. "In particular to examine—

(*a*) the suitability of the present territorial jurisdictions (*e.g.*, Divisions, Districts, Subdivisions, Thanas and Circles);

(*b*) the extent to which, and the directions in which local self-governing institutions may be utilised as an efficient adjunct to the administration with special reference to public health ;

(*c*) the desirability of employing technical personnel and its co-ordination with the existing structure of district administration ;

(*d*) sources and systems of recruitment to, and conditions of employment of, the public services with a view to :

(*i*) securing the best men with due regard to the declared policy of Government in respect of Communal reservation, and

(*ii*) precluding discontent, irresponsibility and temptation to corruption.

4. "Generally to make recommendations for the improvement of administration."

The Committee themselves understood their task, to use their own words,

> "as that of a machinery of Government Committee and as not requiring us to concern ourselves with questions of policy . . . Broadly, therefore, we have confined ourselves with the questions of principle, *e.g.*, while on the organisation side we have devoted considerable attention to the structure of the Government machine, both at Headquarters and in the districts, we have not attempted to go into the detailed organisation of individual Departments . . . ."

So the Committee worked under an initial handicap which limited the scope of their enquiry and we have to review their recommendations in the full knowledge of this condition. As we have already pointed out, within the existing framework of government not much improvement of a substantial nature can be expected by merely dotting the 'i's and crossing the 't's of the existing machinery.

Another handicap under which the Committee had to work and to which they themselves have referred is that although by their terms of reference they were required to take into account both the work to be done in the present and in the foreseeable future yet they were not given any idea about the Government's policy in the future or in their post-war plans. "In the absence of any such indications," they observe,

> "We endeavoured to obtain from the several departments a statement of what they had in mind for the post-war period. The replies we received were, with exceptions, not very encouraging or very helpful. It appears that for the most part, the plans are far from being completely digested and have been drawn up in separate compartments without any attempt to relate them to the schemes of other departments and without any reference to the financial or technical resources likely to be available."

It was yet clear, however, that the main emphasis in the activities of Government would in future lie on the development field and so they applied themselves to the task of overhauling the machinery of Government with the requiremnts of development kept in the forefront. From this angle, in their view, the most urgent requirement was to work out as soon as possible an ordered plan, properly articulated as to its constituent parts and phased as to its rate of achievement within the limits of technical and financial practicability. This gives rise to the question of priority among different schemes which is a matter of Government policy. On this question the Committee takes the view that advance in the economic field should take precedence over development measures in the sphere of social services such as promotion of educational and cultural activities though not minimising the importance of the latter in any way.

> "Indeed," they observe, "the full potentiality of the physical and human resources of the province can not be achieved until education is much more widespread than it is at present. It is merely a reminder that first things must come first, and that advances in the economic and social field must be properly phased."

We have, however, doubts in our mind if they have correctly judged about priority. From their own statement quoted above it would appear that education should have priority over advances in other fields. It seems to us that items in a comprehensive post-war development scheme can not be tackled piecemeal; they are so co-ordinated and inter-related that advance in one field can not be made without advance in other fields. It is like team work, the whole caravan must move along together or it would come to a stop. The question of priority apart, however, we quite agree with them that any material advance in either the economic or the social field would require—

> (*a*) "the provision of a large number of trained personnel," and (*b*) "the elaboration of methods and procedures in the realm both of technology and administration."

They are equally justified in holding that these requisites are at present lacking in Bengal and therefore their main task is to evolve a machine which will be adequate to the end in view. At the very outset they recommend as the essential pre-requisite of giving effect to their proposals for overhauling the machinery, the scrapping of the outworn system of land tenure in Bengal and the adoption of the majority recommendations of the Floud Commission.

It would appear that the Committee's analysis of the nature of the problem confronting them is on the whole satisfactory. We are afraid, however, that their diagnosis of the fundamental evil of the existing administrative machine is not so happy. This they find in the comparative cheapness of administrative and inadequacy of staff in relation to other provinces. The ratio of the higher administration cadre to the population is, in their view, the lowest of all provinces with the excep-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion of Orissa and the *per capita* expenditure on Government in Bengal since the beginning of the century has been lower than that of the four other major Indian provinces. Their conclusion is, therefore, "in the past, Bengal has not been so much badly administered as under-administered." Many will not see eye to eye with the Committee on this point. Cheapness or dearness is always a relative matter, but it should be appraised on the basis of its relation to the *per capita* income of a people, and not to the *per capita* expenditure on administration incurred on different areas. Merely saying that Bengal's *per capita* expenditure on administration is less than that of Bombay does not prove the cheapness of Bengal administration, if her resources are much poorer than those of Bombay. The amount of expenditure by itself does not offer any sound basis for comparison of cheapness or dearness. Moreover, the comparison should not be restricted to the provinces among themselves but to the progressive countries in the west, due allowance being made for the disparity in the level of wages and prices. But cheapness by itself need not lead to bad administration necessarily. Benefit of administration can be maintained by proper and wise distribution of the expenditure among different heads. To be in a position to state that Bengal has been under-administered it is necessary to make a comparative study of the relation between the output of the administrative work and the staff employed in a number of countries which has not been done by the Committee. Such undemonstrated statement by the Committee is liable, as it has actually been subjected, to the charge that it has been put forward as a pretext for further expansion of superior services thus adding to the opportunities of further European employment. Actually the recommendations made in the report go to a great extent to confirm such suspicions.

Few would find fault with the other factors which they regard as special handicaps in the way of administration in Bengal. They are :

(*a*) Inadequate communications.
(*b*) Unweildly size of some districts.
(*c*) Unstable support at the command of the Government since the introduction of provincial autonomy, and
(*d*) The absence of a revenue staff which in other provinces provide a personal link between the Government and the people right into the villages.

So far as inadequate communications are concerned, that has got to be dealt with in the post-war period not only as impeding the speeding up of the wheels of the administrative machine but also as a means of economic regeneration of the province.

The Committee has made some recommendations for offering Government officials special facilities for touring and establishing speedy contact with mofussil areas ; these are quite good. But these alone will not meet the needs of the situation, unless the general communication system of the province is improved. As regards the unweildy size of the district as a factor standing in the way of good administration, the Committee itself recognises the difficulty in laying down any precise limit to the ideal size of districts as units of administration. They say :

> "What is a manageable size of a District is a matter of judgment rather than of formula."

Yet they have recommended the splitting up of some of the existing districts and this recommendation has already been taken up by the Government in regard to some of the districts concerned. We agree that administrative convenience is a very important consideration here, but it is not the only consideration. The political, financial and economic implications of the partition of the districts should also be carefully considered before any action is taken. Already in some of the districts representative bodies have voiced their opposition to the measure. It is not wise to carry through such measures in the teeth of popular opposition. So the Government should take proper notice of the intensity of popular feeling on the question and weigh it against the administrative advantage to be derived from the partition before taking the final decision. To our mind the consideration of the question should be better postponed till the coming into office of a popular government of the province as a result of the forthcoming elections. It is not so very urgent that it must be attended to immediately. A Government enjoying the confidence of the people and responsible to them is better competent to deal with such problems than an irresponsible bureaucracy.

So far as the third difficulty, *viz.*, unstable support behind the Government goes, it may be hoped that the new election will do away with this handicap by placing a Government with a stable majority in power.

As regards the fourth difficulty, *viz.*, that arising from the absence of a revenue staff in the interior to serve as local representatives of Government the Committee has suggested that the Government should give the earliest possible effect to their decision already taken to adopt the majority recommendations of the Floud Commission. This is also a controversial issue and we should think the responsibility of giving effect to it should be left over for the popular ministry to undertake. Without anticipating their decision we may make an alternative suggestion for the creation of a local agency. This may perhaps be found in Union Boards revitalised on the lines suggested by the Committee and also the increased number of Circle Officers as recommended by them.

It is not possible within the compass of this short paper to review their detailed recommendations on various heads such as the structure of the machine (*a*) at headquarters and (*b*) in the districts, personnel questions, speeding the machine, service conditions and local bodies as adjuncts to administration, which we propose to do on a subsequnt occasion. Here we have confined ourselves mainly to the preliminary problems facing the Committee.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

FOOD SHORTAGE IN INDIA AND GOVERNMENT'S DUTY

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The food situation in India marks a new departure in the history of the Government of India in so far as handling of famines in the past is concerned. From 1770 up to 1943 the attitude of the Government had been of 'no shortage' even when famines had been taking tolls in millions of human lives. The changed attitude is a happy augury. Destitutes are now dying only in tens and not hundreds every day.

It is admitted on all hands that without substantial imports from other lands, the situation can not be tackled at all. Siam, Australia, Ecuador, U.S.A. and other countries should be requested to come out with generous help. Stop all exports, and in spite of repeated statements by responsible officials that all exports have stopped there is a lurking suspicion that facts are otherwise. Remove all suspicion by removing the causes.

A faithful statistics of the total requirements and actual stock in the country should be prepared. High ranking officials differ on the question of estimated deficit. According to one, it is three and according to another, it is seven million tons. This is deplorable.

In approaching people to have an idea of their stock, they should be assured that nothing would be taken from them unless it is willingly parted with ; that full compensation would be paid and every one would be allowed to lay sufficient food aside for the requirements of his entire family and even of near relations.

Introduce a better procurement scheme and store grains in the villages for meeting the needs of the local people. Construct granaries in the model of the old. They may be available on payment of rent or requisitioned if the situation demands. For grains already procured better storage arrangements are absolutely necessary. Prevent waste in Government stores and deal with offenders sternly for any waste. The question of storing paddy instead of rice should be thoroughly gone into. The husk is a natural protection against influences of weather and weevil.

Remove all unnecessary pressure on food by sending away military and other personnel without delay. Enforce strict economy in military establishments ; introduce rationing in military diet. Public or Government and private banquets, dinners, etc., should be abandoned, if necessary, by legislation prevented.

Suggest alternative food such as groundnuts, peas, chana, maize, etc., and make them available to the people. Subsidise sale to make prices attractive. Do it without delay so that people may get accustomed to such diet and may not suffer for continued use during times of stress.

If the situation has already been very grave, control all sales of foodgrains, ration all areas. Monopoly in grain trade by the Government should be introduced.

Make other necessaries of life such as cloth, fuel, kerosene, mustard and coconut oil, salt, sugar, etc., easily available and within reasonable price. Money (and time) saved on these items will go a long way in meeting prices of edibles besides cereals.

Look into the financial side of the poor and lower middle class of the population. Improve upon or open new sources of income. The situation is worse than what it was in 1943 because hundreds and thousands of people had then been earning a lot in connection with the War. Some people and their dependents are already in the grip of famine and are dying by inches.

Remove or lighten the burden of taxation as far as possible. Enhancement of Sales Tax (in Bengal at the present moment) is most inopportune. Remove or charge on Income Tax on small incomes, say, Rs. 3,0 a year. Revise railway rates and remove distress re-introducing tickets having three-pies and nine-pi over half-anna and anna rates in their value. (The system of "rounding off" was introduced in the early part of 1943 due to extreme scarcity of small coins). Remit land taxes where distress is acute.

Make generous grants to existing government machinery dealing with health, sanitation, education etc., matters on which the poor people have to spend a lot. Such grants to charitable institutions will save a few rupees a year to every poor man and this will be diverted to purchasing of edibles. From this time onward employ able but indigent males and females in village uplift work for which there is provision (at least, in Bengal, to the extent of Rs. 950 lakhs). When actual famine breaks out these persons will not prove additional burden to the relief workers.

Adopt long-term measures for growing more food ; adopt tank irrigation immediately ; import deep tube well equipments on priority basis ; sink wells and generously supply Persian wheels. Supply better seeds and institute agricultural demonstration centres in or about the villages.

Watch strictly all governmental operations over measures adopted for the mitigation of distress. Remove corrupt officials and deal sternly with anti-social acts on the part of traders, officers and members of the public.

Remove, as far as possible, all points of friction with the public. On the apprehension of the breach of the peace, do not adopt measures whereby greater disturbance of peace and tranquillity with loss of valuable innocent lives and permanent maiming of limbs are caused. Calcutta, Bombay and other places are instances.

Infuse courage in the hearts of the people and let them feel that you have been doing your utmost to meet the situation. Remove all causes of suspicion and misunderstanding by frequent issue of *truthful* communiques or press notes. Spread of all rumours should be met with counter propaganda.

Take the public into confidence and seek more active co-operation from them. Relax official control when relief units are found dependable. Petty interference and a high-brow attitude should be avoided by all means.

Place administration of food in the hands of a non-official organisation with representatives from the Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations, preferably from different provinces.

All parties have signified unequivocal support to Government in handling the food situation. Lay the foundation of working jointly in face of danger by harnessing all parties in the Central Food Organisation where, it is expected, first lessons will be taken in working in a larger sphere.

Release all political prisoners and create an atmosphere of mutual goodwill between the people and the Government. The political prisoners are seasoned and selfless workers and will prove a source of great strength to the Government in handling famine.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRE-MAURYAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

By AVINASH K. SRIVASTAVA

The subject is pretty comprehensive and the field is extremely wide. The term pre-Mauryan includes an aeon extending from a historically conceiveable period up to say that of the artistic and architectural achievements of Asoka Maurya. Art and architecture both form a "matrix" of civilization, which, when viewed from a historical standpoint, appears the main material evidence preserving the story of man's intellectual evolution, his aspirations and his trend of life and thinking through the ages.

Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have revealed the existence of a full-fledged civilization (c. 3250-2750 B.C.), sometimes called Indus civilization, supposed to have once spread over the whole of northern India including the land watered by the Ganges and the Jumna. This civilization reveals the earliest known phase of the building art in India. The finished quality of the material used, the high standard of their manipulation and the astonishing stability of the architecture as a whole is simply marvellous. But aesthetically this period is branded as barren as would be the remains of "some present-day working town of Lancashire" a few scores of years hence. These were mainly a trade-loving people whose style is aptly styled as one of "stark utilitarianism." With the help of mud-mortar burnt bricks were used in the way which is known as "English bond." Wooden lintels, stout beams and planks have been recovered from the ruins which were apparently used for the upper storey constructions.

The Indus civilization is also noted for the construction of a variety of buildings such as dwelling houses, market halls, store-rooms, courtyards and baths. Special mention may be made here of a large house looking like a palace with a frontage of 85 ft. and a depth of 97 ft., and a courtyard 32 ft. square "surrounded by chambers on both ground and upper floors, paved with brick and provided with a covered drain which was connected with vertical drains discharging into small earthenware vessels sunk beneath the courtyard pavement for purposes of the upstairs privies."

Another elaborate construction worthy of note is the great Bath. This singular structure seems to have been a big establishment including a swimming bath 39 ft. × 23 ft. × 8 ft. (deep) with flights of steps at the ends. On all the four sides of the bath there were verandahs backed by galleries and rooms, and wells to fill the bath. Charcoal and ashes found indicate the existence of an upper storey of timber as well. To make the bath watertight and its foundation secure, "the lining of the tank was made of finely dressed brick laid in gypsum mortar, about 4 ft. thick ; backing this with an inch-thick damp-proof course of bitumen" further stabilized "by another thin wall of burnt brick behind it ; then came a packing of crude brick and behind this another solid rectangle of burnt brick encompassing the whole." One of the accessories to this great Bath is supposed to have been a *hamam* showing traces of hypocaustic system of heating.

The construction of this 'hydropathic establishment' reflects great credit on the engineering of about 5,000 years ago.

Other antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa include limestone figures of bearded men, terracottas representing female figures and various kinds of animals (even rhinoceros), and a blue faience tablet with a cross-legged figure, kneeling worshippers, a *naga*, and some pictographic characters. Painted pottery and seals with various kinds of animals and pictographic letters neatly inscribed are found in abundance. Similarly there is no dearth of beads, ornaments of chank and carnelian, rings, stones, bangles, pestles, gold jewellery, coins, implements and tools. Iron from metals and the horse from animals are of course wanting.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri had carried out some excavations at Buxar where he brought to light ruins of a chalcolithic city (3rd millennium B.C.) and a series of terracottas, some showing affinity with those of Sumer and Sindh, and some comparable with those of pre-Sumerian Eridu and Aegean. "These two strata of terracotta preceding the primitive stone Yakshas of the focrth century B.C. point to the pre-Aryan culture-currents."*

To the Dravidians Indian art is supposed to be indebted for the cult of phallus, mother goddess and other popular deities and nature spirits. Their bamboo constructions and temples also played a great part in determining the origin of Indian architecture. For, after the decay of the Indus civilization when the art of building again comes into view in the Vedic period of the Indo-Aryans, it no longer consists of well laid-out cities of finished masonary but takes a start afresh in the form of rudimentary village huts. A parallel instance of this type is also to be found in the West when the Mycenaeanized Greeks or the Romanized Gauls had to relinquish methods of their permanent construction and revert to the 'temporary habitation of wattle and daub.'

The evidence of Aryan art and architecture in the form of ruins extant or monuments preserved for the period when the foundations of Vedic culture were laid, is extremely scanty. The reason of the paucity of this architectural achievement is that the material used (*viz.*, timber, earth, stucco, and unbaked bricks) was of perishable nature which could not escape the assault of the ravenous tooth of time. A peculiar philosophy of life also, occupying the minds of the people, maintained an illusory character of the world, which made them detached rather than devoted to the task of erecting monuments capable of outlasting time itself. Furthermore, as Indian art and architecture had a religious origin in the prescription and construction of Vedic fire-altars, the art of building and 'design' was not popularised lest the uninitiated should participate in it and impair the efficacy of sacrificial rites. Otherwise there are numerous literary references to the arts of carpentry, metallurgy, weaving, sewing, tanning, pottery, textile, etc.

The village was elaborately constructed and fenced. Timber and bamboo were largely used for the hut and house, post and porticullis.

The only monument extant which could be assigned with certainty to the Vedic period is the Vedic burial-mound of about eighth century B.C. unearthed at Laurayia Nandangarh. This also yielded a gold plaque upon which was impressed the figure of a nude female

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

* *Indian Science Congress Handbook*, 1933.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

supposed to be the Earth Goddess of Vedic burial hymns.

M. Dubreuil also deserves the credit of discovering at Kerala and near Tellichery in Malabar certain rock-cut tombs of which the most typical example is the tomb with a circular chamber and a very slender central pillar. A Vedic fire-altar is also traced in a hollow cave, hemispherical in shape, discovered at Cananore in Malabar.

Some of the minor arts of the period may be inferred from antiquities unearthed in the Taxila excavations at Bhir mound. These include beads, articles of stone, terracotta reliefs and polished sandstone discs, testifying to a high and technical level of the art of glass making and cutting and polishing stone. These and such other antiquities found at Bhita, Basarh, Pataliputra and Nagari are the precursor of the great artistic developments of the Mauryas and are assignable either to the latest phase of the Vedic period or just to the age of the Buddhistic activities.

The regular political history of India begins with King Bimbisar of Magadha, belonging to the line of the Saisunaga kings according to the Puranas, and to an independent imperial dynasty of his own name according to the Buddhist canonical literature. The *Vimanvatthu Commentary* (p. 82) mentions the name Mahagovinda as Bimbisara's architect and town-planning engineer. Bimbisara is said to be the founder of *Giribraja*, "hill-fort." Later he had also moved his capital to New Rajagriha. His son Ajatasatru is credited with the erection of a splendid pandal at the entrance of the Sattapanni Cave in the hills of Rajgir on the occasion of the sitting of the second Buddhist Synod. In the *Mahaparinibbanasuttanta* we find mention of the names of Sunidha and Vassakar, the two ministers of Ajatasatru, who were specially deputed for laying the foundations of the historical and holy city of Pataliputra.

The only remains extant of the Bimbisarian period are the walls and ramparts of the old city of Rajagriha, a few houses and a few rock-cut caves. The fortifications are of cyclopean proportions and are of stone masonary. Rough piles of undressed stone and boulders are carefully fitted and bound together for up to a height of 12 ft. Small blocks with cores compressed are less carefully prepared and mortar has nowhere been used. The example of the Pelasgian architecture of the Acropolis at Athens of the same age suggests that there might have been a superstructure of wood and brick or stone and brick upon this cyclopean stone masonary as well.

Another interesting pre-Mauryan monument is the Piprahwa *stupa* on the Nepal frontiers with the following inscription inscribed on the urn recovered from within it: "This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the August One, is the pious foundation (*Sukiti*) of the Sakyas, His brethren, in association with their sisters, their children and their wives." It is believed that this is one of the eight original *stupas* in which were enshrined the last remains of the great Sakya by eight different claimants, and among whom the Sakyas of Kapilavastu were also one. That there were *stupas* in existence before the reign of Asoka is evident from his Nigali Sagar Pillar Inscription, where he records the enlargement of the *stupa* of Buddha Konagamana, which, thus, must have been in existence for some time before his rule.

The Piprahwa *stupa*, when opened, was found to be a solid cupola of brick-work having a diameter of 116 ft. at ground level and standing only about 22 ft. high. The bricks were huge slabs, the largest measuring 16 ins. × 11 ins. × 3 ins. The *stupa* was built round a massive stone coffer of grey sandstone 4 ft. 4 ins. × 2 ft. 8¼ ins. × 2 ft. 2¼ ins. in size, containing the sacred relics of the Buddha. "The masonary of the *stupa*," says V. A. Smith, "is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great standstone coffer could not be better made; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of lapidary and goldsmith."

In Fergusson's opinion a stone structure at Rajgir called Jarasandha Ki Baithak, is also anterior to Asoka. The remains of a cyclopean enclosure wall of a shrine dedicated to Vasudeva Samkarshana at Nagari in Rajputana, also belongs to a period slightly earlier than the great Maurya builder.*

In the end mention must be made of some Yaksha statues of pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan period whose plastic form and elements of decoration set up an iconographic type which inspired greatly the later statuary of the Sungan and the Kushan periods. This was the cult of the Yakshas, one of the many demigods of popular belief, which led to its artistic expression in the construction of the statues carved in the round.

Two colossal detached figures of reddish-grey sandstone were excavated by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton from the vicinity of Patna in 1812, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. Tytler in 1821. These are now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Both are fat-bellied standing figures of 5 ft. 5 ins. and 4 ft. 9 ins. each. In the first one head and arms are lost, and in the second the countenance is defaced and limbs are missing. In drapery and decoration the second one is a replica of the first, which wears armlets and a heavy necklace of several strings of beads. Drapery is marked by lines in relief, and consists of a loin-cloth tied by means of a long belt with a somewhat stylistic knot below the navel, and a scarf passing in an oblique fashion over the left shoulder. There are traces of a fly-whisk and the so-called Mauryan polish on these statues. Behind the shoulder on the scarf of both the statues are inscribed inscriptions in the characters of about the first century A.D., recording that one is the figure of 'Yaksha Sarvatra Nandi' and the other of 'Bhagawan Akshatanivika' *i.e.*, Kubera of inexhaustible riches. Considering the archaic features of the statues it appears that the sculpturing belongs to the second-third century B.C. and the inscription was added later.

From the iconographic point of view it conforms to the Yaksha Manibhadra from Pawaya in Gwalior Museum. The drapery lines are comparable with those of the female *chauri*-bearer from Didarganj, now in the Patna Museum, assignable to the age of the Mauryas.

According to Smith, the earliest example of 'early' sculpture as distinct from Mauryan is found in the Yaksha statue, labelled Manibhadra, obtained from the village of Parkham, 14 miles south of Muttra on the Grand Trunk Road, and now kept in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra. Some scholars, including Jayaswal, opine that this and the Patna sculptures are the contemporary portraits of the kings of Magadha in the fifth century B.C., *e.g.*, Ajatasatru and a Nanda King (cf. *JBORS*, Vol. V, Part IV, December, 1919).

* See *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 4, pp. 138.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Anyhow, the over-life-size Parkham Yaksha is a conspicuous and archaic statue of polished grey sandstone almost similar to that used for the Asokan pillars. The height including the pedestal is 8 ft. 8 ins. and the breadth across the shoulders is 2 ft. 8 ins. The 'excessively massive body' possesses considerable grandeur and it impresses one by the 'sheer force of its volume'. It is clothed in a *dhoti* with an elaborate frill hanging in front, the sheet being tied into a looped knot by means of a flat girdle. A scarf is tied round the chest, and the ornaments consist of heavy ear-rings, a triangular necklace, and a flat torque from which four tassels hang down on the back.

A female standing figure in the round (6 ft. 7 ins.) probably of a Yakshi, found at Besnagar near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State was presented to the Indian Museum by H. H. the Maharaja Sindhia in 1885. Though the statue has suffered considerable mutilation from violence and exposure its strictly frontal pose indicates a naturalistic modelling and recalls the Sanchi bracket-figures to our mind. The double breast chain, heavy head-dress, linked belt of beaded strands and heavy ear-rings deserve particular notice. Drapery on this and the Parkham is indicated at the back by horizontal lines, incised, unlike the relief of the Patna statues.

Other examples of such colossal statues are: (1) Baroda (Muttra) Yaksha, (2) Yakshi of another Muttra village worshipped as Manasadevi, (3) Another Muttra Yaksha noticed in the U.P. Historical Society Journal, May 1933, (4) Fragments of a Yaksha statue from Kosam, (5) Another Besnagar Female Statue, locally known as *Teli* or oil-woman, described by Cunningham who also mentions the existence in his time of a polished sandstone elephant and rider.

The Besnagar *Kalpa-vriksha*, 'wish-fulfilling tree of Indian tradition', is also sometimes assigned to the pre-Mauryan period. The sculpture shows the sacred tree *Ficus Indica* encased by railing at the base and a network of bamboo fencing a little higher up. Certain objects symbolical of riches, prosperity and affluence, which the *Kalpa-vriksha* is believed to bestow upon its worshippers, are hanging from its branches.

The foregoing description of the various Yaksha statues is indicative of many important and interesting details. We have here the evidence of a distinct school of sculptors with Muttra as its central producing market. The Besnagar Female Figure bears the inscription that its sculptor was one Naka, a pupil of Kunika. The Parkham Yaksha mentions another pupil of Kunika named Gomitra, thus signifying to the various sub-branches at distant places of one school of sculptors led by Kunika.

These detached statues should be taken as earliest examples of indigenous Indian art. This art may also be aptly styled as popular or folk-art prevalent among the masses and devoted to the worship of godlings, or semi-divine beings like the Yakshas, Nagas and Tree-spirits, whose portraits were also sculptured. The existence of an indigenous folk-art, as distinguished from the art of the cultured classes is also evident from the mention of two different terms for artists by Panini, *viz., Rajasilpis, i.e.,* Court artists and *Gramasilpis, i.e.,* the artisans in the employ of the village communities (V. 4. 95.).

The Yaksha statues are not entirely devoid of artistic merit. Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks how they are "informed by an outstanding physical energy not obscured by their archaic stiffness, and expressive of an immense material force in terms of sheer volume"; representing "an art of mortal essence almost brutal in its affirmation, not yet spiritualised, without any suggestion of introspection, subjectivity or spiritual aspiration." "Stylistically the type is massive and voluminous and altogether plastically conceived, not bounded by outlines."

This oldest icnographic formula of Indian art served as the forerunner or the 'grand ancestor' of all subsequent Indian statuary. The *flair* for representing gigantic forms of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha which followed the Yaksha statues, and the taste for exaggeration in art persisted for a considerable period of time in the artistic history of India.

——:0:——

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Second Enlarged Edition. 1944. Pp. 589. Price Rs. 7.*

In the present edition there are 166 chapters and 11 appendices. The new material incorporated consists of 21 chapters and one appendix. The former consist of articles which appeared in the *Harijan* during the period 18-1-1942 to 9-8-1942 while the appendix is a summary made by Gandhiji of an exposition of non-violence by Dr. K. N. Katju which appeared in the *Harijan* on 26-4-1942. Excepting about a dozen sections contributed by the late Shree Mahadev Desai and Shree Pyarelal, the book as a whole consists of the writings of Mahatma Gandhi published in *Young India* and *Harijan*.

The masterly introduction by the late Shree Mahadev Desai constituting at once an interpretation of the doctrine of non-violence and an explanation of the inconsistencies in its appilcation with which Gandhiji has been charged, has to be studied carefully so that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the serious reader who only would enjoy a book like this may be in a position to follow intelligently the evolution of the doctrine. A factor which facilitates such study is the chronological order adopted in the arrangement of the material which, starting from the middle of August, 1920, ends with the beginning of the same month in 1942.

The wealth of literature thus made available, the various aspects of the problem handled, the illustrations to clear the philosophical ideas and the ethical ideals underlying non-violence make this book invaluable for the purpose and those responsible for both the selection and the arrangement of the material deserve congratulation. The Navajivan Press is doing a great service to students of Gandhism by the publication of books on its different aspects. A suggestion the reviewer would like to offer is that it should seriously consider the desirability of publishing in book form, all the more important pronouncements of Gandhiji on his theory of trusteeship which one may well regard as the corner stone of Gandhian economics.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

WHY VOTE CONGRESS : *By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Hind Kitabs, 107, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. 1945. Pp. vi + 81. Price twelve annas.*

This timely publication presents the Congress case briefly, yet very successfully. The author has dealt with how different classes of people like the peasant, the craftsman, the exporter, the industrialist or the merchant will be affected if the Congress comes into power. The achievements of the Congress Ministeries during 1937-39 are also described impartially, while the Fundamental Rights, the Congress Election Manifestoes are both given in the Appendix.

We are sure the booklet will serve a very useful purpose in educating the people before the coming elections.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE MODERN WORLD : *By Amiya Chakravarty, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). The Book House, 15, College Square. Calcutta. 1945. Pp. 13, one portrait on cover. Price twelve annas.*

A penetrating analysis of the significance and influence of Mahatma Gandhi on the modern world. Dr. Chakravarty ends by an extract from a letter of Mahatma Gandhi in which he wrote that the method of organising good must be opposite to the method of organising evil. 'What it is,' writes Gandhiji, 'I do not yet know fully. I feel that it lies, as far as may be, through perfection of individuals. It then acts as the leaven raising the whole mass. But I am still groping.'

The get-up and printing are good ; but the pamphlet seems to be very heavily priced.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

EPOCH'S END : *Tarashankar Banerjee, translated from Bengali by Hirendranath Mukherjee. Mitralaya, 10, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta. 1945. Pp. 314. Price Rs. 8.*

Out of the turmoils of Bengal famine and Eastern War's backwaters, the creative energy of Tarashankar Banerjee, a leading name among modern Bengali novelists, has fashioned this novel. The novelist needs no introduction to the Bengali reading public today ; but it was quite in the fitness of things that he should be introduced to a wider reading public, and Shri Hirendranath Mukherjee's venture has been in the right direction.

Tarashankar's knowledge of the poignant miseries of life and also of its resurgent idealism has been time and again in evidence in the series of novels and short stories he has been pouring out of himself. But his *Manwantar* has been a new experiment, a novel, in the metropolitan setting, and it is doubtful how far it has been wise to introduce him to the non-Bengali reader through this book. Tarashankar Babu's characterisation, his skill in portraying the decaying aristocracy and his power in showing the fire that still smoulders in it, have heavily lost in their migration from the village to the city. *Kalindi* or *Dhatri-devata* would have been a better choice.

The translator's note shows his awareness of what might or would seem to be blemishes in the eyes of the orthodox reader. Kanai, Neela and Bijayda emerge from the pages a happy group, looking forward to the future; the old revolutionary in Bijayda is passing through new experiences, or getting ready for them. There is genuine power in the delineation ; there are, at the same time, unsatisfying unmotivated episodes which slightly hamper the smooth working of the machinery as a whole. But perhaps that also is a part of the general design, and the reader will recall the comment made by Virginia Woolf on contemporary trends :

"Much of what is best in contemporary work has the appearance of being noted under pressure, taken down in a bleak shorthand which preserves with astonishing brilliance the movements and expressions of figures as they pass across the screen. But the flash is soon over, and there remains with us a profound dissatisfaction."

The novelist has tried, and tried successfully, to catch the mood of the transitional period, a mood of listlessness and charge-over, when we are moving or are moved from one age to another.

P. R. SEN

CONSOLIDATING BANKING LAW : *By Mr. K. T. Shah. Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pages 60. Price Re. 1-12.*

A bill to consolidate and to amend the laws relating to banking companies was introduced in the Central Assembly in November, 1944, and it was circulated for public opinion. The proposed measure has been very widely discussed and criticized from various points of view and that not always favourably. The small banks have their apprehensions as the proposed measure would greatly handicap their work and activities and it would adversely affect the growth of indigenous banking particularly in the districts. Besides the measure is meant for commercial banking of British type leaving aside co-operative, land mortgage and other institutions. Indigenous banking and their special nature of business, requirements and necessities are ignored by the authors of the measure. In no sense the bill can be called an all-comprehensive enactment. There is no provision for the compulsory inspection of Banks by Government Inspectors periodically as in some foreign countries. While the bill proposes to safeguard the interest of depositors, no provision has been made for directors from among depositors like policy-holders directors in Insurance companies under the Insurance Act, 1938.

Mr. Shah is not blind to good measures proposed in the bill but wants a more comprehensive Act rather than a half-hearted measure which betrays suspicion of the authorities towards Indian Banking. The suggestions in this brochure will be helpful to the members of the newly elected Central Assembly when the bill will be taken up for final consideration.

A. B. DUTTA

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA : *By K. M. Panikkar. George, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pages 124. Price 5sh.*

The countries of South-East Asia—Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Netherlands East Indies, Malaya and Singapore—which were either overrun or dominated by the Japanese after Pearl Harbour, have come to the limelight since their liberation from the Japanese yoke and have presented the most hotly disputed question of the rule of one race by another.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This book was written before the Japanese surrender following on the use of the atom bomb against two Japanese cities, but the problems envisaged by the author with which the United Nations would be confronted, have actually made their appearance and are still crying out for solution.

The author, who has made a special study of the cultural and strategic problems of this vast region inhabited by nearly 150 million people, has analysed in this book the historical, political and economic aspects of the nationalist movements now sweeping these lands and has arrived at certain conclusions. He is of the opinion that a return to the *status quo* is not possible under any circumstances. According to him, the problem of security in South-East Asia is essentially connected with the problem of freedom, and unless the post-war arrangements bring freedom to these countries, their defence cannot be assured even if the strongest foreign armies and navies could be mobilised for the purpose. The population are likely to be actively hostile and help the invader, as the extremist sections of nationalists in many of these countries are reported to have done during the Japanese occupation. The intensive nationalism that has grown up in South-East Asia will not compromise on the question of freedom and will undermine governments and organisations which are not built upon national foundations.

So far as the overriding question of defence is concerned, the author advocates a system of collective security based mainly on the co-operation of America and Britain, with local authority and responsibility shared mainly between India on the one hand and Indonesia on the other. The position of America in the Pacific will enable her to come to the assistance of South-East Asia within a sufficiently short period. Her Pacific Navy and her Air Force primarily based on Hawaian Islands will be able to move in support of local forces. Though the British Navy by its distance or preoccupation may not be able directly to participate in a war in South-East Asia, the Indian Navy with the co-operation of the British will be in a position to provide adequate protection, but essentially the responsibility for defence must fall on the local power of India and Indonesia.

Taking a long-period view, the author holds the opinion that it would not be in the interest of security to exclude Japan entirely from this area. She is bound to be under all circumstances one of the best customers of South Asiatic produce. The cotton of the Phillipines, the oil and rubber of Malaya and Netherlands East Indies, rice, sugar, hemp and quinine, in fact, all the products of this area find a ready purchaser in Japan. The exclusion of Japan from the economy of South-East Asia is neither possible nor desirable, although before Japan is allowed access to South-East Asian markets, she will have to provide concrete proof of her peaceful intentions and be prepared to co-operate with others for the prosperity of Greater East Asia. The author sounds a note of warning that any scheme which permanently excludes Japan from these areas will have slender chances of success.

The fundamental standpoint of the author about the political organisation of South-East Asia is sound, but some of his conclusions regarding the problem of defence have become slightly out of date by the discovery of such epoch-making weapons of warfare as the atom bomb. It is idle to look for the security of national boundaries when life itself is hanging in the balance.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

HANDBOOK OF SUGAR AND GUR INDUSTRY : *H. Bhattacharya. Published by the author from 11-B, Fern Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

In a short synopsis the author has made this technical subject quite interesting. The book is specially useful for the new enterprisers. It contains valuable information and data concerning Sugar and Gur industries of India and its neighbouring sugar producing countries. Only the sugarcane, date and palmyra varieties of gur are prevalent in Bengal. The author has thrown some light on the possibilities of some other species of palms which can be utilised for this purpose.

GOPAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

JAGATIK PARIBESH O GANDHIJIR ARTHANITI : *By Anathgopal Sen. Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8 C, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-8.*

It has been mainly as a sequel of the War and of the famine of 1943 that people's interest in the economic and political ideas of Gandhiji has at last been really roused. Before this, he was looked upon only as a moral or religious leader, and as a leader of political action ; he was supposed to have nothing new to offer by way of economic or political thought.

Of the few orthodox economists among whom Gandhiji found a sympathetic response, the name of the late Anathgopal Sen should stand as one of the foremost. Mr. Sen used to write a fine, lucid and pleasant style ; and latterly, he had devoted himself to the propagation of Gandhiji's ideas in Bengali with conspicuous ability. The present book is a collection of essays on the subject, which first made their appearance in the *Sanibarer Chithi*.

In these essays, Mr. Sen first dealt with the present crisis in Capitalism, and then examined the various solutions offered out of the crisis by the various ideologies of the West. He then proceeded to show how, in actual practice, many of the so-called progressive forces ended by tightening the hold of the State, or of a bureaucracy ruling the State, over the lives and destinies of the common man. Against this background of shattered hopes in Europe, he re-examined Gandhiji's economics of decentralization, and found in it the only hope for a world brought to the verge of ruin by centralization of all authority under various guises. Mr. Sen was of opinion that decentralization of political authority, *i.e.*, real democracy, can only come as a result of corresponding decentralization of the productive system. The last chapter of the book is devoted to an examination of Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship.

The book forms one of the best introductions to Gandhism in the Bengali language ; and we hope it will also be made available by the publisher to readers all over India by translations into Hindustani and other provincial languages of India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

DAKSHIN KI KAHANIYAN : *Compiled and published by Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras. Pp. 65. Price twelve annas.*

Though integral parts of the same Indian subcontinent, North and South India have long been kept apart for all practical purposes by the language barrier. Even English has not been able to break it in spite of its importance and predominance over all the Indian languages. Since the last three decades, to some extent, Hindi has fairly striven to accomplish this tremendous task of cultural affinity and national integrity. Having learnt Hindi, South Indians have lost no time to share the literary treasures of the North and in return have added many more from their own to it. This collection of Tamil, Telugu and Canarese short-stories is a contribution of the latter type. The short-stories selected for translation are quite good and tend to give a fair idea

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the trend of contemporary fiction in the principal South Indian languages. The translation is fairly good and makes interesting reading.

MADHU-MANJARI : *Compiled and published by Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras. Pp. 245. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review is a collection of representative Hindi short-stories compiled mainly for the consumption of the South Indians. Brief introductions of the authors have added to the importance and usefulness of the collection.

M. S. SENGAR

CHIDVILAS : *By Sampurnand. Gian Mandal, Limited, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Here is philosophy brought down from the clouds, on the one hand, and out of the closet, from the other. For, it is the thesis of the learned author, that philosophy should primarily enable an individual to understand aright the world in which he lives as well as to ameliorate it integrally. It is a link between the visible and the invisible, the inorganic and the organic, and the material and the spiritual. The book is complementary to the author's previous publication, partaining to the inter-relationship of Philosophy and Life, in which he raised a number of problems but of which he did not essay then a detailed interpretation or explanation. The present volume has done this now. It is divided into three parts. The first lays down the postulates and premises of philosophy ; the second deals with the vestibule of knowledge ; and the third provides the broad context of practical good conduct. The eminent scholar holds rightly that philosophy should be substantiated by spiritual self-discipline, else it will fail to be fruitful both in the life of the individual who pursues its study and in that of the society of which he is a member. He has fully drawn upon the works of the philosophers of East and West, for, as he maintains, to divide philosophy,—which is a search for the supreme Truth,—is as misleading as it is to parcel out that Supreme Truth into bits bearing different labels. *Chidvilas* is the playground of pure consciousness in the stuffy City of the Mind. It provides, therefore, a sort of open space, with its vision of the sky, to all seekers lost in the maze of merely intellectual concepts and conclusions. The Index at the end of the book is very helpful, indeed, while the printing is a pleasure for the eyes.

G. M.

MARATHI

'NARASINHA' KELKAR : *By V. U. Vaidya. Published by Y. G. Joshi. 623-15 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. As 40th book of the Manohar Grantha Mala Series. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This is an elegant attempt at presenting in 92 pages the remarkable career of Mr. N. C. Kelkar for those who cannot possibly read the 20,000 pages he has published in book form in Marathi and about 2,000 pages in English. Particularly the chapters describing Mr. Kelkar as the capable colleague of Lokamanya Tilak and as the Prince of the Marathi journalists have been written with admirable precision and restrained enthusiasm.

T. V. PARVATE

KANNADA

'KANNUDIYA HUTTU' (The beehive of Kannada) : *By Shri S. B. Joshi. Published by Samaj Pustakalaya, Dharwar. Pp. 12+152. Price Re. 1-12.*

Shri S. B. Joshi of Dharwar has earned a very good reputation in the field of Kannada philological study. He has contributed several thought-provoking books and pamphlets regarding the origin and development of Kannada language and culture. The University of Bombay has set its seal of approval on the works of Shri Joshi by giving publication grants to him. The peculiar characteristic of Mr. Joshi's writings lies in the fact that he gives a new orientation of outlook to the study of dry-as-dust grammar and etymology of Kannada language.

In the book under review Mr. Joshi has tried to awaken the Kannadigas to the increasing need of understanding the genius of their language and its potentialities. He has shown how the disuse of our inquisitive instinct has blunted the edge of our intellect to the detriment of our growth and impoverishment and penury of our vocabulary. In the preface to the book Mr. Joshi has aptly put it that the penury of vocabulary is an index to the mental deficiency. The knowledge of the minute shades of meaning attached to words is the *sine qua non* of a good education. Unfortunately in this respect Kannada-speaking public is lagging far behind. Mr. Joshi's present book bears the imprint of the patient and scholarly study of a decade or so and gives us ample testimony of the elastic potentialities of Kannada word-building and use of racy idioms to suit even the expressions appertaining to modern requirements—provided, of course, there is a genuine will and a true perspective to see things and understand their significance. In the last chapter Mr. Joshi has dwelt on the mellifluence of Kannada and has cited various instances to prove his thesis. The style of the book is homely and simple. For students of the Kannada language the book is indispensable.

V. B. NAIK

TELUGU

JAGATTU-JEEVAMU : *By Vasantrao Venkata Rao, M.Sc. Published by the author. Printed at Vedavyas Press, Vizianagaram. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.*

The author has given out in an easy, clear and understandable way the main aspects contained in the well-known works of Sir James Jeans, Sir Eddington and Maeterlinck.

Mr. Venkata Rao's contribution to Telugu literature on scientific topics is commendable.

HINDUDESA CHARITRA Parts IV & V : *By Veluri Satyanarayana, B.A., B.L. Printed at A. G. Press, Bezwada. Pp. 69 & 106. Price five annas and six annas.*

These two volumes on Indian History are eminently suited as school text-books.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

ITIHASNI RUPAREKHA : *By A. P. Pattani, M.A. (Cambridge), Diwan, Bhavnagar State. Printed at the Mahodaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1943. Thick card-board. Pp. 135. Price Re. 1-8.*

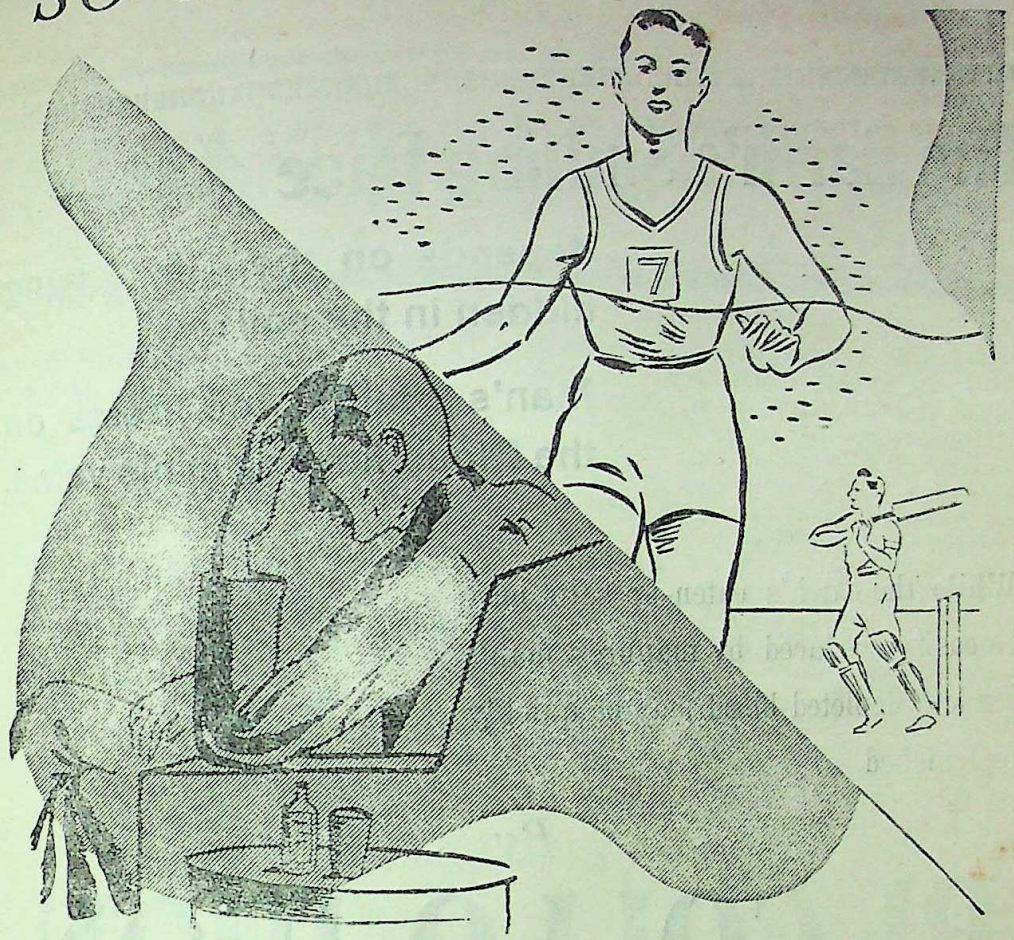
In spite of heavy administrative calls in virtue of his office, Mr. Pattani who has derived his literary taste from his late father Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, finds time to write and publish books. His translation of Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc* was published a short time ago. The book under notice is based on another well-known English author, H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* (commencement chapters). Views on the subject-matter of the book entertained in ancient India and bearing on the development of the human race are embodied in it. It is difficult to treat such a scientific and technical subject in a popular way, but Mr. Pattani has tried his best to do so by means of copious illustrations, coloured and otherwise, a clear vocabulary, and simple language. His preface is addressed to parents and teachers, who have in the first place to learn the subject and then communicate it to the young ones under their charge. The subject is both interesting and fascinating and it was a commendable idea of the author which prompted him to undertake this self-imposed task of acquainting those Gujaratis who did not know English what science was doing to elucidate it. The price is remarkably low for such a well got-up publication.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SO MUCH OF LIFE.....



SO LITTLE OF IT....



Out there, beaming with vim & vigour,
they are enjoying the very bliss of life.....

In here, curbed and cabined with wear & tear,
you are feeling sick of life.....

* * *

Just to tone up & stimulate your whole system,
you badly need **a course of**

VINO MALT

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO., LTD. CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Earth's Smiling Face

depends on the Salts lying hidden in the soil:

Man's vitality, too, rests on the Blood flowing in his veins.

While the earth's eaten-up salts may be easily replaced by manures, man's stock of depleted blood may be quickly replenished

By

BI-COLLO-IRON

— A Palatable Preparation —

Highly efficacious in all cases of Anæmia

- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' contains, among other constituents, Iron in an easily assimilable form.
- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' is a well-tolerated and widely accepted medicament for Pregnancy Anæmia, Infantile Anæmia and Secondary Anæmia resulting from Malaria, Kala-Azar, Typhoid, Pneumonia and Syphilis.

CAN BE HAD OF ALL CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS

BENGAL IMMUNITY Co., Ltd. :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Place of Small and "Backward" Nations in the New World

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, Fenner Brockway examines the prospects which federation offers to the underprivileged—nations and peoples—in the United Nations Organisation in which they individually have so weak a voice :

The international pattern for 1920 was drawn by an American professor who, although he had become President of the United States, had a mind which was academic rather than administrative. He set down fourteen points which he believed represented abstract justice in international relations and built on them an international structure, the League of Nations, which theoretically embodied the idea of the equality of all nations.

Despite the market-place character of the Peace Conference, however, the League of Nations embodied in its Statutes many of the idealistic principles which the disappointed President had formulated. The nations, whether large or small, were regarded as equal and a plan was promulgated to bring about arbitration, security and disarmament and to mobilise the combined strength of all the nations against an aggressor.

The story of the progressive failure of the League need not be told in detail. It finally disappeared in the catastrophe of renewed world war. The League failed because it was futile to erect a dome of Peace on a building whose every section, from the foundation-stone upward, was split and splintered by particles which did not fit and which ground one against the other.

In a world which is capitalistic and imperialistic it is impossible to maintain an international political structure of peace.

The statesmen and a great part of public opinion have learned from this experience, but, instead of setting about the establishment of an international economic order on which they could confidently build an international political order, they have thrown over the high principles which were embodied in the Charter of the League of Nations, and have instead built a structure in the United Nations Organisation which accurately reflects the present condition of the world. There is no pretence of the equality of nations. America, Soviet Russia and Britain are the three Big Powers who boss the world, and their omnipotence is recognised. Peace is to be maintained, not by a Charter based on justice or freedom or equality or co-operation between the nations, but by a deal between the three Great Powers. If they can run in harness, major war will be avoided. If they cannot, major war will come despite any pretence of arbitration, or security against aggression, or disarmament. If unanimously the Big Three decide that one of the small nations has acted aggressively, their united power will be used to hold it in place. But if one of the Big Three decides itself to be aggressive, no part of the United Nations Organisation will move an inch to hold it back.

Judging from present events, there is little hope that the Big Three will not fall out. The collapse of the potential conflict between them goes further than even this dire event foreshadowed. There is a fundamental antagonism between America and Russia which goes deeper than the antagonism between America and Germany before the World War. America was a political democracy and Germany was a political dictatorship, but both were essentially capitalist countries, even though the identification of the economic organisation and the political State had gone to a point in Germany which was foreign to American conceptions. Between America and Russaia there is not only the conflict between a political democracy and a political dictatorship, but between a socialist economic basis and a capitalistic economic basis. Russia understands this enduring conflict. It has become realist in an imperialist world and it is digging in over all Eastern and Central Europe ; it is extending its power in the Far East ; it is even claiming power in the Mediterranean on the other side. America is making its rival claims in the Far East and is refusing to recognise Russia's puppet Governments in Eastern Europe because they are not politically democratic. At the moment Russia appears to be making ground faster than America, but in the background there is the fact that America knows how to manufacture the atomic bomb, and the point will come when it will say to Russia, "Thus far and no further."

Britain occupies a midway position. It stands for political democracy like America, but it aims to establish a socialist economic basis, like Russia. At present, because political issues are dominant and, perhaps, because Britain is economically dependent upon America to a considerable extent, Britain is siding with its Western rather than its Eastern ally.

What is to be the place of the small and "backward" nations in this realistic new world ? Ironically there is one fact which makes the difference between the small and great nations less than it was before the world war. This is the fact of the atomic bomb. When a thimbleful of the particles of atomic energy can destroy half a million people, armies and navies and the size of air fleets become of little account.



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878
Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A small nation with laboratories and factories to produce atomic bombs is a greater power than a preat nation which is without the secret.

If it is true, as reported, that Sweden is close on the heels of America and Britain in the production of the atomic bomb, this small nation is at this moment one of the great powers of the world. Its pre-eminence will not last ; but this privileged position, if indeed it be a fact, gives Sweden the opportunity at this point of time to talk equally with America, Britain and Russia and to give a lead at least to the beginning of an international organization for the use of atomic energy for constructive rather than destructive purposes.

Sweden illustrates not only this immediate atomic situation, but another possibility for some effective representation of the small nations in the world, despite the domination of the Big Three. Sweden is the leader of a group of nations which are tied closely by racial and cultural affinities as well as by economic interests—the Scandinavian group, including also Norway, Denmark and Finland. Each of these nations separately is of small account, but together they can be of considerable influence. In some respects they are a model to the modern world. They are politically democratic and, whilst not fully socialist, have a standard of well-being which is the equal of that of any of the Great Powers. They are important to one at least of the Big Three—Britain—in supplying necessary food-stuffs and timber. They are important in the moral leadership of the world in their belief in libertarianism ; they are moving towards a social economic basis, but political dictatorship is the last thing which they will accept. Because of these things the Scandinavian Group of nations could have the greatest influence in Europe, and they might well link up with Holland and Belgium and particularly Switzerland, which have many of their characteristics. Separately, these small nations may seem insignificant, but together they could be a big power.

It is in the principle of federation that the hope of small nations' making their influence felt in the world rests.

One turns further East, and already the Arab League, despite the undeveloped industrial structure of its States, is becoming a power. Already Britain is showing that the League cannot be ignored, and, if the League will co-ordinate the Arab nations of the Near and Middle East and of Northern Africa, it will, within a decade, be able to challenge the domination of the Big Three. One thing the nations of the Arab League need supremely if they are to fulfil this possibility : modernisation—modern agriculture, modern industries, modern docks, modern transport and modern education.

In Palestine, there is a model for the whole of these territories. Jewish industry and Jewish agriculture are not only as efficient as any in the world, they have not only been successfully applied to conditions which are typical of the other Arab countries, but they are based on a spirit of co-operation and equality which, if extended to the neighbouring countries, could make this corner of the earth not only materially efficient but culturally noble and spiritually high.

Before we go further East, let us look at the Continent of Africa. Its Negro peoples inhabit not only most of its territories, but, through the deportation of slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have spread to the West Indies and the Americas. In Britain a few weeks ago a Pan-African Congress was held, at which representatives of the Negro peoples of all countries met, and with unanimity, they formed a Federation to assert their equality with any race on earth and to challenge the imperialisms which dominate them.

Let us go further East. Here, India occupies the centre of the stage.

It may still have to pass through a period of struggle, but every far-seeing person realises that the achievement of its independence is inevitable. It will not be alone. The present struggle in Indonesia and in China, the less dramatic struggle in Ceylon and Burma and the Malayas, are the promise that Free India will be the leader of a group of nations whose peoples are already becoming one in the emotion of their common fight. They are clearly a Federation of Nations of the future. No one who looks into the coming years can doubt that there are here group of nations which will not tolerate domination by the existence of Great Powers.

We come back to the atomic bomb. It is possible that the civilised world has become so artificially civilised that it will destroy itself. America and Russia may in their madness reflect their antagonism in war and drop their atomic bombs upon each other and upon the spreading allies on either side, until life is obliterated on mass scale and the civilisation of the "developed" nations destroyed.

If this last madness of civilisation occur, it will be the duty of such "backward" nations as escape the fate of their more "advanced" fellow peoples to begin once more the long story of the upward progress of the human race.

Sir William Jones
1746-1794

The following is an extract from a lecture (as published in *Science and Culture*) on the life and work of Sir William Jones delivered by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on the occasion of the Bi-centenary celebrations of the birth of Sir William Jones, on January 7, 1946.

Sir William Jones was born in London on September 20, 1746. His father was Welsh, of yeoman stock, who came to London from Anglesey, and became a well-known mathematician and acquired the friendship of Halley and Newton. His mother was the daughter of a London cabinet-maker, and she was a remarkable woman who helped to build her son's mind and character : she will live in men's memories by her words to her inquisitive son—"Read, and you will know." Young Jones, with what his father left him, got the best education which the son of an intellectual father could receive in eighteenth century England. He was

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge :—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRIENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sent to Harrow where to Latin and Greek he added some knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew and soon eclipsed all his fellows. In 1764, he entered the University College, Oxford, where he assiduously read the works of Greek poets and historians, and was enabled to gratify that desire for a knowledge of the oriental languages which had grown strong within him during the last two years of his residence at Harrow. He studied Hebrew, and learned Persian and Arabic thoroughly well, and employed an Arab speaker from Aleppo, who happened to be in England then, to teach him Arabic pronunciation. He also acquired some knowledge of Turkish.

In 1765, in his nineteenth year, he left Oxford to become private tutor to a young nobleman, Lord Althorp, afterwards Lord Spencer (with whom he travelled to Germany, France and Italy). He graduated in 1768 and became an M.A. in 1773. A fellowship at Oxford relieved the young scholar from pecuniary worries. He became a finished Latin and Greek scholar, and he learned French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

In 1770 at the repeated request of King Christian VII of Denmark, Jones (at the age of 24) translated into French a Persian biography of Nadir Shah, with a learned introduction, which constitute a short history of Persia and an admirable description of Asia, the manuscript of which was in the possession of the King. He also published a French metrical translation of the *Divani Hafiz* and his "Traite Sur la Poesie orientale." In the same year (1770) he got himself entered as a student of the Middle Temple and was finally called to the Bar in 1774.

In 1771, he published his famous and an exceedingly well-written work, *Persian Grammar*, (republished later with corrections and additions by the late Professor Lee), a French Traite, a French dissertation, and in 1774 his Latin commentaries on Asiatic poetry and some translations of oriental poetry.

Recognition for his linguistic attainments came to him in 1772, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

He consorted with the intellectual elite of England who had gathered round Dr. Samuel Johnson, and he was an intimate of both Burke and Gibbon. He took up law for his living, practised at the Bar, and was finally appointed Commissioner of Bankrupts in 1776. In 1781, he brought out his essay on the Law of Bailments, which became a classic on the subject, being frequently reprinted in England and America.

In 1778, he published a translation of the orations of *Isaeus* from the Greek and in 1781 his famous Alcaic ode. He strongly opposed the American war and slave trade.

His Arabic and other oriental studies he had not neglected and in 1783 he published his English translation of the seven Arabic poems known as "Muballaqat."

In March 1783, Jones obtained a much-coveted appointment to a judgeship of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. He was knighted at the same time at the early age of 37. In April 1783 he married the eldest daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph (a lady who proved a very devoted wife to him, and brought out a sumptuous edition in six big volumes of the complete works of her husband as the best tribute to his memory three years after his demise.) They set sail for India in the same month arriving in Calcutta in September 1783. He joined his official duties in December 1783, and at once set about the acquisition and promulgation of the knowledge of oriental languages, literature anl culture.

"Ofcourse you've heard about NOVUM - but HAVE YOU TRIED IT?"



BEFORE you spend your time in needless worry, over difficult days and fear of delays, why not try Novum. A high-grade ethical product with an open formula. Recommended by doctors and nurses. Complete relief. Quick sure and effective.

Made in 3 strengths.

Price : per container of 21 capsules of ordinary strength of NOVUM, Rs. 12-8-0; per container of 63 tablets, of strong NOVUM (Forte) tablets, Rs. 21-0-0; price per container of 21 red capsules, special extra strong strength, Rs 50-0-0.

Also available in "special injection form" for advanced and unyielding cases of female complaints.

Take 'Novum' at the first sign of delay—and see how comfortably you sail through your difficult days!

Available at all druggstores.

ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR describing a few of our outstanding products and our "Free Medical Advice Department":

NOVUM

A Product of

HERING & KENT

P. O. Box No. 323.
Opp. Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay. Phone : 24297

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In January 1784, with the collaboration of a few Englishmen like Charles Wilkins, the first Englishman and one of the first Europeans to study Sanskrit, William Jones founded the Asiatic Society. (later known in 1839 as the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal').

He founded it in the presence of about 30 distinguished British people resident in Calcutta "for investigating the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and the literature of Asia."

Up to his death, for ten years successively Jones took a leading part in the investigations of the Society, and he contributed a number of papers to the transactions of the Society (*Asiatic Researches*). He also communicated papers on Botany, Zoology and Medicine, sciences which he had taken up for serious study.

As President of the Asiatic Society, his Anniversary Discourses given every year from 1785 to 1794 in the month of February, made a survey of all that was then known and all that he could reasonably speculate about the History and Civilization of Asia in general (1785) and on those of individual peoples—the Hindus (1786), the Arabs (1787), the Tartars (1788), the Persians (1789), the Chinese (1790), and the Borderers, Mountaineers and Islanders of Asia (1791) ; and the subsequent annual addresses were on the Origin and Families of Nations (1792), on Asiatic History, civil and natural (1793), and on the Philosophy of the Asiatics (1794).

Soon after his arrival in India, he took to Sanskrit studies with all seriousness ; and a mind, nurtured in the classical languages of Europe, Latin and Greek,—and in Arabic and Persian which he had also made his own while in England, found a veritable mine of precious stones in Sanskrit. It was he who first emphasized its close resemblance to Greek and Latin, becoming thus one of the founders of Comparative Philology. Ultimately he was able to read and use some 28 languages. He was the first to point out that Sandrocottus mentioned by the ancient Greek and Roman writers as the Indian leader who drove out the Greeks brought by Alexander of Macedon, and defeated Seleucus, was identical with Chandragupta Maurya mentioned in the Sanskrit classic.

Charles Wilkins, later knighted (1749 ?—1839), who had entered the East India Company's service in 1770 and who assisted in establishing a printing press for oriental languages in Bengal in 1778, was sent by Warren Hastings to study Sanskrit in Benares. Wilkins became quite proficient in Sanskrit and he translated the *Bhagavad Gita* (published 1785)—the first Sanskrit work to be rendered directly from Sanskrit into a European language,—*Hitopodesa* (1787), *Sakuntala* (1795) and Sanskrit grammar (1808).

Wilkins was joined in his great work by Sir William Jones on February 2, 1786.

That day in his Third Annual Discourse before the Asiatic Society, his subject being the History and Culture of the Hindus, Sir William Jones formally announced, so to say, to the European world, the great fact of Sanskrit being in India as the repository of Indian literature and civilization, and the fact of its being closely related to Greek and Latin.

The following pronouncement was epoch-making :

"The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity is of a wonderful structure ; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the formes of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from a common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists ; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit ; and the old Persian might be added to the same family."

Sir William Jones' brilliant suggestion put linguistic scholars on the right track of conceiving human speech to be groupable in *families*, members of which were derived from a common archetype. A new human science, that of Comparative Philology, or Linguistics with its numerous ramifications linking it up with other sciences both human and physical, came into being as the immediate result, so to say, of this inspired statement of Sir William Jones.

Sir William Jones, poet and literary man as well as judge and jurist, did not eclipse himself in the orientalist. His translation of the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa (1789) has been one of the most significant services in the cause of international literature translated into German by George Forster in 1791 was read with genuine pleasure by Goethe. The same may also be said of his translation of the *Hitopodesa*, and of the *Manu-Samhita* (1794). The *Institutes of Menu* (Manu) translated in 1794 and the translation from the Arabic of the Muslim Law of Succession to property of Intestates, and of the *Sirajiyyah* or the Muslim Law of Inheritance, (1792) have their value both in the administration of justice in Indian law courts and in the comparative study of Law.

At a time when the European merchants had been out for the material exploitation of the eastern countries, Sir William came here with a great cultural ideal. A born Englishman he transcended the narrow nationalistic outlook and turned the attention of the West from the material to the spiritual and cultural side of India.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(*The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East*).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

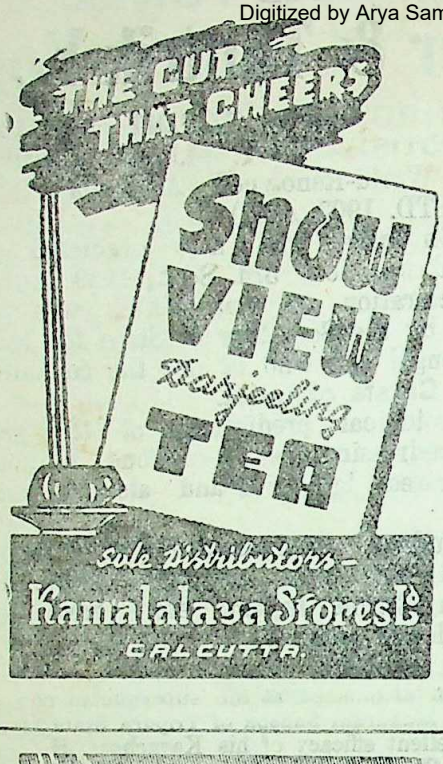
Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone: B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone: Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Young or Old.
A Czech or a Pole.
They all find time.
For it costs not a dime.
To.



CONSULT HERING & KENT FOR FREE MEDICAL ADVICE

We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, female irregularities and disorders, DEFORMITIES OF THE BUST (sagging infantile, overdeveloped, etc.), MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalysis and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS etc. can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, beautifying the bust contour, female disorders, etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

HERING & KENT

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The All-India Economic Conference

R. Visweswar Rao writes in *The New Review*:

The man in the street does not generally take adequate interest in the gatherings of Economists. But the recent session of the All-India Economic Conference held at Lahore under the presidentship of Principal D. G. Karve discloses a happy change in perspective and consequently their proceedings attracted wide attention.

In this conference the economists headed by Sir Manoharlal, the Finance Minister to the Punjab Government, for the first time declared that economists yield to none in demanding freedom and that independence has to be won and not sought as a gift.

The presidential address referred to the need for broadening the scope of economic science so as to assume a constructive role in shaping social policy. If such be the case, economists must move with the times. Principal Karve was also of the opinion that there will never be a living economics without a living social power *i.e.*, an authority which is originally connected with the social environment of which the economist himself is a part. All the well-marked tendencies of the times point towards a further extension of power-economics as a handmaid to power-politics and how much the economic institutions with which we are accustomed will suffer from this new direction of social objective, it is now too early to say. In this all-important respect, the economic destiny of mankind is hanging on a thin thread between rival ideologists.

He observed, 'I am convinced that it is wrong to think of economics as being based on any invariable instinct or even principle of human conduct. Habit rather than choice, will rather than reason is the basis of economic conduct, in common with other aspects of human behaviour. Economics is not a science only of correct or rational human conduct. It is like grammar. It observes, classifies and generalises human usage in a particular part of human activity. There is no logic of economic behaviour. There is only a grammar of economic activity.' This viewpoint has indeed given a reorientation to the nature and purpose of economic activity and it is high time our economists realise that they are concerned more with human beings and institutions rather than with purposeless economic theories which have no bearing on the realities of the situation. Prof. Karve has done well in emphasizing the need for verifying theories so that the economist can reach the summit of scientific recognition. Mere relying on mathematical formulae which have no more meaning than letters and symbols cannot help the economists.

Prof. Karve said, 'The economic destiny of mankind is hanging on a thread between rival ideologies which are two well-known; to attempt to draw a very restricted and definite boundary about the scope of economics is neither inherently justifiable nor practically feasible.' In other words, it means economists should not be like Nero fiddling when Rome is burning. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that he should emphasize the need for a dynamic economic theory, that will strengthen the foundations and broaden the scope of economic studies.

Prof. Karve also did well in emphasizing the need for starting a net-work of research institutions for economic investigations.

Important problems like the Indian food problem, post-war currency standard, the problem of road and rail transport, with special reference to rates policy, methods of financing post-war plans for economic development were discussed. It shows how for the first time the economists have discussed problems which have a definite bearing on the life of the common man.

They also gave practical suggestions for augmenting our food supply. The discussions on post-war currency standard showed how we should have a currency standard suitable to our own needs and requirements. The discussions on railway rates and problems of road and rail transport emphasized the need for revising the rates structure which suffers from serious defects.

The special features of this year's conference were the two special lectures delivered by Dr. Lokanathan and Prof. Gadgil. Prof. Gadgil observed that poverty is the greatest limitation of planning. We must start with a clean slate so that our planning can be of use to the masses. Doctor Lokanathan's address was equally realistic. For example, he said that unless we keep ourselves at a level in turn with world-prices we will be nowhere.

The recent conference of the economists which was attended by Prof. Vakil, Dr. Gyanchand, Dr. Jain, and others clearly demonstrated that economists have realised their duty to the motherland and will be second to none in answering the clarion call of the country.

Nai Talim

Basic Education

Writing on Nai Talim or the Wardha Scheme of Education in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, G. Ramachandran observes:

There are the two worlds we know. First, there is the world of Nature. There is then the world made by man, the world we call Human Society. Both these are great worlds. And there is one great fundamental factor common to both. The world of Nature and the world of Man have both come from creative work and are sustained and nourished by work. Behind and beneath the silent and often impassive face of Nature ceaseless and tremendous work goes on every moment. Even within the inconceivable tiny structure of an atom furthur innumerable and tinier subdivisions of matter revolve endlessly. Human Society too presents the spectacle of ceaseless life only through ceaseless activity. Where in Nature or in Society work ends, life ends too. Work is thus literally life. If we can meditate on this truth and realise fully its significance, then it has a revolutionary message for each one of us engaged in educational reconstruction.

Whether we like it or not, or evade it or not, work is the law of life. But all real work has a complex texture. As with human beings so too with work; it has a body and a soul. Work has a material aspect. From this comes the production of material goods. Its soul consists in its potency to enrich the minds of all those who engage in work. Work is thus a unity of material and spiritual factors. We can extract from work material products. In fact, work has been valued because it

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

produces all those materials which our earthly life needs. But to approach work merely to extract material products is to approach it in the spirit of lust. To do so is to go to work for taking from it only a part of what it can give, and to miss getting from it the other part, which is the far more precious of the two. For, we then forget that work has a soul, the potency to enrich our minds. If we want to get from work all that it can give, we must approach it in the spirit of love and not of lust. In love we seek the heart and not the body.

In Nai Talim is the challenge to us to approach work in the spirit of love.

We are not merely to extract material production from work but we must win its soul for the growth of all our human culture for the real education of our minds. In Nai Talim every boy and girl, every man and woman, has the chance to win the soul of work and thus win its body too. In Nai Talim no single material result of work is lost. On the contrary, by winning education and culture from it even the material results are bettered. Can we not now see why Gandhiji insists that all Nai Talim, from "the cradle to the grave," is simply and wholly education through work and activity? Who but a fool will then seek the body of work, throwing away the chance to win its heart and soul?

In a sense we have no choice either. We must all work with our hands and limbs in any just social order. That work must be relegated to certain classes in society is an old bourgeois idea now thoroughly exploded. The just social order conceived by the West is one of a class-less society as in Communism. The East in India is conceiving such a just social order through Satyagraha. But in both work by all, for all, holds the centre. Now then, if we must all work, and cannot in any manner escape it at all, is it not just the part of wisdom that we seek and obtain from the work we must do all that it can give, its body and its soul? To seek and obtain from such work as we select to do its bodily gifts in the shape of material products and its spiritual gifts in the shape of a rich and vital education is the purpose of Nai Talim. Not to allow the great stream of work to run away into an ocean of mere material production but to obtain from it all that is of value to the human mind is its central idea. So long as this is not realised Nai Talim will appear difficult and puzzling. But once this central idea is grasped Nai Talim will be like a full-masted ship with all its sails set, sailing smoothly and swiftly with the wind.

How shall we approach work in the spirit of love?

How shall we win the soul of work? The seeds of all our likes and dislikes, loves and hates are sown in our minds when we are children. All our prejudices for and against everything begin their journey in us as we ourselves begin the journey of our life. So love of work must begin when we are children. If for any reason children learn to dislike work, then all through their life, in youth and in old age, that dislike will persist in them. In such case more and more education will mean more and more running away from all work with the fingers and the limbs. Is not this very largely so today in what passes all around us for education? Every parent and teacher knows that children love to "do" things more than to "learn" things. In present day education the "doing" and the "learning" are two different processes, and children are compelled to make a choice between the two which really should come to them as one integral unit. How often do parents and teachers say sternly to children who are "active" in the garden or handling some instrument or other object. "Now leave off, and go to your books." Books! books! they have become a curse instead of the blessing they should be in a proper educational system.

Most of the learning in schools today begins and ends with books. It is this Chinese wall of books that shuts out the healthful touch of the earth and of work from our children.

Books in their proper place should help to quicken and deepen the contact of the mind with the reality of life; but when they come leaping at us over the limits, overwhelming us on all sides, they build a prison around us filling our minds with frustration and benumbing our fingers and limbs into devitalising inaction, adversely affecting our life and culture as a whole. So when we guide the child away from books in Nai Talim and turn its eyes towards such creative work as it can do, we are doing no harm to its autonomy, but only rescuing it from a prison and enabling it to plunge joyously into that very autonomy which is its birth-right. In Nai Talim we recognise unreservedly that children love to "do" things and that it is good that it is so. We, therefore, encourage children to develop their love of "doing" things and show them that the best way to "learn" things is to "do" things. Doing and learning thus become interchangeable items. And as the children come up step by step in Nai Talim they learn to do things in such a way as to learn more and more from doing things. Purposefulness and direction gradually and spontaneously enter into the field of learning through doing. What little experience of Basic Education we have had has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that the best way to love work is to learn through work. When the spark of "learning" is drawn from the material of "doing" then it ignites the love of work in the mind of the boy and the girl. So if we would teach our children to approach work in the spirit of love, there is no other and better way than this, that we show them that knowledge lies buried in the heart of work. When we win that knowledge from the heart of work we win the soul of work. Then indeed shall we love work with all our heart and soul.

ONWARD MARCH
ONE STEP FORWARD
NEW BUSINESS COMPLETED
IN 1944 IN 1945
over Rs. 1,67,00,000 over Rs. 1,86,00,000
INCREASE OF OVER 19 LAKHS
This is clear proof of the growing faith of the public
IN COY'S INTEGRITY.
BEST COMPANY
TO INSURE WITH OR TO REPRESENT
Western India Life
Insurance Company Limited,
Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Travancore Government's Educational Policy

K. K. Kuruvila writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

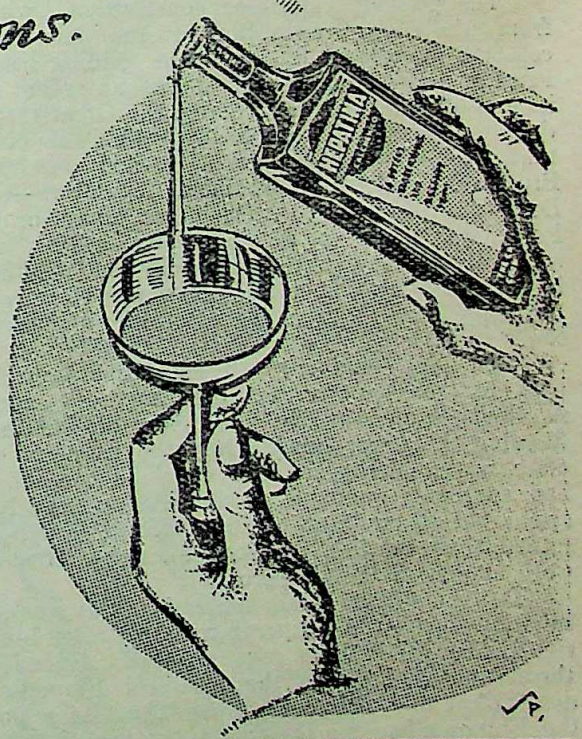
It was about the year 1868 that the Travancore Government issued a communique encouraging private agencies to start schools and promising them grants-in-aid. Within two years 20 schools came into existence and today the number of Aided Primary Schools stand at 2,160 as against 883 Departmental Schools. Appendix I of the Education Reorganization Committee Report states that two-thirds of the pupils in the primary classes study in Private Schools. Of the total number of Primary Schools, 75 per cent are run by private agencies, of which 89 per cent belong to Christians. The others are distributed among the Hindus and Muslims. The Government now spend 19 lakhs for Primary Education of which ten and half lakhs are utilized for Government Primary Schools while only eight and half lakhs are for two-thirds of the Primary Schools of the State which are run by private-agencies.

Three decades ago Primary Education was made free in the State and this liberal policy has reached its culmination in the decision of the Government to make Primary Education not only free, but compulsory. Before arriving at this decision, it appointed the Education Reorganization Committee which after an exhaustive study of the problems for 15 months presented a unanimous report to Government in March, 1945. The public has received the report with approval. The report came for discussion in the Legislature and it emerged out of it with two important changes.

The Reform Committee made provision for the continuance of private schools recommending that 75 per cent of the maintenance grant be given to these schools. 'Next the question arose, if the Government could give 75 per cent of the cost of the primary education as grant, why not the Government take up the whole primary education under their private management. The Assembly has decided by 52 votes against 8 in favour of Government's direct management. Considering all circumstances, the Government have decided to do so on the basis of a ten-year programme. Under this system, the whole pay of the teachers have to be met by the Government. But this being an important duty, Government have resolved to strictly carry out the decision.' (The Dewan's speech as reported in the *Bharati*). The Reform Committee reported that 'religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of properly organized religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good.' But the Legislature was against a grant being given to such schools. This was followed by a Press Communique, supporting the resolution of the Council.

—

During Convalescence in Anaemic Conditions.



A tonic *par excellence* for anæmic and dangerously run-down conditions after malaria, typhoid, confinements, etc....

It contains : LIVER Extract (only goats' liver used
Vitamin-B-Complex,
Iron, Quinine, Phosphorous, Strychnine,
Senna, Malt (in digestible liquid form) in
a thoroughly assimilable emulsion.

HEPATINA
A BLOOD-FORMING TONIC

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD. CALCUTTA · BOMBAY MADRAS · DELHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Appointment of Dr. Minobe to the Japanese Imperial Council

Washington, Feb. 2—The most significant development in Japan following Emperor Hirohito's recent renunciation of his own divinity, was the appointment of Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, Japan's greatest constitutional scholar and liberal, to the Japanese Imperial Council, the Emperor's highest consultative body and final authority in the interpretation of Japan's constitution.

Only ten years ago Dr. Minobe's books were publicly burned because he held to the theory that the Emperor ruled by constitutional rather than divine right. Dr. Minobe himself was arrested and charged with *Lese Majeste* before Japanese military courts and although no legal action was taken, he was forced into retirement, where he lived until the Allied occupation.

Dr. Minobe's appointment was another important step in the religious-political emancipation of the Japanese people. The first step was an Allied decree abolishing state Shinto as a religion. The second was Hirohito's renunciation of his own divinity. Dr. Minobe's appointment to the Privy Council was important not only because it liberalized the tight little circle surrounding the Emperor, but because he will be able to wield considerable influence on the drafting of a new constitution now being prepared by the cabinet under Allied orders.

Marked Resemblance to Prussian Constitution

The present Japanese constitution, which dates from the Meiji restoration in the late nineteenth century, was drawn up under the guiding hand of the Prussian jurist Heinrich von Gneist, an ardent monarchist and a believer with Frederick the Great that a single dominant will must guide any state. The constitution that was promulgated bore a marked resemblance to Prussia's. Under it a bicameral legislature—called the Diet—was provided for. The upper house, or House of Peers, was made up of hereditary nobles or royal appointees, a few were elected by the wealthiest men in each district. The lower house was entirely elective, but only those who paid a certain amount of taxes could vote.

The Diet could originate legislation, levy taxes and petition the Emperor, but the Emperor's sanction was required for all laws. He could close the Diet and could dissolve the lower house. Only the Emperor could declare war, make peace and conclude treaties. He also had supreme command of the Army and Navy and appointed all civil and military officers as well as determined their salaries. In short, all rights of sovereignty were lodged in the Emperor.

But aside from being, theoretically at least, absolute ruler of Japan, the Emperor was also ruler by "divine" right. The Meiji lords resurrected the legend that the throne dated back to the mythical Emperor Jimmu, descendant of the Sun Goddess. The divine position of the Emperor became the central feature of state Shinto, the national religion of Japan. Both Emperor worship and state Shinto were expanded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a militarist-political device for establishing national morale capable of waging aggressive wars.

Dr. Minobe did not hold with the militarist point of view.

He expounded the western theory that "governing rights" or sovereignty rest in the state, that a monarch exercises these rights as an "organ" of the state and that the supreme authority of the state is civil power, not military.

For transferring the governing rights from the Emperor to the state and making the Emperor the organ of the state, Dr. Minobe was driven—under the leadership of the militarist Black Dragon Society—from all his offices, including a professorship at Tokyo Imperial University and his membership in the House of Peers. His books were burned in public demonstrations, he was attacked in the Diet, arrested for questioning, hailed into court for *Lese Majeste* and was wounded in an attempt at assassination.

Today, the new constitution for Japan is being drafted by the Shidehara cabinet for discussion by the new Diet soon to be elected by the Japanese people. All drafts of the new constitution will pass through the hands of Dr. Minobe, who not only is a libral constitutional expert but who is close enough to the throne to wield considerable influence. The appointment of Minobe to the Privy Council, coming as it did after the Emperor's declaration denying his own divinity, seems to students of Far Eastern affairs to be a clear indication that the new constitution for Japan—upon which a new Japan will be built—will follow along western democratic lines.—*USIS.*

U. S. Population Increases By Eight Million in Five Years

The total population of the United States, including the armed forces overseas, increased by almost eight million between April 1, 1940, and July 1, 1945, according to estimates released today by Director J. C. Capt. of the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce.

The estimated total number of persons as of July 1, 1945, is 139,621,431, as compared with 131,669,275 at the last census in 1940.

Since July, the population has continued to increase and the provisional estimate of the total population as of October 1, 1945, is slightly over 140 million.

The population increase in five years after 1940 was almost nine-tenths as large as the increase during the preceding ten-year period. Chief cause of the accelerated rate of increase is the wartime rise in the birth rate. Although the birth rate has shown a tendency to decline somewhat since 1943, the level is still considerably higher than at any time between 1930 and 1940.

With the return of servicemen from overseas and rapid demobilization it is expected that the birth rate will take another upswing and that population increases will continue at the current or higher rates for two or three more years. While the birth rate has been relatively high, in recent years the death rate has remained relatively low. Military mortality did not raise the general death rate very much.

In combination with the low death and high birth rates, an excess of immigration over emigration helped to swell the population still further.

Immigration figures for the period April 1, 1940, to July 1, 1945, disclosed in the estimates are as follows: Arrivals of immigrant aliens, 187,327; of non-immigrant aliens, 552,375; departure of emigrant aliens, 43,890; of non-emigrant aliens, 367,403.

The excess of arrivals over departures (net immigration) is: immigrant aliens, 143,437; non-immigrant aliens, 184,972.—*USIS.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chemicals of Petroleum

Under the above caption, Sir Frank E. Smith of Anglo-Iranian Coal Co., Ltd., delivered a lecture in The Royal Society of Arts. The introductory portion of his speech, as published in its *Journal*, emphasising the need for the establishment of an independent petroleum chemical industry in England, is given below :

My subject is "Chemicals from Petroleum." If such a subject had been chosen by a lecturer during the last war the topic would have been of academic rather than of industrial interest, for, in 1914, apart from carbon black, there were no chemicals manufactured from petroleum and there was no attempt to use it except for the production of light, heat and power.

Since 1914 there has been a greater change. Today, several hundreds of synthetic chemicals are being made from petroleum and their annual value amounts to several hundreds of millions of pounds. During the last few years a great synthetic rubber industry has arisen in America ; the rate of production at the present time is over 800 thousand tons per annum, and about one-half of this is made from petroleum. Plastic materials based on petroleum are being used more and more every day, and some of them are producing minor industrial revolutions. Last, but not least, millions of tons of synthetic chemicals are made from petroleum for use in aviation spirit. Without these synthetic chemicals the air supremacy of which we are so justly proud could never have been achieved.

In 1914, the petroleum industry could not have been classified as a scientific industry, but during the past twenty years the industry has spent tens of millions of pounds on scientific research and development, and to-day the petroleum chemical industry ranks high in the efficiency of its processes. The research worker in petroleum, while naturally aiming at the improvement of processes and of petroleum products, also aims at the production of new compounds, new in the absolute sense of the word, inasmuch as they have not yet been made by Nature or by man.

Chemists know that any type of hydrocarbon, whether it comes from oil or coal, may be converted into numerous other types ; it may be combined also with other elements, like oxygen and chlorine, and a number of radicles. There are hundreds of thousands of such possible combinations. The petroleum chemist's job is to find out the best conditions for the transformations to take place and to investigate the chemical and physical properties of the products. He transforms the natural hydrocarbon molecules in petroleum into new, and often more useful, ones. Indeed, these lectures might well be called "New Molecules for Old Ones." A study of the transformations which take place gives a far better picture of the possibilities of the petroleum chemical industry than does a study of present products. Such transformations result in absolutely new substances being produced every year and, like Faraday's first induction machine, uses have to be found for them. When glycol was first synthesised no one wanted it. Today about three million pounds worth are made and sold every year.

Petroleum and Coal

It is natural to ask why should not all the transformations be done with hydrocarbons from coal, for this country has plenty of coal and very little indigenous petroleum. My answer is that some of the transformations are better based on coal. In this country a very valuable coal chemical industry has been developed, and I hope most sincerely that it will expand. But facts must be faced ; petroleum is cheaper than coal. It is more easy to handle and to process, and a very large number of organic chemicals can be manufactured from it more cheaply than from coal. Products like toluene and benzene can be produced from coal tar with comparative ease and in a reasonably pure state. On the other hand, coal is not a suitable raw material for the production of the alcohols or for the numerous products based on propylene.

However, the fact that this country has little indigenous petroleum does not prevent it having a large and progressive petroleum chemical industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has clearly indicated that, in his view, there is need for a petroleum chemical industry in this country. I agree, but such an industry must be based not only on petroleum but on brains and industrial enterprise. There should be no antagonism between a coal chemical industry and a petroleum chemical industry ; it would be far better to build up a chemical industry based on both coal and petroleum, for in some cases the final products might be most cheaply synthesised by marrying a product of coal to one from petroleum. One of the most successful American chemical companies draws its raw materials from petroleum via petroleum gases and from coal via coke oven gas and calcium carbide. There is no exact parallel in this country, but the principle of choosing the best and cheapest raw materials is obviously the one that should be adopted.

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 23, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	As.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, 4, 5, 8 & 9 out of Stock*) each No at	4	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji each Vol.	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Eminent Americans: Whom Indians Should Know— Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland	4	8
Emerson & His Friends— ditto	4	0
Evolution & Religion— ditto	3	0
Origin and Character of the Bible ditto	3	0
Rajmohan's Wife—Bankim Ch. Chatterjee	2	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	3	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
History of the Reign of Shah Alum— W. Franklin	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	0	8
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4
Indian Medicinal Plants— Major B. D. Basu & Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar—Complete in 8 Vols. [Authoritative Work with numerous Superb Plates]	320	0

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, Upper Circular Road, CALCUTTA

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ— রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	৸৹
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	৶৹
চাটার্জির পিক্‌চার এল্‌বাম (১, ৪, ৫, ৮ ও ৯ বাদে)	প্রত্যেক ৪৲
চিরন্তনী (শ্রেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা দেবী	৪৷৹
উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ	২৲
সোনার খাঁচা— শ্রীসীতা দেবী	২৷৹
আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ	২৲
বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ	২৲
উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী	২৷৹
কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক	৪৲
গীত উপক্রমণিকা—(১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) প্রত্যেক	১৷৹
জাতিগঠনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ—ভারতচন্দ্র মজুমদার	১৷৹
কিশোরদের মন—শ্রীদক্ষিণারঞ্জন মিত্র মজুমদার	৷৹
চণ্ডীদাস চরিত—(৺কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সেন) শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র রায় বিদ্যানিধি সংস্কৃত	২৷৹
মেঘদূত (সচিত্র)—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	৪৷৹
হিমালয় পারে কৈলাস ও মানস সরোবর (সচিত্র)— শ্রীপ্রমোদকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়	৪৲
পাথুরে বাঁদর রামদাস (সচিত্র)— শ্রীঅসিতকুমার হালদার	১৷৹
জল্পনা—শ্রীহেমলতা দেবী	১৷৹
খেলাধূলা (সচিত্র)—শ্রীবিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার	১৷৹
বিলাপিকা—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	১০/৹
ল্যাপল্যাণ্ড (সচিত্র)—শ্রীলক্ষ্মীশ্বর সিংহ	১৷৹

ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়
১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF
Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)
Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad
(with 30 rare illustrations)
Price: Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World
The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.
Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1 or 5 Dollars.

The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
70410

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For one year @ ... ... 4½ p.c. p.a.
" two years @ ... ... 5½ p.c. p.a.
" three " @ ... ... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb. Phone:—Cal. 3381.

Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow and Charles Norris

A steady artistic and social purpose guided the work of three pioneering American writers whose careers ended in 1945. A full estimate of the accomplishments of Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow and Charles G. Norris will be the task of later critics; already it is clear that their documentation and criticism of the American scene represent an important contribution to the realistic fiction which is one of the major literary achievements of the first half of the twentieth century.

Theodore Dreiser

Theodore Dreiser, who died on December 28 at the age of 74, enunciated in 1917—eight years before the publication of *An American Tragedy*—the creed which was the foundation of his attitude toward life and art. In an essay published in *The Seven Arts*, he said: "A man, if he can, should question the things he sees—not some things, but everything—stand, as it were, in the center of this whirling storm of contradiction which we know as life, and ask of it its source and its import. Else, why a brain at all?"

Dreiser's passion to portray the truth as he saw it involved a lifelong rebellion against what he called the "bitter cruelties" of life and, in terms of the United States, against the "highly romantic state of self-deception" which he judged characteristic of the American people. This rebellion, expressed in a series of novels depicting the problems of the individual in conflict with conventional worldly standards, not only made Dreiser the center of recurring storms of public protest but also brought him recognition in middle life as one of the literary giants of the age. What Dreiser symbolized to other American writers whose basic literary intention was, like his, to expose and thereby correct social hypocrisy, was expressed by Sinclair Lewis in his speech accepting the Nobel Prize for literature in 1930.

Dreiser, the youngest of 13 children in an impoverished family, grew up in the small Midwestern town of Warsaw, Indiana, and in the large industrial city of Chicago. After years of newspapr and magazine work, Dreiser wrote and published in 1900 his first novel, *Sister Carrie*. The publisher withdrew the work, fearing protests on the grounds of immorality. When it was issued again in 1907, it received more adverse criticism than praise. Recognition of Dreiser's talent came with the publication of *Jennie Gerhardt* in 1911.

His naturalistic portrayal of the sordid side of life brought most of his novels under the fire of those critics and social groups who found them opposed to accepted moral standards. Nevertheless, these first two novels and the trilogy on American life which followed—*The Financier*, *The Titan* and *The Genius*—brought him the highest admiration of many of the leading critics of the day.

An American Tragedy (1925), his greatest popular success, was an uncompromising indictment of society. In minute and labored detail, it told the life of a young man brought by hereditary weakness and slum background to the electric chair for the murder of the girl with whom he had an illicit love affair. Dreiser arraigned both the social forces which caused the tragedy and the stupidity of the law in judging the case.

Ellen Glasgow

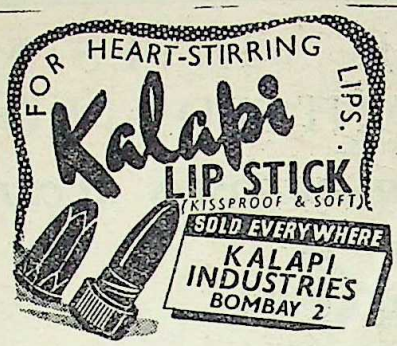
Ellen Glasgow died on November 20, in the Richmond, Virginia, home where she had lived most of the 71 years of her life. From her pen, during the course of more than 40 years, issued a series of novels constituting a social history of Virginia from the year 1850 to

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



KALAPI INDUSTRIES, BOMBAY 2



Sole Agents:
KALAPI STORES
BOMBAY



the present. Almost single-handed, her readers say, Miss Glasgow rescued Southern fiction from the glamorous sentimentality with which it was saturated.

Born into the genteel tradition of the old South, Miss Glasgow was privately educated and concealed her labor of writing from her family and friends until publication of her first book. After the publication of *The Battle Ground* in 1902, she continued to inspire critical esteem, her most recent honor being the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1942. All of her later novels were popular successes, particularly her satiric comedy of manners, *They Stooped to Folly* (1929).

Miss Glasgow's endeavour to convey the truth of life in her work was conscious and coherent. What she wanted, she had said, was an interpretation of life.

Although Miss Glasgow's witty deflation of sentimental manners and her realistic record of the struggle between progress and reaction laid the groundwork for the more brutal later realists such as William Faulkner, she confessed that she was unable to stomach their "literary ruffianism." To such a critic as Malcolm Cowley of the *New Republic*, Miss Glasgow's decorum was a weakness, but nevertheless he acknowledges the integrity and solidness of execution of her work.

Charles Norris

In comparison with the work of Theodore Dreiser and Ellen Glasgow, that of Charles G. Norris, who died last summer, was relatively obscure. In his critical treatment of American life, however, his place among the realists is important. Born in Chicago in 1881, he went to the University of California and spent most of his later life on the West Coast. As younger brother of Frank Norris and husband of the popular novelist, Kathleen Norris, his influence reached out among younger writers.

Norris's novels—beginning with *Salt* in 1917 and continuing throughout the twenties and thirties with *Bread, Hands* and others—had the acknowledged purpose of making people think, treating from a social point of view such subjects as industrialism and marriage. Their faithful examination of life in the United States in the present century rounds out the story as told in its sharpest lights and shades by the fellow-craftsmen who completed their work in the same year.—*USIS.*

সিদ্ধশক্তি আশ্রম

মানবাত্মার উৎকর্ষ সাধনের স্থান,

পোষ্ট—মাহাঙ্গা, জেলা—কটক।

আমরা শক্তিমাতার আদেশে বর্ণাশ্রম ধর্ম্ম প্রচার করিয়া আসিতেছি। অন্ধবিশ্বাসের বশবর্ত্তী হইয়া ইহা করিতেছি না। সাধক মহাশয় স্বয়ংসিদ্ধ অনুভূতির দ্বারা 'মা'র স্বরূপ প্রত্যক্ষ করিয়া তাঁহার নিকট মানবের কল্যাণ বিধানের জন্য কাতর প্রার্থনা জানাইয়া থাকেন। তিনি জীবজগতের কল্যাণ সাধনে সর্ব্বদা তৎপর; তাই আমরা তাঁহার শিষ্যগোষ্ঠীভুক্ত হইয়া নরনারীকে আশ্রমের সন্তানরূপে জগতের কল্যাণসাধনে ব্রতী হইতে আহ্বান করিতেছি। অতএব আমাদের বিশেষ অনুরোধ তাঁহারা ৬৲ টাকা চাঁদা দিয়া অবিলম্বে 'সন্তান' গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত হউন, কারণ অর্থ বিনা কোন কাজ সম্পন্ন হওয়া অসম্ভব, আমরা ইহার পথপ্রদর্শক মাত্র। আশ্রমের সম্পাদক একজন আছেন। তিনি কে?—পত্র-বিনিময়ে চিনিতে পারিবে। প্রত্যুত্তরের জন্য ছয় পয়সার ডাকটিকিট প্রেরিতব্য।

—সাধক

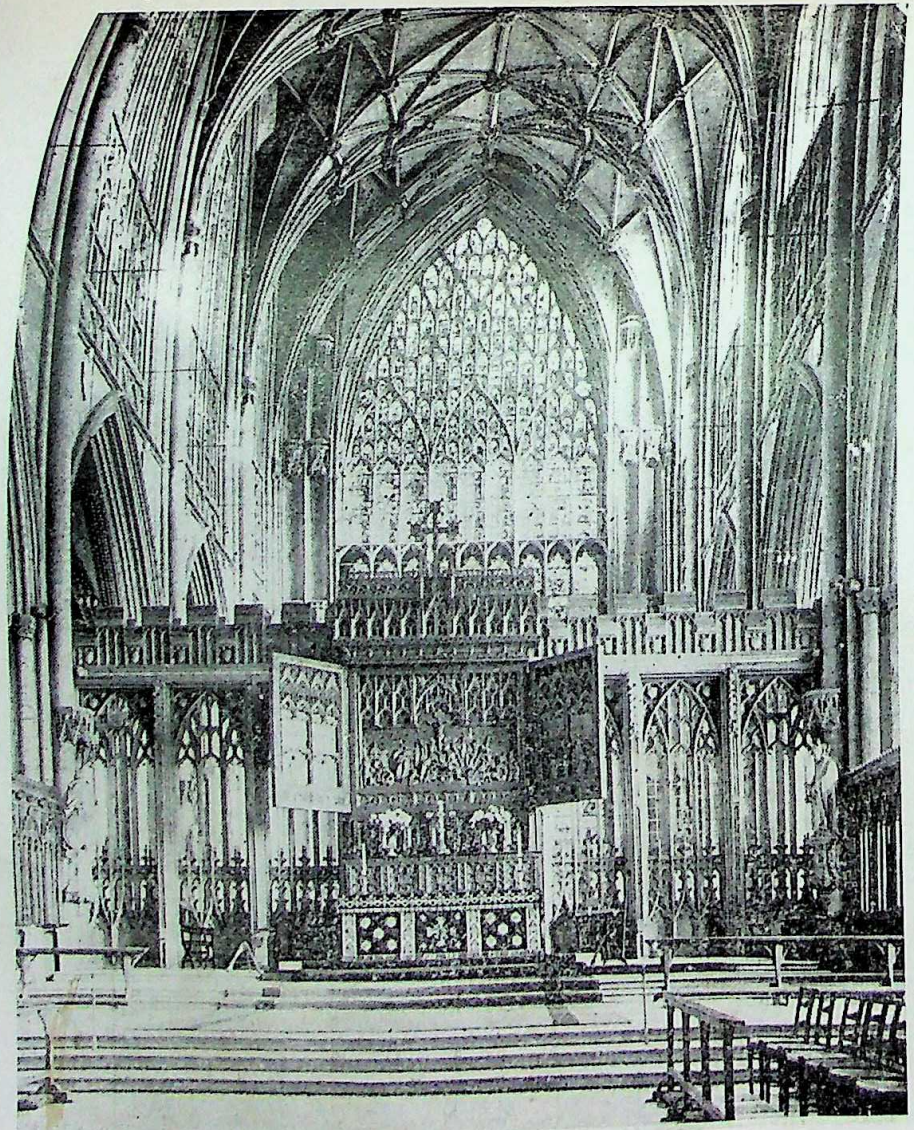
TO OUR ADVERTISERS

We herewith notify our constiuents that the advertisement rates of *The Modern Review* will be increased as from April, 1946, the basic rate being Rs. 80/- per ordinary page. Our circulation has increased very substantially since 1944, and is still increasing fast. As the costs of production have likewise increased substantially in all directions, excepting a very slight reduction in the price of paper, our margins have been severely reduced by this increase in circulation.

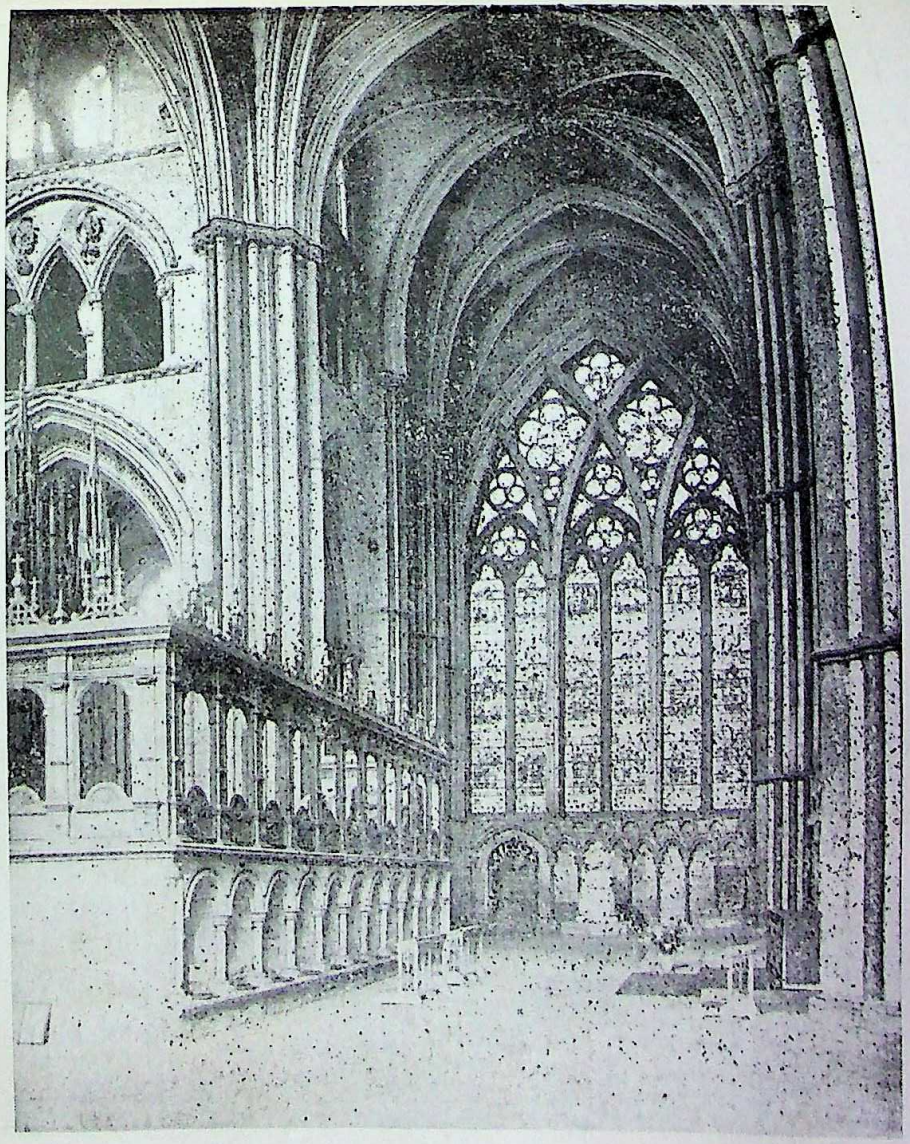
We hope that our advertisers will extend their co-operation by accepting this justified increment. Please consult the new scale as stated on advertisement page 27. Existing contracts will run at old rates till the date of expiry of the contracted period.

Advt. Manager, M. R.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



York Minster. The High Altar and the great East Window—the largest glazed window in Britain. The original foundation of the Cathedral was laid in Roman times



Durham Cathedral. The great window in the background is called Joseph's Window, as the stained glass panels portray the life of the patriarch Joseph

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



YOUTH

Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1946

VOL. LXXIX, No. 4 WHOLE No. 472

NOTES

The Coming Negotiations

With the arrival of the Cabinet delegation, the Congress is now face to face with the most vital problems that have ever come before it. It is to be hoped that our leaders have a full realisation of the difficulties ahead. They were caught unprepared for the fight in 1942, and for whatever achievement that ensued out of the bitter struggle that followed, they have to thank the staunchness of the masses of nationalism and the initiative of the few that actively stepped into the breach. Now that the struggle is over for the time, they must not again lapse into complacence, for if ever they had need for wariness, deep deliberation, and steadfastness of purpose, it is now. This is no time for recrimination, but we feel we must again caution them against vacillation and hastiness of decision. Much had been left undecided in the past that left loopholes for disaster and the wobbling displayed by the leaders when faced with intransigence from the reactionaries is solely responsible for the aggressive spirit displayed by the main opponents of the Congress. Too little importance is being attached even to-day to the flood-tide of anti-nationalist propaganda being let loose by the Moslem League—as for instance from the All-India Radio—and even the most eminent of our leaders are suffering from occasional lapses from caution when giving hasty speeches or interviews. This must stop from now onwards, if the leaders are to discharge faithfully the trust bequeathed to them by the country.

The Cabinet delegation has come fully equipped and fully prepared. They are experienced veterans in the matter of such international deliberation and they have with them highly trained specialists who are past masters in the science of diplomacy. The Congress has to deliberate with them therefore on unfamiliar terrain and at the best with amateurish equipment. It is, therefore, vitally necessary that they do not rush into commitments or into agreements on undefined principles. Every false step taken will mean endless misery for the future generations of this country.

Liberty must be complete and without any reservations through which the forces of reaction may creep back into power. *The Congress must not flinch under any threats or prophecies of dire calamities.* In the past, as our history shows through endless examples, compromise with the powers of Evil had led to greater and greater disasters. Even if civil war, bloodshed and destruction be the consequences of standing staunchly and fearlessly on the cardinal principles of human rights, the Congress must do so. Pandering to the forces of reaction would not appease them or bring them to a state of sweet reasonableness as some of our leaders seem to think even now.

It is apparent to the whole world now, with the exception of the few that do not believe in what is visible with open eyes and pin their faith to the intangible products of day-dreams, that the Moslem League considers every fresh conciliatory move by the Congress as fresh evidence of Congress cowardice. The League is firmly of the opinion that the policy of bullying and black-mail that has paid such rich dividends to them in the past is the one and only route to be followed in all parleys and negotiations. The only way, therefore, is to oppose Pakistan with unflinching determination, and at all costs, even as a temporary measure. Otherwise a cancer will be left to rot the flesh of Independent India. Concessions made to minorities must be clearly given as temporary concessions, and not as instalments of black-mail.

We have no desire to disturb any reasonable negotiations but we are firmly opposed to pandering to Fascism in any form. The world has just seen what that leads to. Let there be a settlement with the League by all means, but *the settlement aimed at must be just and equitable for all concerned,* and there should not be any bartering away of the birthrights of unborn generations just for the sake of an illusory peace. The Moslem League is clearly following the blue-prints of Fascism, the cardinal principle of which is to put no limit to demands on the rights of others.

The Native States must form a firm and integral part of Independent India with direct treaties with the future Government of India, in the formation of which they will participate. There should be no intermediaries. Independent India must be a firm well-integrated State with full sovereign powers. A weak centre will fail to hold any Federation or Confederation and will merely help in the Balkanisation of India. It must be realised by our leaders that any weakness displayed now will result in the bringing into being of a weak, knock-kneed craven in the comity of Nations. Bloodshed and devastation is preferable to being branded for perpetuity as the Sick Man of Asia. Concessions certainly, but it is only the strong that can give concessions, the weak give tribute to the bully.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Congress Food Policy

The Congress resolution on the food situation has been published. The 15 pt. food programme lays out its suggestions to the Government and the people to fight the food crisis.

The main suggestions are as follows : Everyone should try to grow food and help others to do so. Land lying waste should be brought under the plough. Preference should be given to food crops to money crops. Scarcity of water should be met by sinking wells and digging tanks. Supplies from abroad are welcome, but they must reach in time and must be equally distributed. Uneconomic expenditure on festive occasions should be stopped. The State must put all its resources for growing, preserving and transporting food. Exports of cereals and foodstuffs are to be absolutely prohibited. The nation should be prepared for sacrifice to relieve general distress and should try to make successful "any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement and any measures for checking hoarding, black-marketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand."

The suggestions are extremely wise and helpful and should be carefully considered by the public and the Government.

The resolution makes it clear in conclusion that "measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful unless power vests in the people." The Imperialist game to maintain complete control over the people's food in the name of keeping food above politics is now clearly discernible. During 1942, almost the entire carryover stocks in this country had been sent abroad to meet Imperial needs. Within the country, people's food was snatched away for meeting the needs of the allied armies stationed in India which brought every weapon of war with them except rations. While people in this country died for a morsel of food, extra rations and waste in the army continued. Food had to be kept out of politics, people's control over food through their real representatives was the last thing that was desired by Imperialist politicians who were in desperate need of our food. Some semblance of a "popular government" was required to give this exploitation a "popular" character and a careerist Ministry had to be propped up in Bengal to hide the drains as Bengal at that time was the main tap of drainage. It is really painful to find Lord Wavell following the same policy. He had ample time to find that the Imperial servants have failed to do anything towards an increase in food production in the past four years when food was being drained out. Officialdom had failed to take any timely precautions even when they were aware that shortage of food was bound to come in any year of insufficient rains as the carryover had all been lost. We are unable to believe that Lord Wavell had no idea about the future crisis with the Gregory Report and the Woodhead Report before him. It is really painful to find him still following the same wornout tactics of setting up Advisory Committees on Food with no power to control the Food Administration but with inherent responsibility to share the blame of his maladministration. After the Congress refused to join his Food Committee, the *Orient Press* reports that Sir Nazimuddin, the stooge *par excellence* of sinister Imperialist exploitation in Bengal, has been invited by Lord Wavell to sit on his Food Committee.

Indian food is no longer a regional subject, it is an all-India problem. The famine year of 1943 has clearly demonstrated the need for a fully co-ordinated action among the provinces in the administration of food. Later years have still more emphasised this need, but nothing has as yet been done to set up any strong machinery to achieve this end and to counteract provincial rivalries in the matter of an equitable distribution of food. Section 135 of the Government of India Act provides that an Inter-provincial Council would be established when it is found that public interests would be better served by the establishment of a common machinery to deal with subjects in which some or all of the provinces have a common interest. The Government of India have done nothing to get such a council established, instead they permitted provinces to stop export of foodstuffs in clear violation of Section 297 of the Government of India Act.

The food game of the Government of India stands thoroughly exposed. The people are convinced today that food production will not increase, food waste will not cease and food exports will not stop till a fully responsible National Government comes into being at the Centre.

Food Wastage in Storage

The Food Secretary of the Government of India has stated in the Central Legislative Assembly that the annual losses in storage of foodgrains on account of insects, rodents and other causes were estimated at about three and a half million tons. He has also said that Government had appointed technical staff and were taking action to reduce losses in storage. The Woodhead Commission have in their Final Report expressed great concern for these heavy annual losses which could be prevented. They said that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research had been trying to find means to combat this wastage but we do not as yet know how far our costly foreign and indigenous experts have succeeded. They have been slow in their deliberations and ought to have been in a position to throw at least some light on this problem by now.

The Food Secretary's statement does not clearly state the actual figures of losses in Government storage and that in private storage. It is well-known that losses in Government storage are much higher than when rice, paddy or wheat is left in private custody.

Insects and rodents are not wholly to blame for this terrible loss. The officials of the Government Food Department, specially those in charge of godowns and food inspection, must share their responsibility. We give below the characteristics of three types of godowns erected in Bengal for storing rice and paddy. The defective construction of the godowns is very largely responsible for the appalling waste in this province. The types are :

Lahore Type Sheds : Each 100 ft. × 40 ft. in floor area. Semi-circular roofing with corrugated sheets on wooden roof truss. Floor of cement concrete. Not perfectly damp-proof. No damp-proofing material used in floor. Roof truss made of weak bad quality wood. Roof leaking badly at all places because of bad design and the screw-shaped nails employed in fixing the C.I. sheets on to the roof truss. Rain water also getting inside from the lower edges of the C. I. sheets. Many of the sheds given over for storage of foodgrains immediately after construction, *i.e.*, before the floor and the walls have been dried up. One of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

such places is Asansol. No suitable platforms on floor erected for stacking bags of foodgrains.

Calcutta Type Sheds : Each 100 ft. × 40 ft. in floor area. Brick walls. Steel frame work for roof truss. Slant roofing with C.I. sheets. Floor as in Lahore type sheds. Not damp-proof.

Nissen Type Sheds : Each 100 ft. × 40 ft. in floor area. Semi-circular roofing with C.I. sheets over steel roof truss. Floor as in Lahore type sheds. Not damp-proof.

Will the Food Secretary explain whether the statements made here are true ? Will he say if it is a fact that the Engineer-in-Charge, General Head Quarters, New Delhi, wrote to the Chief Engineer, Northern Command and Eastern Command and Director of Works, Southern and Central Command and No. 3 Hill Depot, Assam, stating that the Lahore type sheds served their purpose quite well for temporary use, but for permanent or prolonged use they should be inspected from time to time and properly maintained because time and pest were likely to decay the structure ? Did he warn the officials that cheap and soft wood had been used in these structures which were likely to be wasted and cracked with time ? Did the Food Department see that these instructions issued in November, 1943, had been carried out properly and efficiently ?

Food Exports

An emphatic repudiation of the announcement made by Mr. B. R. Sen, Food Secretary of the Government of India, at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held at Allahabad, to the effect that all exports of grains had ceased since August 1943, is given by Mr. M. L. Khemka, President of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Khemka says that the export list issued by the Calcutta Customs House shows that only during the months of July, August and September, 1945, one single non-Indian firm exported to foreign countries no less than 22,504 tons of rice from the port of Calcutta, and a closer examination of the export lists of the Calcutta port should disclose further exports of rice from Bengal.

The Food Secretary issued a statement to contradict Mr. Khemka in which he said that during the period April-November, 1945, the total export of rice from India was 42,860 tons including 42,302 tons exported to Ceylon.

In reply to this Mr. Khemka in course of another statement invited the attention of Mr. Sen to the daily list of exports issued by the Calcutta Customs House, wherefrom it will be found that during the period May-October, 1945, 61,797 tons 3 cwt. and 40 lbs. of rice valued at 2,46,98,467 rupees were exported from Calcutta Port alone. As regards export of rice to Colombo, it has been specifically mentioned in the December, 1945 list that only 11 tons and 7 cwt. were sent from Calcutta Port.

These figures represent only the exports of rice to foreign countries. The list shows other figures of export to Colombo and coastwise shipments.

Mr. Khemka has requested the Government of India to examine the real position and issue a full statement on the subject.

The export lists of Calcutta Customs and the records of exports in Government of India's abstract of overseas trade, cannot be taken as true accounts of rice exports from India. It is now alleged that export of rice and paddy from India has been made to foreign countries in vessels chartered by H.M.G.'s Ministry of Food. Their final destinations being not disclosed, they were kept as close secret and that these exports were not entered in Customs Registers. It is now for the members of the Central Legislature to elicit informations on this vital matter. Shipments in such vessels are alleged to have been made from Coconada, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam and Calcutta ports direct to foreign countries or to coastal ports like Colombo and Cochin. We do not know if there is any possibility of changing the destination of these chartered vessels when they arrive at Colombo. There is nothing which can prevent them to proceed to other ports with the cargo of rice intact. During 1945, such exports to Colombo seem to have been 33,775 tons and in January 1946 alone it appears as 3,000 tons. We have reason to believe that total exports from Bengal alone to foreign countries per chartered vessels *in 1945* had been 39,775 tons. The mystery of these chartered vessels must be cleared up as early as possible. It must also be found out why these shipments are not entered in the Customs Registers, since when this practice of evasion began and who had ordered these secret shipments.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, replying to a question in the Council of State on the 26th March stated that 21,024 tons and 3,125 tons of rice were exported from Calcutta in the third and fourth quarters of 1945 respectively and that the Export Trade Controller, Calcutta, had informed the Government of India that the figure 61,797 tons of rice stated (by Khemka) to have been exported from Calcutta during the period from May to October 1945 included 42,000 tons of rice shipped to Ceylon and 16,000 tons of rice to Mysore.

Mr. M. L. Khemka, in the course of his third statement, observes that from all accounts the information supplied to the Government of India is wrong. In this connection, Mr. Khemka points out that export from one port to another in India as also to Colombo are specifically mentioned as 'coastwise' and 'export to Colombo' respectively and as such the figures under export to foreign countries cannot include any coastwise shipment or to Colombo. Mr. Khemka has requested the Food Member to refer to the daily export lists issued by the Calcutta Customs House wherein it will be found that more than 61,000 tons of rice had been exported from Calcutta to foreign countries during the period from May to October 1945. Regarding the figures given in the Council of State, namely, 21,024 tons and 3,125 tons of rice said to be exported from Calcutta in the third and fourth quarters of 1945 respectively, Mr. Khemka points out that from 16th July to 17th September 1945, more than 30,000 tons of rice were exported to foreign countries from Calcutta port and from 1st October to 25th October more than 21,000 tons of rice were similarly exported. Mr. Khemka regrets to note that wrong figures should have been supplied to the Government of India although a very responsible officer of the Government of India came to the Chamber office and verified the figures from the Customs' export lists shown to the officer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

America and the Indian Food Problem

President Truman has sent a directive to the Secretaries of State, Agriculture, War, Navy and Labour, the War Shipping Administrator and the Director of the Office of Defence Transportation asking them to do everything possible to speed up the supply of wheat to the liberated areas. In his directive, the President said that the problem of supplying the needy peoples of the world with wheat rested mainly on the shoulders of the United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina. Estimated shipments through the first six months of 1946 will be at least five million tons short of requirements of the deficit areas. In view of this situation, the President recommended that each of the supplying countries accept its proportionate share of responsibility in meeting the urgent requirements of the liberated countries on an equitable basis.

The President's directive expresses much more concern for the peoples of Europe than those inhabiting Asia. The experience of the Indian Food Delegation at the Washington Food Board is not in the least encouraging for us. One of the primary reasons for Indian food crisis has been consumption of huge quantities in this country by the Allied forces and the large exports undertaken to meet British requirements. No World Food Board ever thought of consulting India when her slender food resources were dissipated, but now when India stands in desperate need for food, her first prayer was coolly turned down, on a second attempt only a fraction of her immediate requirement has been met.

The National Committee for Indian Freedom in America has addressed a letter to Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, on this question. The following is an extract from it :

> India has faith in America ; not only in her humanitarian impulses, but in her sense of justice. America is bound to have increasing relationship with India. In case the feeling should grow in India that America has failed to do all in her power to back up the measures necessary to ward off famine in India, the cordial relationship between the two countries would suffer. To cover their own shortcomings, it is possible that the local authorities in India may try to shift the blame to other shoulders.
>
> We request, Sir, that in view of the seriousness of the famine facing India and of its far-reaching consequences, and for the promotion of increasing goodwill between your country and ours, which is the chief purpose of the National Committee for India's freedom, you will recommend the following steps :
>
> 1. Ask your representatives in India for an immediate appraisal of the food situation there.
> 2. Recommend allotment of increased food imports for India through your representatives on the International Food Control Board.
> 3. Keep in service United States shipping in order to feed India's starving millions.
> 4. Offer all facilities to private agencies willing to help in the amelioration of famine conditions.

Writing in the *PM*, Winston Weisman has exposed how the British propaganda machinery in Britain has been set in motion to whitewash the sins of the Government of India. Here is the most significant passage together with the map that accompanied it :

Singh points out that 20 years ago a Roy... Commission of Agriculture had made recommend... tion for the improvement of indigenous food produ... tion. It has been said that even if 50 per cent of th... proposals had been put into effect India would n... be reduced to her present circumstances.

"Even the Secretary for Agriculture in the Indian Government admitted in the New Delhi Central Legislative Assembly on February 4 that the Government had not done all that could have been done," Singh says.

Recently, delegates to the Central Assembly in India charged that the Government had failed to forestall the present food crisis by internal measures to assure a fair and equitable distribution of food among the various provinces at fair prices.

On the other hand, the British Information Service here says, the Government of India has instituted a price control system, established a program of rationing, and taken measures to stop hoarding and black market operations. The BIS admits the present situation is more critical than in 1943-1944 but feels the government is in a better position to meet it than during the war.

Rationing in cities of over 10,000 population has been functioning since 1944 with a basic ration of one pound of grain a day per adult, the BIS discloses. Because of food shortage this ration recently was cut to 12 ounces. Sir S. V. Ramamurti, Food Adviser to the Governor of Madras, has warned that a further reduction to eight ounces may be ordered if immediate relief is not sent.

(By contrast Americans ate on the average 64 ounces of various kinds of food daily between 1937-1941, according to Bureau of Agricultural Economics statistics. Present consumption has not been estimated but it is said to be "higher than ever.")

According to the BIS, many aspects of the India Government's food program based on a long-range plan aimed at expanding production, consumption and providing the people with adequate purchasing power, already are in operation.

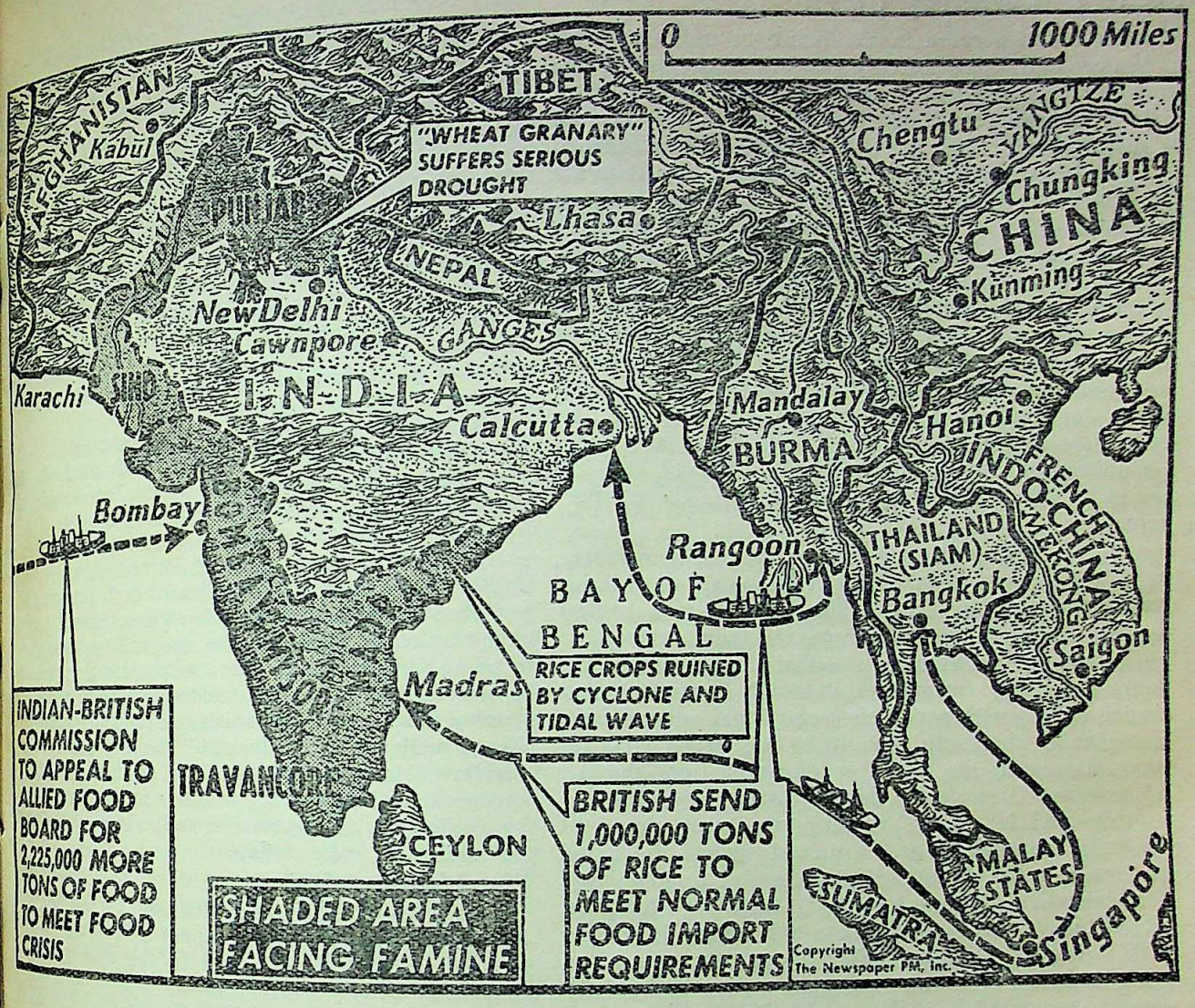
The BIS adds that educational facilities to teach better methods of cultivation, production and animal husbandry have been set up, inter-village communication for the promition of co-operative marketing, credit and conservation of perishable foodstuffs, improved and irrigation projects are under way.

But in the view of Singh virtually nothing has been done to tackle what in his opinion is the most important problem—a land reform program which would enable Indian farmers to gain a decent standard of living by providing land, low rents, interest charges and taxes which have kept the peasants in a continual state of impoverishment for centuries.

Not to speak of long-range plans, the short-term recommendations made by the Gregory Committee for an increase in food production would have gone a long way to alleviate the impending crisis, had the Government of India paid timely attention to them. They had two and a half years' time to implement them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



China's Advance Towards Democracy

A Washington *Post* editorial says that the recent developments in China show that she has "put her best foot forward in the direction of democracy and unity." The editorial said in part :

> When, a generation ago, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid down his "three principles of the people," which is the political bible of present-day China, he held out to the Chinese people the promise that after a relatively brief period of "tutelage" under the leadership of the Kuomingtang, a full-bodied democratic regime would be established in China. For a long time that promise must have seemed to many an empty mirage . . . Yet the democratic aspirations which Dr. Sun had expressed never died out in China, and now, 21 years after his death, they are on the way to fulfilment.
>
> As a result of the Kuomingtang-Communist truce and the labors of the Political Consultation Conference which took place in Chungking last month, the Chinese Government is about to wind up its one-party dictatorship. An all-China Government is to be set up in which members of the Communist Party, the Democratic League, the Youth Party, as well as the Kuomingtang, are to be represented. Naturally such Chinese armies, both the armies of the Government and Communists, are to be drastically reduced, ultimately united under one rule, and divested of political authority. A democratic constitution is to be drawn up in the near future, to be followed by general elections. Wartime censorship and restrictions on civil liberties have been lifted.

China is the second country in Asia whose social system was entirely democratic. She was a land of plain living and high thinking. Her social structure even today is essentially democratic. The Imperialist aggression of Japan in China had disturbed her social life during the last half a century. With the defeat of Japan, it is only natural that China would once again settle down to her own natural democratic life. It often becomes difficult for Westerners to understand the social life of Asia. Through an ignorance of the fundamentals they say that "political democracy is more than a matter of constitutional forms ; it is a way of life that has to be learnt by doing and the process of learning is slow and painful." India and China had a way of life which ensured full democracy within their social structure and developed friends all over Asia. It is the Western interferences with her social life and Imperialist aggressions that have pushed her off the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Police and Military Unrest

An Indian serving in the police or military forces had never been conspicuously patriotic in the past. Some were born and bred in a tradition of loyalty to British masters, others were thrust into the system by accident or dire necessity. Nor were the Indian forces disturbed by any agony of divided allegiance. But to-day they are faced with the problem of a choice, the choice between the king and the country, there being a complete divorce between legal authority and moral allegiance. The problem came to the fore in the case of the I. N. A. soldiers who wanted to sacrifice their allegiance to a foreign king for their country. Since then there have been a series of disturbances among the Indian police and military which unmistakably point to one significant development in our national consciousness. An individual case may be the result of exceptional circumstances. But a comprehensive view of the full series of such incidents will provide the right perspective.

In the first week of February about 600 members, including officers, of the R.I.A.F. camp on Marine Drive, Bombay, went on a hunger-strike as a protest against an insult by the camp commander arising out of the wearing by the men of civilian dress in the dining hall. The camp commander insolently remarked that Indian officers were not efficient and could not maintain discipline in the camp. The strike was called off after three days with the definite assurance from the Air Commodore Cracsoft for the redress of grievances.

The R.I.N. ratings' revolt is the most important event in the series. It was a protest against the hated pattern of racial discrimination in regard to food, pay, demobilization arrangements, and travelling facilities. The details of the happenings are well-known. Beginning with a demonstration by 3,000 strikers, they ended in a brisk exchange of shots causing dislocation and casualties. The original strike of H. M. S. "Talwar" of Bombay spread to the H. M. I. S. "Hindusthan" of Karachi. Firing continued for days ; and the erstwhile loyal ratings fought with ammunition seized from the armoury.

Echoes of the ratings' revolt were felt throughout India. In Calcutta 500 naval ratings, and some R.I.A.F. airmen went on a protest strike against military atrocities in Bombay. A number of Delhi ratings refused duty and were arrested. Over one thousand R.I.A.F. men of Bombay declared a sympathetic strike, and R.I.A.F. strike was also reported from Madras and Ambala.

The entire situation came to normal only on the advice of Congress leaders like Sardar Patel. Vice-Admiral Godfrey's threat and Prime Minister Attlee's declaration were of no avail.

The R.I.A.F. hunger-strike in Rangoon of the same time deserves separate mention. About 150 members of the ground staff of the R.I.A.F. stationed in Rangoon went on hunger-strike from 23rd February. Their demands included equality of treatment with the British, better living conditions and speedy demobilization.

Men of the Royal Signal Corps and I.E.M.E. belonging to the Indian Army at Jubbulpore went on strike on February 27. The grievances were similar to those of the R.I.N. ratings. Though the leaders were arrested, more sepoys joined the strike on March 1. After President Azad's statement advising the sepoys to resume work, the situation came back to normal.

The next incident to be reported was the "... revolt" by a large number of Gurkha soldiers at ... demobilisation centre at Dehra Dun. The incident was caused by the objectionable remarks made by Maj. E. Wilds and Sub. Anga Singh Bohra which the men resented. The whole regiment joined in a demonstration of protest.

The recent police unrest in Delhi began from a demand for higher pay. The hunger-strike of the ... March was followed by the disturbances of the 22nd when tear-gas was used on a procession of 100 police men who shouted the slogans of "Jai Hind" and "Hindus and Muslims are Brothers." Normal duties were resumed next day.

The latest occurrence is the hunger-strike of ... policemen at Gorakhpur who abstained from taking meals as a protest against the cut in their ration. This event completes our picture for the present.

But what do these events reveal? Is it any longer compatible with the myth of servile loyalty? The tradition of unquestioning allegiance to foreign masters has been broken by the nation-wide political unrest. A large section of Indian police and military forces seem to be in ferment ; and these minor manifestations may be just the prelude to a violent explosion all over the country if the entire system is not radically changed. No change will be adequate until the supreme power is transferred to Indian hands. The awakening and unrest among the police and the military is a stern pointer for the authorities to the nature and extent of the tension that exists in India today.

The Military Raj

From the Government attitude to the happenings of the last few months it appears that the authority of maintaining law and order in the country has been transferred to the military forces. The transfer has not been preceded by any consideration whether the military is a safe factor to be trusted with absolute power. The result has been disastrous.

The story of military action in the recent disturbances is well-known. It has some significant findings. Apart from the fact that firing was resorted to by the military in all the disturbances of the last few months, the nature of firing also makes significant revelations. The February disturbances in Calcutta provided some typical cases of military action. Troops went through the main streets firing indiscriminately. A boy and a girl standing on a second-floor balcony were shot dead by brutes in uniform supposed to be maintaining order in the city. The troops also entered houses forcibly and assaulted the inmates. Such atrocities apart, wounds were mostly received on the upper part of the bodies. This indicates that firing was opened with intent to kill.

Formerly a post-mortem examination followed the deaths caused by police or military firing. That practice has been abandoned in Bengal recently under orders of Governor Casey.

The Congress Working Committee in its Bombay resolution on recent disturbances has condemned many excesses. But it has also been clearly stated that the military action in regard to popular demonstrations has been extremely unjust and unwise. "Any such action at the present moment," the resolution says, "instead of cowing down the populace has the effect of infuriating it." So the Committee has asked the Govern-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment "to institute an enquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hopes that the enquiry will be open to public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence." Unless a thorough investigation is made and proper action taken against unnecessary military atrocities during popular demonstrations, the grievances of the people may smoulder and has a risk of breaking out in wilder manifestations.

Need of An Effective National Defense Force for Independent India

Dr. Taraknath Das sends the following note :

If India is to stand on her own feet as an independent country she will need an *Effective National Defense Force*. In spite of the existence of the United Nations Organisation, all the great powers including the United States are maintaining tremendous armed forces. Soviet Russia of all nations, is determined to raise a defense force, most modern and effctive to face any eventuality, combination of any group of Powers. In the United States steps are being taken to have compulsory military training for the youth. Britain as well as Turkey are forced to maintain a force of no less than a million men each. But the most interesting thing of all is the anxiety of the National Government of China in the matter of developing adequate national defense.

China has already made great progress in this matter; it is evident from the fact that nearly 600,000 Chinese men have been trained by American officers and are equipped with modern armaments. Of this force, some thirty or more divisions are to get into Manchuria soon to occupy the country for China. It may also interest Indian leaders to know that several hundred American officers of various types are training Chinese officers who will lead the reorganised Chinese National Army. Large number of Chinese are being trained in the United States to become officers of Chinese national defense forces.

But this is not all. The United States government has decided to give China 271 small war-crafts (vessels) as a gesture of substantial friendship. The House of Representatives of the United States has already unanimously passed this measure and there is little doubt that the U. S. Senate will also approve it.

Both Indian nationalist leaders as well as British statesmen can learn something from American-Chinese co-operation in world affairs. China is a free and independent country. The United States wants its friendship and knows that a strong China is an asset to her and to the cause of world peace, and therefore the United States is supporting China not only diplomatically and economically but in all matters concerning national defense. We understand Britain, following the example of the United States, is ready to aid China in every way.

For the last 90 years, since the days of the so-called sepoy mutiny, British policy in India has been to keep the people of India disarmed and to deprive them of the legitimate opportunities for assuring responsibilities for national defense. Now it has become apparent to British statesmen in power that Britain is neither able to keep India under subjection by military force nor can she maintain her position in world politics without Indian friendship and active support. Therefore, to make Indo-British friendship effective, it is not only necessary that Britain should be the first to recognise India's status as an independent nation, but she should adopt effective measures to aid Indians to develop an adequate defense force of all arms officered by Indians.

A strong India is the best guarantee for her independence. A strong India can aid the Moslem States —Turkey, Persia and others—in the West as well as China in the East to protect them from any aggression. A free India will have to assume full responsibility for her own national defense and also bear her share to maintain world peace. India should develop best institutions for training officers who are to assume responsibilities for national defense. Britain should volunteer support in this matter.

The Bhonsla Military School

The Central Hindu Military Education Society organised by Dr. B. S. Moonje and the Bhonsla Military School, Nasik, has become the All-India seat of Physical and Military training. This is the only school of its kind so far among the Indian schools which had been able to secure a licence under the Arms Act for the use of real rifles and live cartridges for the training of boys in Musketry. Besides, riding and swimming are compulsory for every student. The school has been recognised by the University and the Education Department of Bombay. In short, the school aims at preparing young men and women physically fit, morally sound, mentally alert and to develop adequately qualities of character, leadership, personality and broadmindedness essential for national greatness.

The school is an all-India institution as boys come from almost all provinces. I' has already provided to build Provincial Homes named after an historic and inspiring personage of the province concerned, such as the Rana Pratap Rajputana Home, The Guru Govind Punjab Home, The Pratapaditya Bengal Home, The Malharrao Holkar Malwa Home, The Scindhia Home for Central India and so on for Gujerat, Utkal, Andhra, Karnatak, Keral, Madras and Sind.

It is not an easy task to run a Military School entirely as a private enterprise. But having started it, it is the responsibility of all well-wishers of this institution and the cause which it is serving, to make it a success. The school has so far progressed with funds from the public and we believe that generous people will loosen their purse strings to see that this useful institution is well-established. Contributions may be sent to the Principal of the School at Ramabhumi, Nasik.

International Trade Organisation

The fundamental choice before the countries of the world today is whether they will struggle against each other for wealth and power, or work together for security and mutual advantage. The main cause of future war may be eliminated if the Nations of the world, including the defeated nations, work together in every field of common interest on the basis of full employment and an equal standard of living. The United Nations have created not only an Economic and Social Council but special bodies to deal with emergency relief, currency, international investment, civil aviation, labour, food and agriculture. A great drawback in these organisations is that the defeated

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exists between the Imperialist and the subject nations among them. In the Hotsprings Conference it was the clear idea that Eastern Nations ought to remain content as suppliers of raw materials, leaving the wealth and a high standard of life to the industrial countries of the West.

The United States proposes the creation of an International Trade Organisation. To this end, it has been proposed that an International Conference on Trade and Employment should be called by the United Nations, to meet not later than the summer of 1946. Judging from the results of International Conferences held at Hotsprings, Rye, Bretton-Woods, etc., and the U.N.R.R.A., India will not feel much optimistic about the outcome of the proposed Independence Trade Conference. These conferences have been followed by the creation if one or other International Organisation to which India had to contribute very liberally with little or no corresponding benefit to her. The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations has been established but no sign of any improvement in our agricultural or food position in the immediate or near future is visible. An International Monetary Fund to facilitate adjustment in the balance of payment of member countries has also been established. India has contributed heavily to it but not for her benefit. Not only that this Organisation has refrained from putting any pressure on Britain for the payment of her sterling balances to India, the problem was not even allowed to be discussed. The UNRRA has taken disproportionately large contributions from the Indian resources but has done nothing to help India tide over the impending famine.

The governing principles for the proposed International Trade Organisation have been given as (*i*) that in all countries high and stable employment is a main condition for the attainment of satisfactory levels of living and (*ii*) that approximately full employment by the major industrial and trading nations, and its maintainance on a reasonably assured basis, are essential to the expansion of international trade on which the full prosperity of these and other nations depends, and (*iii*) that domestic programmes to expand employment should be consistent with realisation of the purposes of liberal international agreements and compatible with the economic wellbeing of other nations.

The principles sound well but they have in them sufficient loopholes for an evasion of the real spirit which permeates them. We apprehend that, like other International Organisations, this one also will be of dubious value not only to India but also to other Asiatic countries as well.

National Merchant Marine

With the transition from war to peace economy, and with the enormous political developments that are expected to affect our entire economic and industrial pattern, the problem of an adequate water transport is receiving wider attention. During the war we saw the paramount importance of a strong control of the Indian Ocean in the strategic life of India. As a matter of fact, a strong oceanic control is the most vital factor of India's defence, as the entire history of the Indian seas during the Hindu, Portuguese and British period of oceanic supremacy would show. The peninsular character of the country and the essential dependence of its trade on maritime traffic have always made the Indian Ocean a prime arbiter of our fortune.

If shipping was important during the war, it is even more so for a peace-time economy. At the present moment in particular, the problem of shipping, so far as India herself is concerned, is not so much of defence as of mercantile transport. In a recent speech at Patna Mr. G. L. Mehta stressed the vital importance of an adequate merchant marine for India. "It is indispensable as an alternative and additional form of transport for the coastal trade of a country like India with its vast coastline and large maritime trade and it is invaluable for the promotion of overseas trade and commerce."

A huge amount of drain in the form of shipping freight has been the result of our continued dependence on foreign ships for our overseas trade. The total annual shipping earnings on account of Indian trade and passenger service, before the outbreak of World War II, were estimated to be Rs. 57 crores of which Indian Companies received about 7 crores. To-day, as Mr. Mehta has shown, Indian shipping is hardly 100,000 gross tons as against 14 million tons of British shipping and out of a world tonnage of over 75 millions. In other countries, coastal trade is almost a domestic preserve of the nationals of the country. The share of Indian shipping in coastal trade is hardly 20 per cent while it has practically no share in the overseas maritime trades.

An adequate and careful national policy for shipping should be evalued immediately, if post-war development of industry and trade is to be materialized. Some hope is pinned on the policy committee on shipping which is now considering Indian shipping problems. We should also be vigilant to guard our interests in the international trade and shipping negotiations that would take place in the next few years. Elimination of Axis nations from world commerce has given the big powers greater opportunity to develop and expand their shipping trade. India may at least hope for the opportunities of a freer allocation of routes now that Japanese shipping has been eliminated. Much will depend on the policy of the Government which should no longer waste its time in evolving an adequate national shipping policy, and the policy must be soon implemented in practice by switching on the vast material resources, mobilised for war, to fight scarcity, maldistribution and the evils of industrial backwardness.

U. S.-Soviet Amity Essential to World Peace

The American News File reports that Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former United States ambassador to Norway, was honoured at a banquet given by the American Society for Russian Relief as it launched a national campaign to equip the devastated hospitals of Russia. Joseph E. Davies, former U.S. ambassador to Russia, was chairman of the dinner and among the principal speakers were Secretary of Commerce, Henry Wallace and Senator Claude Pepper.

Referring to the election of Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of UNO, Secretary Wallace said :

> I consider it highly significant that Trygve Lie has been named to a post equivalent to the first president of the world with the support of both the United States and Russia. It may well be that the Scandinavian countries will serve as a bridge between the United States and Russia. The Scandinavian countries have long approached democracy in a peculiarly individual way.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wallace suggested "friendly competition" between the United States, Russia and Britain in the development of science, economic justice and freedom. He said that the Russians and British in some respects are ahead of the United States in science and economic justice and that the United States is ahead of Russia in its conceptions of freedom.

"I want to say most vigorously," Wallace added, "that for the next decade or two science is going to be all-important. The future belongs to nations that understand science, that understand economic justice and brotherhood, and that have great natural resources. As we look at the nations of the world which are destined to understand science most fully, and have natural resources and desires for economic justice and brotherhood, we see that Russia and the United States stand out."

Senator Pepper, who has recently returned from a tour of the Soviet Union, praised the relief work the Society is doing in Russia and said :

> The war is not won in Europe or Asia, or even in America, and it will not be won until the last vestiges of fascism have been erased from enemy nations and from those so-called neutral nations which actually were panderers for Hitlerism or servants of Japanese imperialism.

Pepper told the guests of the warm reception he received from Russians as an American and declared :

> One thing we must remember. As I have said elsewhere, we have absolutely nothing to fear from the Soviet Union as long as the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from us. . . And the work done by the Society for Russian Relief is the best possible proof to the Russian people that they have nothing to fear from us—that in peace, as in war, we come of friendly intent and are holding out the hand of brotherhood. If we do our dual task well—the task of supplying the Soviet people with the medical supplies they need so badly and of supplying the American people with perception and with the true facts about our Russian neighbours—then there shall be peace in the world and atomic power shall be the greatest boon mankind has ever known. We must do our task well—and do it now, and keep on doing it—for the alternative to success is too frightening to consider.

U.S. and Fight for Freedom of Press

The American News File reports that freedom of the press is a freedom "for which we must wage a continuous fight," United States Assistant Secretary of State, William Benton, said in a broadcast from Washington titled "Freedom of the Press—World-wide." The program was one of a series over NBC's "University of the Air," aimed at explaining United States foreign policy. Paul Porter, Federal Communications Commission chairman, also spoke.

Benton maintained that "it has always been important to seek a free flow of information among the peoples of the world," but since the first atomic bomb was dropped it has become a matter of paramount urgency. Freedom of the press is freedom of men's minds to seek the truth. Without that, he said, we cannot construct the defenses of peace in the minds of men and "can't hope for a secure peace."

Benton and Porter agreed that the cause of freedom of information internationally has not progressed during the last 25 years. Porter added that freedom from censorship is a fundamental part of freedom of information.

When asked whether Russia does not in fact have "an entirely different idea of the role of a free press from ours," Benton said that the Russians "not only frankly admit but boast that their concept of freedom of the press is different from ours. They even deny that ours is freedom." He said Russian practice to the Americans "means state subsidies and state control, which are fundamentally opposed to our concept of an independent press, free to criticize the government."

When asked if he saw any hope of bringing the Soviet and United States viewpoints together, Benton expressed the hope that the "time will come when we shall get a free flow of news between Russia and the United States," but added that this development "will unboubtedly be a gradual process."

Benton said not only the State Department but Congress and the FCC as well as United States delegations to various United Nations conferences were doing something about furthering the cause of freedom of information. Benton said the State Department was attacking the problem on three fronts—the economic front, political front and what might be called the "operating front." Benton added that the "outstanding achievement on the economic front has been the Bermuda Telecommunications Conference."

Porter, who was vice-chairman of the American delegation at Bermuda, said the "Bermuda conference was significant because problems of high cost and bottlenecks in transmitting news and telegraph messages between the United States and the British Empire—a problem which has vexed newsmen and telegraph users for 25 years—was solved in ten days over the conference table in Bermuda."

Porter said the Bermuda conference "is only one step toward a rational world-wide communication system." Porter said the principles of information which the British accepted at Bermuda were adopted by the American republics at the Inter-American Radio Conference at Rio de Janeiro last autumn. He added that these arrangements paved the way for a world-wide acceptance of the same principle at an international communications conference which is expected to be held some time this year.

"The Bermuda conference," Porter continued, "succeeded beyond all expectations. But improvement of communications is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end—the real end being to bring the democratic nations of the earth closer together by making possible a freer exchange of ideas, more complete understanding and development of better commercial relations."

Turning to the political approach to freedom of information, Benton said the State Department "plans to do everything within its power along political or diplomatic lines to help breakdown artificial barriers to expansion of private American news agencies, magazines, motion pictures and other media of communication throughout the world. And, of course, we welcome information from abroad through the same channels."

Concerning freedom of the press within nations, Porter said only the people within the country can achieve it. "You can search history books and never find an example of freedom being handed to a people. They always have to demand it or fight for it themselves."

Benton agreed that as far as international provisions for press freedom were concerned that would be up to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the nations themselves, "but I think that free access to news sources, and freedom to transmit news from one country to another without discrimination might very well be included in appropriate agreements or treaties covering our relations with former enemy countries."

Concluding the broadcast Benton said he thought it safe to say that in the months to come "our government will play a leading role in the fight against restrictions on all sorts of international communications."

Freedom of press is one of the fundamentals of a free democratic world. Where a really popular government functions, that government must assure the ways and means for a full and fair reflection of popular opinion. This can best be done by the freedom of the press. A genuine people's government responsible to the people has nothing to fear from public criticism so long as it remains true to its ideals. Freedom of the press can only exist under such a system of administration. A government which has many things to conceal from popular view is the kind that advocates the suppression of the press. It is needless to mention or multiply instances.

Complete Cure for Cholera

The discovery of what is described as a complete cure for one of mankind's oldest and most deadly enemies, cholera, has been made by U.S. Navy epidemiologists in a controlled experiment held during the cholera epidemic in Calcutta on the spring of 1945 which took away a toll of 1,192 lives. This is a boon among the hell of legacies the war has left for us. Considering the importance of this unique discovery to our country, where people fall easy victims to the scourge of cholera both in the cities and in the villages, the report is reproduced in substance :

> Begun as a protective measure for thousands of Americans stationed in India, China, Burma, Ceylon and the Philippines, where annually the disease rages in epidemics, the experiment has resulted in a new step forward for medical science. Where before there was only inoculation against this dread disease, and that not a sure-fire preventive, there is now tested knowledge that through the proper use of blood plasma, sulfadiazine, and saline solution, "no one need die of cholera."
>
> Where previously 30 per cent to 80 per cent of all cholera victims died, 100 per cent recovery is assured through this new treatment. Dramatic description of the effects produced by this combination of plasma and drugs was first given shortly after the history-making Epidemiology Unit No. 50 first came to Calcutta in June, 1945.
>
> The burning ghats, or funeral pyres, were then piled high with bodies of Hindus who had died of cholera. The American scientists became familiar with the sunken eyes, pinched noses, and anxious expressions of the victims. They learned to recognize the signs : shrunken "washerwoman" hands and feet, feeble rapid pulse, a fever, constant diarrhea and vomiting which leaves the body dehydrated, toxic absorption which causes muscular cramps and collapse.
>
> While the majority of the cholera victims came from the poorer, less educated classes, it also strikes the homes of the richest. No respecter of class, age, sex, or race, the epidemic struck down 3,355 people in Calcutta from January 1 through June 16, 1945, these 1,192 died. Only a few Americans, who were civilians, contracted the disease, and only one, an American Negro pianist died. Fifteen British military residents of the Grand Hotel in Calcutta were stricken and one died.
>
> Hardly had this epidemic reached its peak when another broke out in Chungking, China. Comdr. Amberson radioed the procedure which his experimental unit had already determined to be highly successful to the Navy Surgeon-General, Vice-Admiral Ross T. McIntire, who gave this new medical news not only to the American medical world there, but also to their allies, the Chinese. A plane loaded with plasma, sulfadiazine, and saline solution went over the "Hump" to save the lives of hundreds.
>
> Of the 400 cases in Calcutta selected by the Navy epidemiologists for their experiment, one group was treated with sulfaguanadine, one with sulfadiazine, one with penicillin, and one with sulfadiazine and penicillin combined.
>
> In laboratory experiments it had been determined that these drugs worked against the cholera organism. But in humans, the onset of the disease was so sudden and severe, with circulation slowed down because of dehydration and loss of blood serum, that the valuable drugs could not be mobilized rapidly enough to make the battle an equal one. Because of the great concentration of red blood cells which would not circulate, gangrene set in the feet and hands of the victims.
>
> Comdr. Amberson conceived the idea of using blood plasma to thin out the thick, jelly-like consistency of the cholera-infected blood, and help the patient's body perform its normal functions while the sulfadiazine got in its good work.
>
> In summing up the results of the experiment Comdr. Amberson says in his report :
>
> "From results of the tests made by our Epidemiology Unit No. 50, we recommend :
>
> "That sulfadiazine plus adequate quantities of salines and supportive therapy be accepted as the treatment in mild and uncomplicated cases of cholera.
>
> "That this treatment be supplemented with penicillin in cases of moderate severity, especially where pneumonia is a complication.
>
> "That plasma plus salines be administered in sufficient amounts to elicit a rapid clinical response in severe cases of shock or circulatory failure, and that this be continued long enough to mobilize the effect of the penicillin or sulfadiazine."
>
> Only two of the cases treated had previously had cholera inoculations. In both the onset was sudden but the symptoms were mild, and both were discharged after three or four days' treatment. This led Comdr. Amberson to observe that "cholera vaccine is of value in lessening the severity and duration of illness. Death is almost certain without treatment. Chemotherapy and saline solution alone will lower the expected death rate, and with the additional use of plasmo, the recovery of every cholera victim can be assured."

Restless India

The *Voice of India* of Washington publishes an article on "Restless India" by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. This contribution was written by Mrs. Pandit

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

at the request of the Foreign Policy Association of New York to be incorporated, together with a contribution from Lord Halifax presenting the British point of view, in Lawrence Rosinger's forthcoming book *Restless India* which the Association will publish. After Mrs. Pandit had written the piece, the Foreign Policy Association found it inexpedient to include it in the book. It has finally been published by the *Voice of India*.

Mrs. Pandit shows how, for the last fifty years or more, there has been a growing consciousness on the part of the people of India of the essential immorality of British rule over this country. She writes :

> I think it is the simple truth to say, as a statement of fact, that the vast majoriy of Indian men and women, educated or otherwise, do not today have the slightest faith in the integrity or honour of British statesmen, be they Tory, Liberal, or Labourite. One may go farther and say that the vast majority of Indians of all kinds and communities are convinced that British policy in India rests and functions on a system of calculated hypocrisy—a sort of long-range stalling, plausible procrastination and self-righteous declarations of honesty of purpose. This technique of delay and denial is worked out by incessant and unending recapitulations of the differences, dissensions and social handicaps of the country, all magnified and distorted out of focus, to constitute an alibi of India's unpreparedness, or unfitness, as the case may be, for independence. To this end the natural divisions of racial or religious groups which must necessarily exist in a vast country, such as India, have been artificially erected into impassable and unbridgeable barriers, and the groups themselves made to look like perpetually warring factions insusceptible alike of national unity or political cohesion.
>
> By a system of separate electorates, so called, which means franchise on a basis of religious beliefs, invented by the British Government, it has been sought to crystalize the Indian people into mutually exclusive watertight compartments of sect and community. Natural minorities exist in every country, and the whole trend and principle of modern civilized procedure has been to foster the coalescing of minority groups into the national organism. In India, however, constant wedges are driven to keep the minorities in political segregation, and they are used as so many pawns to deny the claim of Indian nationhood and to hamper the natural process of national solidarity which inevitably follow a growing national consciousness among all civilized peoples. By the same token every factionist, however insignificant or irresponsible, is boosted by British authorities into a position of fantastic importance and invested with a claim to leadership which is more fictitious than real.
>
> All this, perhaps, is very effective imperial politics, but to the people of India the whole thing looks like a systematic and permanent Ulsterization of the country. In the light of such a policy, carried on for a generation, they cannot believe in the good faith of the British. The British demand for national unity and agreement on fundamentals, in the face of such facts, becomes a mockery and an insult.
>
> So far as India is concerned, the sequel to her contribution of blood and treasure in the winning of the first World War was the measure of Amritsar. After the second World War, within a few months of its end, there have been a number of Amritsars in different cities of India where even children have been massacred. All this is tending to alienate India from England, or rather the East from the West. Restless India is the symbol and key of Restless Asia. Without freedom India can have neither tranquillity nor progress and with a restless India seething at its heart, there can be no real peace in Asia.

Pakistan—A Negation

In a recent article, Mr. H. N. Brailsford has made a very trenchant analysis of the Indian political situation. In view of the enormous landslides that are expected to take place in the Indo-British relations in the near future, his study will be particularly significant at the moment.

Beginning with a study in contrast between Jinnah and Nehru, Mr. Brailsford brings out the essential absurdity of the demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah has not been able to make Pakistan a positive policy. "It remains in his hands, what it always was, a negation, a denial of Indian unity. It is an emotion rather than a policy, an expression of the fears and frustrations which Muslims feel, when they face the numbers and the economic power of the Hindus."

Mr. Brailsford discusses the impossible attitude of Jinnah who would neither enter any interim National Government nor take part in an all-Indian Constituent Assembly. However, the elections have weakened his strategical position. The lessons of Assam and the Frontier Province are obvious. Thus "the vision of a solid Muslim State, covering the whole north-west of India has vanished."

"A free decision on the merits of Pakistan," continues the writer, "is, in the present atmosphere of fanaticism, impossible. What is clear is that with the Frontier Province excluded, Pakistan is not a possible strategical unit. The defence of India could not, on those terms, be assured."

But the strategy of defence will not appeal to the champion of Pakistan ; he has only learnt the strategy of dissension.

Brailsford on British Responsibility

Mr. Brailsford recognizes the full significance of our demand for independence. Referring to his interview with Pandit Nehru, he says :

> When I tried to discover what Indians mean by that ambiguous word (independence) the answer was simple and straightforward. They do not wish to remain within the British Empire. The Dominion idea has for them no attractions. They are not a daughter nation, nor do they share our culture and our traditions. A dominion is for us a land which our kinsmen inhabit ; for them it is a territory from which their emigrants are excluded.

This in short is really the Indian attitude. The Britishers must realize this standpoint, and the realization should be shown by the policy that the Cabinet Mission will adopt in regard to the Indian problem. How would they react to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah ? This would be a hard test of the tact, strength and integrity of the Ministers. Mr. Brailsford comments :

CC-0. In Public Domain. GurukulKangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Muslims who, for obvious reasons, enjoyed official favour throughout the war, have not yet adjusted themselves to the fact that we do sincerely mean to hand over power. When they are brought to face that fact can they stubbornly refuse to compromise? History and Geography have willed that they must live with their Hindu neighbours. Even if they could get Pakistan, thirty millions of them would be left outside its borders. They will make this effort of accommodation when they realise that, in Mahatma Gandhi's language, we are going to quit India as a ruling power. The first question is simple. Are we ready to transfer power to a National Government even if Mr. Jinnah refused to join it?

Mr. Brailsford concludes:

> Until a National Government is formed, India has no leadership which public opinion will trust and obey. So long as the moral and legal authority are divorced, there is no power that can shame the profiteers and overawe the anti-social forces. Only when responsibility visibly passes to a truly Indian Government in Delhi will the battle against hunger and disorder begin with a prospect of victory.

The most sinister aspect of the Indian Constitution has been a complete divorce of power and responsibility, of moral and legal authority.

Abuse of Telegraph Act Provisions

Mr. K. Punniah, member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, has released to the press the following letter he has written to the President of the Conference:

> Press messages, inland and foreign, regarding the Indian naval ratings strike and the subsequent developments in the city booked at Karachi by two Indian news agencies and one foreign agency, as also by special correspondents of newspapers outside Sind, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, were held up by the Central Telegraph Office at the instructions of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sind.
>
> The action of the telegraph authorities is an unusual step inasmuch as these newspapers and agencies have been deprived of impartial and independent reports from their correspondents on whom they rely for such work.
>
> Even if such action were found necessary under the provisions of the Telegraph Act the respective agencies and correspondents must have been informed sufficiently in time about the existence and enforcement of this restriction so that they could carry out their task in the best manner possible in the circumstances.
>
> Actually, however, they were informed only after 48 hours after this official action that their messages had been stopped.
>
> I consider the reason given out by the telegraphic authorities that 'no official confirmation is available in respect of these messages' is flimsy and most untenable as in all such cases official confirmation could not be had and the authorities concerned were found to be absolutely reluctant to help the correspondents in their work. This ridiculous aspect of the restriction becomes all the more glaring when you realise that the messages were stopped wholesale although they contained both official and non-official information.
>
> It appears that these restrictions did not affect *Reuters* and the *Associated Press of India* who carried their reports on the teleprinter line and therefore, this action on the part of the authorities affected those agencies and correspondents who depend entirely on telegraphs for transmission of their messages.
>
> The contradiction of the Sind Government that there was no censorship of these messages is utterly misleading and travesty of facts. Both by means of censorship and by recourse to provisions under the Telegraph Act, the authorities effectively stopped all these messages.
>
> There was nothing in these messages to which the Chief Secretary to the Government should take serious objection which was not generally covered by the *Associated Press* and *Reuters*. His action placed the *A. P.* and *Reuters* at an advantage and ruled out the others and did not prevent the circulation of news through telephones to and from Karachi.
>
> The Chief Secretary's action was uncalled for and prevented the newspapers served from Karachi by special correspondents and agencies (not on the teleprinter) from serving their papers for which they are engaged.

The internal press censorship is said officially to have been abolished. Surreptitious attempts to stifle unpalatable news items however continue as they did during the war years. Abuse of the provisions of the newsprint order and the Telegraph Act, in addition to open censorship, was quite common during the war. We have not forgotten the deliberate interference with telegraphic messages sent to America during Calcutta's August '42 blood-bath. Mr. Punniah's letter was published on March 2, and no action seems to have been taken on it so far, *i.e.*, till the end of the month. This proves that so long as British rule continues in this country, surreptitious censorship will remain a regular feature of their administration.

Bengal Government and Imperial Officers

The Government of Bengal is the El Dorado of the Imperial services. There are hosts of officers of 19 or 20 years of service who are either secretary to something or a Director-General of some department on a pay of Rs. 2,750 a month or more. But even then that is not the end. 'Section 93' Government seems to be absolutely convinced that in spite of the pretension of handing over political power to Indian hands a good number of high-salaried British officers must be appointed to man a multitude of special departments created without public sanction. British personnel retired from the services after full periods of service are recruited for "special work" which means that no Indian is suitable for those august posts.

In the Bengal Secretariat we have Dr. Jenkins, who retired after a full period of service as Director of Public Instruction, appointed as the head of the newly created "Method and Organisation" of the Chief Minister's Department, on a salary of about Rs. 3,000 per month. Again Mr. Bottomley is the newly appointed Chairman of the Public Services Commission. After a full period of service in the Education Department, he was appointed as Special officer on the salary of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 3,000 per month. This "special work" has apparently been finished at the tax payers' cost but to whose benefit we do not know. We next find him as the Chairman of the Public Services Commission.

The present Director-General of Enforcement has come to occupy this position after his retirement from the post of Inspector-General of Police. We do not know what he is enforcing, but we have had occasion to observe that bribe-takers and bribe-givers in high places are cleverly slipping out after having squandered crores and crores of the tax-payers' money. Famine, food, civil supply, rationing, etc., have provided a crop of high salaried posts and they are being assiduously filled by British personnel, mostly recruited from the retired people. Mr. O. M. Martin has been appointed Commissioner of post-war reconstruction in Bengal. The post for an Additional Chief Secretary has been created with the object of a rehabilitation of Bengal. We do not know what they have done all these years but we find destitutes dying in the city and more coming in to die.

Under the present system of Government run by a particular ruling caste in flagrant and contemptuous disregard of public opinion, appointment of Indians in these posts will solve no problem. In order to make these posts effective and of service to the people, we know we must wait for a people's government fully responsible to the people. In the meantime we find no sense in frittering away poor people's money on such high-salaried special posts.

The British in India

Speaking on the Finance Bill in the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Lawson, the British Group spokesman, referred to the position of his community in this country and disclaimed any intention to ask for "special concessions" and modestly said, "We shall only ask for those forms of protection which will protect everybody without sufficient voice in the legislatures or indeed those who have no voice at all." In view of the impending political change, the fear of losing the extra special concessions the British traders had so long been enjoying in India under the present constitution, is quite understandable. British interests in this country were secured in many ways. They had the grossly unjust and unilateral safeguards embodied in the constitution. Then they had the preposterously high representation in the local and Central Legislatures. Their number might have been 25 in Bengal in a house of 250, or 3 in Sind in a house of 60, but the constitution has been so carefully devised and seats in the Legislatures so carefully planned that with this apparently small number, the balance of power had on many occasions shifted on to their hands. This was not accidental, but intentional. The British Group have always been eager to seize this balance of power, and have never hesitated to stoop to use it deliberately against the interests of this country. The appointment of British Governors in India is a great advantage for them. We saw in Bengal, a British Governor abandoning all considerations of constitutional decency and decorum for securing the resignation of a progressive Premier who had sought to face the famine with the people at his back by the formation of an all-party Ministry, how he had installed a servile Ministry in its place and how the British Group kept it going with aid of their vote. This gross unconstitutional act was supported solely in the interests of Great Britain. The most horrible famine in the history of India was the result of the maladministration, inefficiency and corrupt practices that followed.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Lawson claimed that they were not ashamed of the part they had played in this country as traders and legislators. But the people of India think that they are not quitting India with a clear record behind them. As traders they have enjoyed extra-special concessions, safeguarded by the constitution and actively backed by the Government. They never came as fair competitors with Indian enterprises. A year ago, the Central Legislative Assembly passed a resolution demanding the repeal of the commercial safeguard clauses in the Government of India Act, but they still remain. Their record as legislators is equally doubtful even up to the present time. It was the three British votes that emboldened the Governor of Sind to hand over power to a minority party in the Legislature.

The British traders and officials in this country must realise that a political change is coming. They cannot expect to live here as a ruling caste. They can at the most expect to enjoy only that amount of extra advantage in this country which an Indian will enjoy in England under similar circumstances.

Famine in Bankura

The statement recently released to the Press by Mrs. R. Roy regarding conditions prevailing in certain parts of the District of Bankura discloses a very serious state of things. Owing to a failure of the monsoon, the early paddy crop had been seriously damaged, while transplantation for winter rice (paddy) was possible on a small area. Even on these lands, the out-turn has been badly affected by the drought which continued during the season of cultivation. A state of famine prevails in this area, although a perverted sense of official prestige has stood in the way of a straightforward declaration of famine. Mrs. Roy found able-bodied men and women working in Government test relief works for a bare pittance of about five annas a day, while many of those who were physically unable for this hard work or unused to it, were found to be living on a gruel of tamarind seeds and Mohua flowers. Official relief was found to be hopelessly inadequate, ordinarily limited to 2 per cent of the population, while the estimate made by Mrs. Roy after her local visit and discussions with the members of the un-official Relief Committee was that, in many places, not less than 10 to 15 per cent were on the verge of starvation and needed immediate relief.

Mrs. Roy visited a so-called industrial home for destitute people in the affected area and found that practically no work was being done here.

Although reports in the Calcutta press have been meagre, news of the very distressing conditions in the district has been appearing in the local newspaper, the *Bankura Darpan* and should have attracted the attention of the powers that be.

It is, therefore, to say the least, curious that no statement has yet been issued by Government, giving an account of the position in these areas and of the measures taken to deal with the situation and refuting the very serious charges of inaction and callous indifference on the part of the local officers of the Government. An account of the "flying" visit of the new Governor has been published with the usual flare of trumpet, but there is no magic in such visits. We have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

waited and waited in vain, for an announcement of the results which have followed from this visit, how far the scope of gratuitous relief has been extended to those who need it, how far the wage scale in test works have been revised, and how far work of a suitable nature has been provided for those who are incapable or unused to earth-work on the public roads. Paddy-husking is an occupation, which in normal years, provides employment to a large number of women in the villages. The granaries of the cultivators are empty, but the Government holds the entire stock of surplus paddy. as a result of the paddy procurement policy which is being adopted. The public has, therefore, a right to know how much of the paddy stocks in the control of Government in this district has been made available to the starving women in the affected areas. From the experience of the work-house visited by Mrs. Roy, we may safely infer that the miserable plight of these unfortunate women has not yet attracted the notice of those who are entrusted with the organisation of relief.

One important issue emerges from the statements to which reference has been made above. Anybody with eyes to see and ears to hear must have realised by the first week of August, 1945, at the latest, that the situation would develop along these lines and that prompt and vigorous measures were called for and that the people in these areas, known to be chronically susceptible to crop-failure and famine, will have to be supported until the next early rice is harvested in November, 1946. And yet, with negligence and indifference which cannot too strongly be condemned, things were allowed to drift until a situation almost beyond control has been reached which had been described in lurid colours in the statement of Mrs. Roy. The least the new Governor of Bengal can do is to institute an enquiry into the conduct of the officials concerned. No false sense of official prestige should be allowed to stand in the way. Even if it is possible to prevent any actual loss of life, which from our personal experience of these areas we very much doubt, these officers must be held accountable for the widespread and intense suffering which with a little forethought and organisation might have been prevented by them.

Economic Sanctions Against the South African 'Herrenvolk'

The situation in South Africa has reached a climax. As stated by Dr. N. B. Khare in the Council of State, the Government of India's proposals for an amicable settlement were turned down and repeated protests against the segregation policy ignored by the Union Government. As a retaliatory measure, the Government of India have at long last given notice of termination of the trade agreement with the South African Government.

Mr. Sorabji Rustomji, leader of the South African Delegation, said that though it was good that within 24 hours of the delegation's arrival in Delhi, the Government of India had taken action against South Africa, the delegation was not entirely satisfied.

Mr. Sorabji explained to the Press correspondents the significance of the imposition of economic sanctions so far as South Africa was concerned. During the war when there was scarcity, India exported large quantities of piecegoods but, at the same time, owing to restrictions on food-stuffs, India closed her export of rice and other foodstuffs. Substitutes were found for these by South African Indians. Soon after the war piecegoods from England and America had already begun to come into South Africa.

Mr. Sorabji said :

> It is not because we want to hit South Africa that we are asking for the enforcement of economic sanctions. By enforcing economic sanctions and withdrawing the High Commissioner, you lift the whole struggle from the inter-governmental plane to the international plane. Short of war, economic sanctions are the next best instrument to use.

The delegation sent a memorandum to the Viceroy and a deputation led by the Aga Khan waited on the Viceroy on March 12. The Congress Working Committee, meeting in Bombay on March 15, passed a resolution which states that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilisation of the West. It also asks the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation pending the convening of a round table conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against Asiatic peoples.

Meanwhile the Union Government has received India's decision to break off trade relations with cold and callous determination. Though the precise terms of the Bill are still not fully known, much light has been thrown on it by the discussion of a United Party caucus. So far as we can gather from these reports, the Bill will be the most flagrant negation of democracy, providing as it does for the representation of Indians in the Assembly by three Europeans and in the Senate by two Europeans.

F. M. Smuts, who used to wax eloquent on the evils of war and tyranny, is now perpetuating a shameless fascist tradition in South Africa. As Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer said in his address at the Witwatersrand University, Smuts and his government are today suffering from the disease of "herrenvolk" mentality. Racial prejudice has also expressed itself in the Union Government's decision to claim the incorporation into the Union of the former German territory of South-West Africa, so long administered as a League of Nations mandate. This is obviously designed to bye-pass the Soviet claim for full franchise at the U.N.O. for the natives of South-West Africa. We wonder how long this tyranny of prejudice will continue in a world of "four freedoms." Mr. Hofmeyer exhorted the University students to fight for the "fifth freedom"—freedom from prejudice.

The Indians in South and East Africa went there to clear the jungles, lay the railway lines, construct the roads and build the very towns from which they are being ousted today. It were Indians who had been called upon to shed their blood in the two World Wars to preserve the freedom of those treacherous Western who, now that the danger is past, are most shamelessly hastening to destroy whatever modest rights Indians had been enjoying there. Rights enjoyed by Indians in Africa were nobody's gift, they had to earn it through large sacrifices. The conspiracy to deprive a people of their rights to life and property earned with blood and sweat will remain the most shameful blot on Western civilisation. A free India will find the means of repaying

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this treachery. Meanwhile we must be content with the tardy application of "economic sanctions."

The Malayan Union

The Commons debate on the Straits Settlements Bill has thrown a flood of light on the nature of British intentions in Malaya. Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Under-Secretary, tried in his long speech to dispel the grave misgivings of the Malayan people and the Chinese immigrants. In spite of his best efforts to draw a veil on the anti-democratic aims of the plan, its very language, as a Labour member complained, "reeked of patronage." The main provision of the plan is to set up a closer Malayan Union with the object of bringing together isolated units existing at the moment, and thereby unifying the administration. Mr. Creech Jones spoke eloquently on their careful consideration of the fundamental rights of the natives, and also assured the policy of full collaboration with local public opinion in working out the new plan. He pointed out the dangers of divided loyalties and multiplicity of authorities, and put forward the British plan of unification.

But these lofty professions cannot alter the character of the proposed union, which by its very principle is flagrantly anti-democratic. For one thing, one cannot reconcile the idea of an imposed constitution with the idea of four freedoms guaranteed for the peoples of the world. The only explanation seems to be that now that Malaya is once again within its imperialist fold, Britain does not like to bring in the uncomfortable issues of four freedoms. The days of the Atlantic Charter are over for the time being.

Coming to the nature of the scheme itself, we can hardly understand how administrative unity can be assured by setting up two different administrations, with Singapore as a separate colony. The prospects of the realization of a full self-government remain naively indefinite, and the separation of Singapore negatives whatever democratic possibilities a close union could create.

Establishment of a common Malayan citizenship with full franchise rights for the Indian residents is certainly a progressive move. But the provisions of the scheme are so vague about the constitution of the legislative bodies and settlement councils that we feel optimistic neither about the fate of the Indians in Malaya nor about the democratic possibilities of the Union itself.

India and Malaya

The life of Indians in Malaya continues to be distressing. In a recent article, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao discusses some of the vital problems regarding Indians in Malaya, and shows their abject economic misery consequent upon recent and late political changes.

The Indian population forms the third largest racial community in Malaya, the Chinese being the largest of all. The majority of this population are labourers engaged in rubber estates. When the Japanese made the desperate attempt of building a Burma-Siam Railway, about 85,000 Indian labourers were conscripted and carried to Siam. In building this "Death Railway," 50 per cent perished, and the rest were left in a precarious condition. After British re-occupation, the surviving mass returned to Malaya. The process of recovery in the shape of providing relief to the suffering and debilitated labourers is too slow to cope with the total wreckage. Apart from labourers, there is another section of the Indian community which needs immediate and adequate relief. It is the lower middle class who are sinking into the rut of total destitution.

One of the main factors affecting the Indian community in Malaya is the policy of the Malaya Government towards the 'collaborators" with the Japanese. The policy is to prosecute the political collaborators, although the British Governor in surrendering Malaya specifically asked the people to co-operate with the Japanese. In view of this significant fact, an enlightened policy of general amnesty as given to Burma should be followed in Malaya.

Thus both economically and politically, the Indians in Malaya are in a very pitiable situation, and it is our duty to lend all possible support to our brethren in that unfortunate land. Pandit Nehru's recent tour in Malaya will no doubt give some encouragement to the suffering and despondent Indian community. The Congress has arranged to send a Medical Mission to give all possible succour to the disheartened community. A free India could have offered more material help, and it is significant that the bureaucratic Indian Government is persistently trying to undo our efforts by delaying the travelling arrangements of the Mission.

British Imperialism in the Western and Middle Asia

The report of the India Independence Day celebration in Washington under the auspices of the National Committee for India's freedom has just reached us. The summary of the speech delivered by the celebrated American journalist who has intensively toured the Eastern countries is given here. Mr. Stone is the Washington correspondent of the weekly *Nation* and also of the New York daily newspaper *PM*. He has done some superb crusading in the domestic and foreign field and his recent articles on Palestine have been revealing to those unfamiliar with the subject and even to those familiar with it he has brought new facts and new slants. Mr. Stone said :

> I have just come back from Palestine and the Middle East and seen with my own eyes much that India has experienced, the deadening hand of British imperialism, its alliance with the most reactionary native elements in the colonial countries, its encouragement of disunity ; in Egypt playing Moslem against Copt and in Palestine playing Arab against Jew as in India the British play the Moslem against the Hindu. I think I may say on behalf of the Jewish community in Palestine that it sees its future not as an outpost of the British but as a partner with the peoples of the East in a new era of freedom and development. I know that among the Jews, among the Arabs of Palestine, there is the deepest sympathy for India's aspirations and Palestinians and Indians have a new bond in common—they have both been betrayed by the British Labour Party.
>
> We are accustomed to hearing the British say that they dare not keep the promise of the Balfour Declaration lest this inflame India. If they are so anxious about India, they have an easier, nearer and simpler way to conciliate India. They can set India free. I, myself, hardly think India will go up in flames if the British keep their promise of a Jewish

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

national home in Palestine. But the question I want to ask is why we never hear the reverse of this basic proposition of British propaganda. I wonder why we never hear the British Government say we must give freedom to India lest we inflame the Arab peoples in the Middle East. I wonder why we do not hear the British Government say we must stop shooting Moslems in Java for the same reason. I wonder why the British do not say that America must intervene to free India lest Ibn Saud would stop selling us oil and use it instead to lubricate his camels. Why do these British bugaboos never work in reverse? Is it because the British and their stooges only raise these slogans when they serve not the Arabs nor the Moslems or the Indians but the purposes of British imperialism?

I want to say a word tonight of India from the viewpoint of America. The freedom of India is of basic importance to the maintenance of world peace. India is a symbol and a sign to all the colonial and colored peoples. . . . . Unless the aspirations of India, of the colonial and colored peoples are satisfied, their disaffection will provide the tinder for a new World War. When I speak of American intervention I do not mean that we shall intervene only to serve the tail on the kite of British imperialism. I mean that we must provide from our own experience of democracy at home and from our own experience of colonial people in the Philippines, a means of peacefully satisfying the aspirations of colonial and colored peoples. We must use our power to mediate not only between British and Russia but between the imperial powers and their subject peoples.

British Imperialism in East Asia

Mr. John M. Coffee also addressed the same gathering. He has been one of India's staunchest and earliest friends in the House of Representatives. In America, he has been like a pillar of strength to the cause of Indian freedom. Mr. Coffee explained how intelligent Americans had become familiar with the colonial powers and their activities, and particularly with Great Britain and her colonisation. They had found how during the war those subjugations continued in an unabated fashion. Today the whole of the orient is in ferment. Giving a vivid picture of the conditions in the *Orient,* Mr. Coffee said :

> We know that out in Burma the people are seething with unrest because they are worried lest the continued subjugation of the Burmese go on though they had been promised for 35 years of at least dominion independence. Down in Thailand, the Siamese are now witnessing a spectacle at the end of World War II when they have read in the newspapers and heard over the radio and American OWI that the Four Freedom applied to the Orient and the Atlantic Charter had application to the Orient. They are amazed to discover that there is no such thing as freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of religious worship, that their customs, revenues, are not their own, that everything is funneled through the foreign occupants, in other words the British. They decree in Thailand today just what shall go on. When I recall how Burma became a part of the British empire, I am fearful of what is going to happen to Thailand if we stand meekly and obse quiously, if we continue to wag the tail of the British kite.
>
> Down in Malaya, in the Strait Settlements these peoples too are wondering whether the return of their former British masters will mean the resumption of the exploitation to which they were subjected in the rubber plantations.
>
> Down in Indonesia, the vast and very wealthy section of the world owned by the richest woman in the world, the Queen of Holland and the Dutch overlords have decreed that they shall resume the former practices prevailing there, namely, to pay the Dutch, the settlers, that is, the Indonesians, the Javanese 15 cents a day as they were paid under their Dutch overlord occupation. Fifty-one million people living on the Island of Java have been struggling for independence for 40 years. Under Soekarno they began to see a light in the clearing. When the Japs came down into Indonesia they sensed the struggle of the peoples for independence, and the Jap overlords —the imperial forces—took advantage of that spirit. Many Indonesians were fooled by Japanese propaganda. But the point that I am trying to make is that the Japs sowed the seeds and spread the gospel of independence for the Oriental peoples and, to that extent, they fomented this spirit of rebellion among the Indonesians so that today, augmented and implemented and pushed on into great fever heat by the Japanese during the occupation, the peoples of all of the Orient outside of India where the Japanese occupied the section, have been spurred on to greater and more feverish activities for independence than ever before.

Why should Indian people be given their independence? Because they are entitled to their independence. Because for more than 180 years they have been under the yoke of a foreign invader who came in and stole the land from the Indian people, from whom it took the land through force, forgery and violence.

Like India, all the other countries in Asia and Africa, groaning under open and covert Imperial yoke, have an equal right to be free. The subject people of the world will judge America by her attitude towards the subject races. Unless the United States exhibit a willingness to demonstrate its devotion to democracy by possitive and affirmative acts, these peoples are going to be sadly disillusioned. They see America recognise Argentina where Fascism flourishes under Col. Perron. They see that America recognises General Franco, loans him money and sells him planes, buys his goods, helps him directly and indirectly and, perhaps at the behest of British Imperialism, continues to maintain him as the dictator of Spain. High time for intervention has come.

Notice To The Subscribers

THE MODERN REVIEW appears regularly on the 1st of every English month. We take every care in despatching but recently losses in postal transit have increased. *While not accepting any liability for losses in transit,* we request our subscribers to report non-receipt to us by the 15th of the month, *after lodging a complaint at the local post-office.* The Serial No. of the subscriber should be given in all communications.

Manager, THE MODERN REVIEW.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WANTED—A FOREIGN POLICY FOR NATIONALIST INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.D.

I

Indian Nationalists are asking for Indian freedom from alien domination and this is a very laudable ideal for all Indians who have any self-respect left in them. But attainment of this objective is dependent upon several forces to be utilised effectively ; and one of them is—forces of world politics. To be clear, I wish to make the statement that no nation can ever grow and prosper in isolation and nations die in stagnation. Nations often lose their independence, due to isolation in world politics. *It is also a fact, which often does not receive adequate recognition from even students of world affairs, that a nation after losing its political independence to an alien power can never regain it unless it can utilise the world political situation to its advantage or forming alliances which might be weightier than the forces of the enemy.* It is also true that a wrong calculation in international situation and forming an alliance with undesirable forces may cost a nation's freedom—the present condition of Japan is the best example. Thus for regaining Indian freedom, India will not only have to put her own house in order and Indian leaders will have to show their ability to act as statesmen and bring about national unity on the basis of a truly United India ; and they will have to adopt a long-range foreign policy which will be to the advantage of Indian cause—Freedom of India, Freedom of Asia and World Freedom. In this connection I may mention that under peculiar circumstances, a nation may have to form different types of alliances and this is true about Nationalist India. Under the present world conditions and for the best interests of India, what might be the best foreign policy ? I am raising this question for intelligent discussion of the vital issue at a time when momentous developments in international relations, affecting India's future are progressing very fast.

II

Marshal Stalin's speech delivered on February 9, 1946, is not merely an oration before a national election, but it is a document of historic importance. From its contents, it becomes clear that Soviet Russia is determined to develop her industrial power to the extent that she will be the strongest nation in the world. This industrial power will serve as the foundation of her military strength as well as national security and prosperity. This fact should be viewed and considered in relation to the existing and ever-increasing Anglo-Soviet rivalry in all parts of the world.

The following paragraph of Premier Stalin's speech should be carefully pondered by Indian statesmen who talk of making India a great Power :

"I have no doubt that if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake but also in the very near future to surpass the achievements of science outside the boundaries of our country. As far as plans for a longer period are concerned, the party [the political party in power in Russia] intends to organise a new mighty upsurge of a national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production, for instance, three-fold as compared with the pre-war level. *To achieve this we must endeavour to see that our industry produces fifty million tons of pig iron per year, sixty million tons of steel, five-hundred million tons of coal and sixty million tons of oil. Only under such conditions will our country be insured against any eventuality.* Perhaps three new Five-year Plans will be required to achieve this, if not more. But it can be done and we must do it."

This means that Stalin, the most far-sighted statesman of Russia, is planning for a fifteen-years programme *to meet all eventuality* in international relations.

India has population and resources to develop. But due to short-sighted policy of the British Government, Indian science and industries have not been developed adequately. Today Indian industrialists and scientists, from all I learn from distance, are not fully alive to their own responsibilities towards developing India to be a great power from the standpoint of Russian standard as indicated by Stalin's speech quoted above.

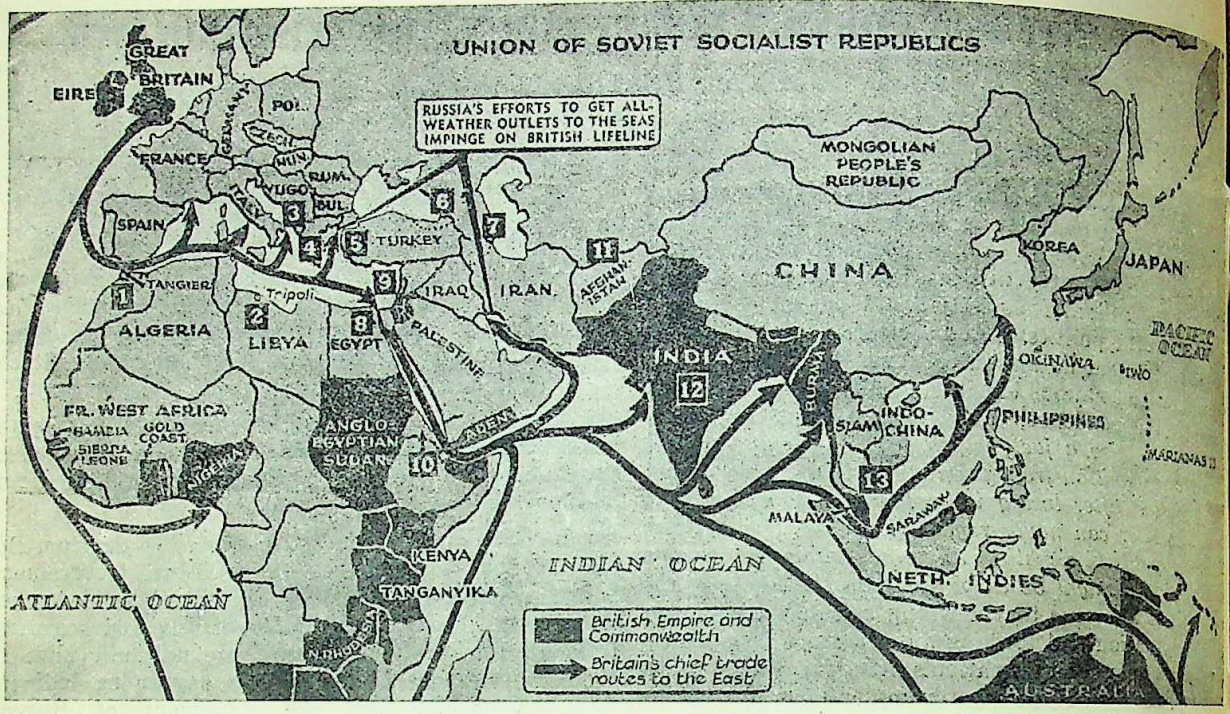
One question that should be considered without sentimentalism by Indian statesmen is : What should be the position of India in a possible conflict between Great Britain and Soviet Russia ? To make my position absolutely clear I wish to say that I do not suggest that this conflict is inevitable, but I assert that there are indications of conflicting interests between Soviet Russia and Britain in every direction, because Soviet Russia is trying to expand her influence and control the regions now under British domination. The map, indicating how Soviet Russia's determined efforts to expand in the Mediterranean regions and the Near East is threatening the "life-line" of the British Empire, will show that in any Anglo-Soviet Russian conflict, India will be a point of attack, as was the case in the last World War. India is the strategic centre of the world.

If an Anglo-Russian conflict occurs then Soviet Russia for her own defence will plan to attack India. Soviet Russia will act so that the source of power in India may not be available to Great Britain. This plan of attack on India by Russia is not a new idea (in international relations there are very few new ideas). As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the Napoleonic War, when Tsar Paul was an ally of Napoleon, the programme of attack on India through Turkey and Persia was put in operation. This old plan has been perfected and Soviet Russia is nearer to Indian borders today than any time in history.

Just as during the last World War II, Japan marched through Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Burma and attacked North-Eastern India—Assam and Bengal, similarly in the war, which might develop from the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry, Soviet Russian forces would march through Iran, which is already under Soviet Russian grip, towards the Persian Gulf and Beluchistan and Sind. Another column of Soviet forces will march through Afghanistan, with a tacit consent of the rulers of this land, (as was the case of the march of Japanese forces through Siam where the Siamese presented only a token resistance) and attack the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



[The diplomatic duel with Russia in the Middle East is the chief but not the only part of Britain's concern over her vital sea communications. The many factors involved include: (1) Tangier, on the Straits of Gibraltar, where Russia has gained a voice in multipower control; (2) Tripolitania, a part of Italy's colonial empire which Russia has asked as a Soviet trusteeship under the UNO; (3) Yugoslavia, an avenue of Russian penetration to the Adriatic; (4) Greece, traditionally friendly with Britain but now a point of dispute with Russia; (5) the Dardanelles, strategic link between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean which Russia wishes to control; (6) the Russo-Turkish border, where Moscow demands for changes are linked to the Soviet interest in the Dardanelles; (7) Iran, where Russia is interested in oil and in access to the Persian Gulf; (8) Egypt, where Britain has long had military rights which Egypt wants to terminate at once; (9) Palestine, where the immigration issue has stirred the Arab nations of the Middle East; (10) Eritrea, Italian colony where Russia has asked port facilities; (11) Afghanistan, where both Britain and Russia are striving to strengthen their relations; (12) India, where political strife and the question of India's future status pose a grave problem; (13) Malaya, a vital bastion which has been stirred by revolt.]

North-Western Frontier Province and the Punjab. It is also conceivable that Soviet Russia will control the Chinese province of Sinkiang, as she does Mongolia today, before any Anglo-Russian conflict breaks out and in that case she will also send her forces towards North-West India from that direction.

There are many indications that Soviet Russia is courting the co-operation of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Arab League. There is every reason to believe that Soviet Russia, to get the support of a part of the Moslem population of North-West India, will agree to partition of India as has been advocated by Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Soviet Russia will be willing to support partition of India with a Pakistan which will later on become a Soviet puppet state as Poland or Yugo-Slavia is in Europe or Mongolia in Asia now. Afghanistan, North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Sind, separated from India and under direct or indirect control of Soviet Russia, will be the most effective base for further expansion of Soviet Russia in India without much difficulty.

If such a situation develops, and I believe there is every possibility of such a development, not immediately but after a few years, what will be the position of Nationalist India? Messrs Azad, Nehru, and others will have to make the decision now; and upon this decision should rest the foundation of future foreign policy of Nationalist India. Will Nationalists of India defend her borders, if she be attacked by Britain's enemies or will they join with Britain's enemies and fight her? If Indian nationalists decide to defend India from an attack by Soviet Russia, then there must be an Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese alliance. They should also see to it that Pan-Islamic bloc of powers may not make a common cause with Russia against India and her allies.

III

Some Indian politicians talk about a Revolution in India now. But the thing that should receive immediate attention of far-sighted Indian statesmen is *to prepare for Indian National Defence against all eventualities*. This task of developing an Indian army, no less powerful than the army of Soviet Russia, officered by Indians and to be equipped with modern arms produced in Indian factories for Indian defence, the task of developing an Indian navy which will be the mistress of the Indian Ocean and a suitable airforce, must be tackled with Anglo-American co-operation. May I say to those who are showing their great enthusiasm of freeing India by rioting, that India will not be able to defend herself from a powerful mass attack by using the weapons of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"soda-water bottles and stones" and "strikes" and "turning over trolley cars" and "cutting telegraphic communications," as has been done in recent Calcutta and Bombay riots.

Indian statesmen should take lessons from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in matters of internal and external policies. Marshal Chiang was willing to make concessions to Chinese Communists, so that they would be able to participate in the government of united China. *He has however not made any concession regarding divided allegiance—there will be only one national government and one national army in China. There must be a united nationalist government in co-operation with leaders of Moslem Indians but there cannot be and must not be any divided India in any form or shape.* Marshal Chiang has accepted American and British support to strengthen China's military, naval and air power and to develop her economic resources. India, at the present stage of international situation cannot be raised to a status of a great power by merely shouting slogans of "bringing about Revolution" and "face the Civil War."

IV

Freedom of a United India (Akhand Bharat)—establishment of Federated Republic of the United States of India—is the goal ; and there cannot be a compromise on this issue. If India is to attain her goal and she will in course of time, without fighting Britain and without allying with Britain's enemies, then Anglo-American Powers will have to make an alliance with India, on the basis of pursuing such foreign policies, defence policies and economic policies, which must not conflict with genuine Indian interests. *Anglo-American Powers will have to aid India as their ally and must not treat her as a vassal.*

India holds the balance of power in world politics of today and tomorrow. Soviet Russia fully realises the importance of winning over India on her side. It seems that Anglo-American statesmen as yet do not give any evidence of understanding that there is urgent necessity of treating India as their *equal* in the true sense of the word and as an ally, at least in the same fashion as the United States and Britain have pledged and are acting towards Nationalist China.

To be fair with the difficulties of Indian nationalist leaders, it must be recognised that even if they decide to pursue a foreign policy of Anglo-American-Chinese-Indian alliance supported by free and independent Moslem states bordering India, it cannot be put in operation *unless British statesmen take the first step towards actual recognition of Indian freedom.* Thus the development of the future trends of foreign policies of Nationalist India will largely depend upon British statesmanship and world vision. India, nay no part of Asia, will meekly continue to surrender to the present status of colonial possessions of European powers. This fact must be recognised and British statemanship, if not completely bankrupt, must devise means for the solution of Indo-British conflict and promote Indo-British alliance.

New York
February, 12, 1946.

———:O:———

GANDHI AND A. E.

A Study in Similarity

By Prof. MANOJ KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A.

In the domain of politics and spirit, Ireland and India are strong and permanent allies. The problems of India, struggling to break the foreign rule, under the inspiring and dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, are not essentially different from the political problems of Ireland. Although separated from each other by a distance of several thousand miles, these two countries have much in common in the world of mind and matter. India, therefore, has reasons to be interested in Ireland. The co-operation between these two countries is a move in the right direction and is at the same time a need of the hour.

To those who are specially interested in this aspect of mutual co-operation, the striking similarities in the writings of two outstanding representatives of the thought-movements of both these countries—Gandhi and A. E. (George William Russell)—will not come as a matter of surprise. Like Gandhiji, Russell (A.E., the pen-name by which he was called) was the leader of his generation in politics, economics, and sociology. His wrath against oppression and injustice, his tenderness for the common people, his complete selflessness, his search for moral values and finally, his unflinching upholding of the good in man against evil and oppression and base living and base thinking, are all in the manner of Gandhiji. The life of such men makes beautiful the

The building up of a civilization is at once the noblest and most practical of all enterprises in which human faculties are exalted to their highest and beauties and majesties are manifested in the multitude as they are never by solitary man or by disunited peoples. In the highest civilizations the individual citizen is raised above himself and made part of a greater life, which we may term as the National Being. This, let it be said, is the type of civilization that Mahatma Gandhi wishes to create for India. Civilizations are externalizations of the soul and character of races. Gandhian civilization is based on the indigenous culture and is in the nature of an organic growth. It would aim at democracy and not at totalitarian control. Any policy of reconstruction that is to be of real value must aim at decentralisation. The old village-communities or Gram Panchayats, autonomous so far as their internal administration was concerned, and self-sufficient in regard to the basic necessaries of life, must have to be revived, if real democracy is to prevail. The foundation of the future planning will be the village unit and the "economic reconstruction will be from the bottom upwards, and not from the top downwards".[1]

Thus, according to Gandhiji, the welfare of the National Being depends upon self-sufficiency and co-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

1 *The Gandhian Plan* : S. N. Agarwal, p. 59.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

operation. "Democracy," he writes, "can only survive—in fact, it can only be born, if the 'population' which rules is composed of individuals who are each ruling his or her own life."[2] Gandhiji's contention is that the development and unfoldment of human personality is only possible in an atmosphere of freedom, as was the case in India when the village-parliaments had their sway.

It would here be interesting to observe, that the programme formulated and given effect to by A.E. in Ireland is almost similar to the programme that Gandhiji has worked out for India. Gandhiji's emphasis on indigenous culture and methods finds its exact counterpart in the writings of A. E. If Ireland is to take her place in the comity of nations, it must once again "begin its imaginative reconstruction of a civilization by first considering that type which, in the earlier civilizations of the world, has been slave, or servile, working either on land or at industry and must construct with reference to it. These workers must be the central figures and how their material, intellectual, and spiritual needs are met must be the test of value of the social order we evolve."[3] In other words A. E.'s conception of a civilization like Gandhiji's, must include, nay, must begin with the life of the humblest, the life of the average man or manual worker, for if we neglect them we build in sand. The national idealism which will not go out into the fields and deal with the fortunes of the working farmers is false idealism.

A. E.'s remedy was the same as Plunkett's except that he added the confident vision of an Irish countryside restored to health in rural communes, prefigured in Ireland's ancient history. If rural labour would organise itself into a conscious economic entity to supply without the agency of 'middlemen' the needs of urban civilization, there would be constituted a rural better half to urban civilization, a stable and enduring element in the national life, nearer to nature and to ancestral tradition. Economic independence would generate all the amenities of life, superior amenities, and the seductiveness of great cities would cease to depopulate the countryside. There would be what had never been in history, a rural civilization. Thus writes A. E. :

> "A rural commune in co-operative community ought to have, to a large extent, the character of a nation. It should manufacture for its members all things which it profitably can manufacture for them, employing its own workmen, carpenters, bootmakers, makers and menders of farming equipment, etc. . . . It should have its councils or village parliaments, where improvements and new ventures could be discussed. It would create the atmosphere in which national genius would emerge and find opportunities for its activity.[4] These national councils and meetings of national federation would finally become the real parliament of the nation ; for, wherever all the economic power is centred, there also is centred all the political power."

Moreover, such associations would have great economic advantages in that "they would be self-reliant and self-contained, and would be less subject to fluctuation in their prosperity brought about by national disasters and commercial crisis than the present unorganised rural communities are."[5] There can be no doubt that the ideas of rural society that A. E. held are similar to the views of Gandhiji in India.

The fundamental basis of Gandhiji's economic thought is a "change in the standard of values." In his view, the only criterion of good planning is whether it will help to transform the society to which it is applied into a just, peaceful, moral and progressive community of non-attached men and women. Man is the measure of all things ; he is much more valuable and important than machineries and material goods. Economic values can no longer be thought apart from human and cultural values of life, for life must be viewed completely and as a whole. The only true wealth is life. His conception of Khaddar economics, which is wholly different from the ordinary, is a case in point. He says :

> "Khadi spirit means fellow-feeling with every human being on earth. It means a complete renunciation of everything that is likely to harm our fellow-creatures.
> . . . Khadi represents human values, mill cloth represents mere metallic value."[6]

Economics here has been made a hand-maid of ethics.

This insistence on human values is also the essence of A. E.'s rural ideal. Statesmen in Ireland who have almost treated the rural problem "purely as an economic problem, as if agriculture was business only and not a life," have been sadly mistaken. A. E. would not accept their shortsightedness. To him "the problem is not only an economic problem. It is a human one. Man does not live by cash alone, but by every gift of fellowship and brotherly feeling society offers him. The final urgings of men and women are towards humanity. Their desires are for the perfecting of their own lives and as Whitman says, where the best men and women are there the great city stands, though it is only a village."[7]

The bed-rock of Gandhian economic thought is as everybody knows, non-violence. Violence, according to Gandhiji, is incompatible with true democracy and freedom and has, therefore, to be eschewed. Planning is only a means, and not an end in itself, and non-violence is practised not by the cowards, but by the brave. It can not be taught to a person who fears to die.

> "Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He recks not, if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear can not practise Ahimsa to perfection"[8] India's destiny lies along "the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life."

Like Gandhiji, A. E. also wants to fortify the national being of Ireland by non-violence and non-resistance. He discountenances the use of force and coercion and pleads for the abolition of militarism

2 *Harijan*, 20-9-1940.
3 *The National Being*, p. 19.
4 *Imaginations and Reveries*, p. 112.
5 *Ibid*, p. 113.
6 Quoted in S. N. Agarwal's *Gandhian Plan*, p. 29.
7 *The National Being*, pp. 43-44.
8 *Harijan*, Sept. 1, 1940.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

practices. To create national solidarity by war, he says, is to "attain but a temporary and unreal unity, a gain like theirs who climb into the kingdom not by the straight gate, but over the wall like a robber. . . . The predominance in the body of militarist practice will finally drive out from the soul those unfathomable spiritual elements which are the body's last source of power in conflict, and it will in the end defeat its own object, which is power."[9] A military organisation may strengthen the national being, but if it dominates it, it will impoverish its life. Physical forces and a military organisation are but feeble substitutes for spiritual forces. "Moral forces are really more powerful than physical forces. One Christ changed the spiritual life of Europe; one Buddha affected more myriads in Asia."[10]

There must be an orchestration of humanity ere it can echo divine melodies. The synchronous vibration of many minds in harmony brings about almost unconsciously a psychic unity, a coalescing of the subconscious being of many. It is that inner unity which constitutes the national being, as finally envisaged by Gandhiji and A. E.

In the self-sufficient village-parliaments of these two thinkers there is no place for any foreign culture. The very soul of the people bubbles forth in indigenous traditions and culture. In the opinion of Gandhiji, it would be injurious to India as a whole for her most promising sons and daughters to be brought up in western culture and thus become denationalised and torn from the people. Surely, it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation can not keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. So remarks Gandhiji:

"Among the many evils of foreign rule, this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation; it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself free from this hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people."[11]

The sentiment in the passage quoted above is present alike in A. E. In his writings, as also in the writings of Douglas Hyde, W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and Standish O'Gray, the submerged river of national culture rose up again and assumed the form of a shining torrent. The part played by each of them in Ireland's Literary Renaissance is something more than a passing reference. Like Gandhiji in India, A. E. also realised that the greatest evil one nation could inflict on another was to cut off from it the story of the national soul. In a passage, devoted to an evaluation of the contributions of Standish O'Gray to Ireland, A. E. states his own ideas. He writes:

> ". . . The harp strings quiver for the harp player alone and he who can utter his passion through the violin is silent before an unfamiliar instrument. That is why the Irish have rarely been stirred by English literature though it is one of the great literatures of the world. . . . The strings of our being vibrate most in ecstasy when the music evokes ancestral moods or embodies emotions akin to these."[12]

The sentiments expressed here are unmistakably the sentiments of Gandhiji. Possibly, great men think alike!

9 *The National Being*, p. 133.
10 *The National Being*, p. 153.
11 *To the Students*, p. 30.
12 *Imaginations and Reveries*, p. 14.

———:O:———

SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND THE WORLD DILEMMA

BY A WESTERNER

His life reads like the biggest of dream-dramas—and it is a true story, and of our time. It is breath-taking. Its essentially dramatic and dynamic qualities were what caught and held me when first the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* fell into my hands. Day and night, I could not lay it down.

The other day, I visited a tiny room in a modest house, in a back street in Calcutta. There, some fourteen years ago, an old professor finished correcting the last proofs of his life-work. The same night, he passed away. Mahendra Nath Gupta had given a priceless treasure to the world. Of his *Gospel of Ramakrishna*, Aldous Huxley has written that it is a book unique, as far as his knowledge goes, in the history of hagiography, for "no other saint had so able and indefatigable a Boswell." The picture which this Boswell—who modestly styles himself "M"—unconsciously makes of himself, is beautiful and true, like his record of his Master. We see the quiet, insistent, persuasive and adoring Bengali College Professor, sitting, as it were, at Ramakrishna's elbow, and using the selfsame methods that he would take to draw out the more sensitive of the boys under his control—extracting, pearl by pearl, the wisdom from this splendid Child, this stupendous Being. What an entrancing picture it makes! "M", worshipping—yet steadily eliciting, in a friendly, respectful way; never losing sight of his aim, to make this sublime teacher reveal himself; and again, after Ramakrishna had passed away, whilst ever working at his wondrous diary, encouraging, questioning, and, in his mild fashion, pushing on the grief-stricken God-mad young Apostles, in whom lay the promise of greatness in maturity—which promise was in due course fulfilled; for each one of those boys later became a spiritual giant.

What, in the final analysis, does the modern world crave in religion? Not authority, as that word is generally interpreted; not mystery; not even a code of life, nor a theory. We primarily crave for direct experience—experience, not experiment—and for state-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ments about God based on that experience, which is direct knowledge. And they must be statements which do not leave out "the other fellow." At every stage in the life of Ramakrishna we discover evidence of this direct experience, direct knowledge and all-inclusiveness, and of the vitality which flows therefrom, and these are the things that make him pre-eminently a messenger to the modern world.

It is a trite saying that by modern "progress" all boundaries have been effaced, that those who work for and think in terms of boundaries are behind the times. We have in fact attained material universalism. But, at the height of our achievement, man's creations—atomic sciences, for instance, though these are but symptomatic of the general disease—threaten to annihilate him. At the height of this age of reason and advancement, we are confronted by a Horror of our own making ; and we are suffering a great spiritual darkness. From this Horror we see little hope of deliverance. The most anxious questioning that has ever tortured our hearts now makes us ask, urgently, "Is there any way out ?" The noblest minds of our day have already agreed that there is no way out, except by a universal upheaval, not alone in the political sense, but brought about by the spontaneous renewal and flow of spiritual dynamism in individuals. Man, in fact, has to become superman—or rather, less-than-human has to become human—or the race is doomed.

Ramakrishna was an evoker, a fashioner, of the superman. It is impossible adequately to describe Ramakrishna ! He is not merely a subject for discussion. He is an experience. That is just the point where he meets the deepest craving of our modern age. To him, God was also this experience, and he continually imparted it to others. God became to him, successively, agony (in the years of searching), intoxication (in the ever-renewed shock of finding), bliss supreme (in the realisation of the All, which became with him, a daily, hourly occurrence). When he was dying, his words about that stupendous Cosmic life of his remind us of the Son of Man, Who hath not where to lay His head. "Alas ! To whom shall I say all this ?" said Ramakrishna, "Who will understood me ?" To which a disciple answered, "We pray that you may not go away and leave us behind." Sri Ramakrishna smiled : "A band of minstrels suddenly appears, dances and sings, and it departs in the same sudden manner. They come and they return, but none recognises them."

Many will say, "What is the practical application of all this to our immediate problems ? Is'nt it all rather mad ?" "Mad ! That's the thing," answers Ramakrishna. X—once said to me that one loses one's head by thinking too much of God. "What," said I, "can anyone ever become unconscious by thinking of consciousness ? Through His consciousness one becomes conscious of everything ; through His intelligence, the whole world appears intelligent." And Ramakrishna was not just weaving words. Bernard Shaw makes Joan of Arc (another enigma, unless we are prepared to scrap much of our thinking) exclaim, "We want a few mad people now. See where the sane ones have landed us!"

Writing of Ramakrishna's power of knowing, Romain Rolland hailed him as that "illiterate genius who knew all the pages of the Book of Life by heart." Rolland studied him deeply—even more deeply, I am told, after he had published his brilliant and sincere book on him, and came to the conclusion that "it is because Ramakrishna, more fully than any other man, not only conceived but realised in himself the [illegible] unity of the river of God, open to all rivers and [illegible] streams, that I have given him my love ; and I [illegible] drawn a little of his sacred water to slake the [illegible] thirst of the world." Again : "With his victorious [illegible] he marks a new era . . . the man . . . was the [illegible] summation of two thousand years of the spiritual [illegible] of three hundred millions of people" . . . and his [illegible] life "embraced the whole multiplicity of men and Gods." That inner life of Ramakrishna's had become after [illegible] battle to the death for realisation "part of the [illegible] source of Energy, the divine Shakti (God as [illegible] Mother of the universe) of whom Vidyapati, the [illegible] poet of Mithila, and Ramprasad of Bengal sing . . . By listening to the message of his heart, he found [illegible] way to the inner Sea. And there he was wedded to [illegible] thus bearing out the words of the Upanishads: 'I [illegible] more ancient than the radiant Gods. I am the first-[illegible] of the Being. I am the Artery of Immortality'." It [illegible] Rolland's desire "to bring the sound of the beating [illegible] that artery to the ears of fever-stricken Europe, [illegible] has murdered sleep." (But now, I think Rolland would say, instead of Europe, the world.)

If Ramakrishna was without book-learning, yet the keenest minds of his day found in him an intellectual giant. As one attempts to study him, one realises that one is not even dealing with a superman, but with something which embodies all that we dream of (and more, beyond dreams) as "attainment". These are strong words, but they are not strong enough, for nobody has yet found words with which to present a satisfying picture of Ramakrishna. Lest he should belittle or misinterpret him, even Vivekananda, his mighty disciple, did not attempt his biography.

Enthroned in that slight, child-soft body which was Ramakrishna's when Bengal and Calcutta saw his advent (he was a Bengali village Brahmin) was something which can only be called the Key to Life itself. One is reminded of the words of Christ, who appeared to him, as did also the Prophet of Islam, in the temple-garden of Dakshineshwar (for did not Jesus also love gardens, and gardeners of men ?): "I am come that they might have *life,* and that they might have it more abundantly."

Apart from the dire sufferings of vast populations here in India and elsewhere, which are directly attributable to political and other immediate causes, our civilisation is starved of life, vitality. We are depleted by our misplaced hankerings ; bemused in a crazy world of heat and dust and uncertain paths ; restless in mind, darkened in heart. Such men as Ramakrishna come to open up the dynamic stream, to renew our vital Being, starved as it is by falsehood and neglect.

Now-a-days, the world is ruled by Power. It is by arousing that which in itself is the Ruler of Power—the dynamic Being—that the modern dilemma will be solved. In Vedanta, that dynamic Being is called the Atman—the Spirit of man, the Eternal Witness. Some one has cleverly put it, "We shall conquer the atom with the Atmic bomb !"

There are countless instances of Sri Ramakrishna's evocation of this dynamic Being—the human Spirit. He always taught that to *be* is important ; to wrangle, and to apply violence in anything but the battle for the Spirit—a sad waste of life. He could argue, and sport hairs most humorously with the cleverest, but with him this quest always were fun ; he preferred the other method. Once, for instance, when he heard two disci-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hotly arguing about religion, he arose and gently approached them, singing in his beautiful melodious voice. He went up to Naren, one of the hot-headed youngsters, and touched the lad's chest. Naren *became,* in that moment, conscious and aware of his own divine Being—the super-self, the Atman. By Ramakrishna's mere touch, he was instantly transported or changed into that *something* for which we all yearn in varying degrees. Naren, on the instant, experienced that pervading cosmic Being. He went home to his mother. For a month, he lived "beside" himself—the witness of, and not the bound participator in, all his acts. That cosmic perception and realising were so strong upon him that his mind even coalesced with the common objects of life—he could feel no "difference" between himself and them. Yet he was not a Saint Francis of Assisi, who went through such experiences, but—at that time—just a brilliant, sceptical, self-opinionated College student. This episode is typical of Ramakrishna's way of dealing, not only with the Vivekananda-to-be, but with many others of lesser calibre.

He was immensely versatile. After he had reached his goal, God-consciousness, he evinced a command of himself which—whether we examine it from the viewpoint of the neurologist or of the psychologist—baffles explanation. He would descend from the sublimest heights of contemplation, to deal, very practically, with the most trivial affairs. He would delight his friends with songs and witticisms, and with his deliciously comic, shrewd—but never unkind—comments on people and events, passing in a trice from such things to empyrean communings, the sanctity of which, made palpable by his overwhelming presence, carried away all those who came near. He seemed to be inside every problem. He touched all who came to him upon the chord of their own being ; to many, he opened the floodgates of Immortality. As one sees how that stream has descended upon his spiritual children, one feels that he was indeed of that Company of Saviours Who—as the Bhagavad Gita tells—when evil threatens to engulf humanity, come forth "for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of Dharma (righteousness)." If it be true, as Christ said, that "by their fruits ye shall know them" then Ramakrishna is indeed of that blessed Band ; for the men who wear his livery to-day are truly children of light. Of their noble, self-immolating labours for humanity in the Ramakrishna Mission, and in the less-known but not less potent Ramakrishna Maths and Ashrams, these lines of the Christian hymn might have been penned :

"To give, and give, and give again
What God has given thee ;
To spend thyself, nor count the cost ;
To serve right gloriously
The God Who made all worlds that are
And all that are to be."

———:O:———

WAR, PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR

By Prof. PRIYADARANJAN RAY,

University College of Science, Calcutta

The air is now thick and the ether agitated with talks of post-war planning both for the regeneration of the world at large as also for the individual countries. Different classes of people are now busy on this task with numerous committees set up for the purpose, and many are the paper schemes issued and placed before the public. These planners for the future may be divided mainly into five groups : *viz.,* (*a*) the idealists and moralists including the leaders of religion, (*b*) the statesmen and politicians of the leading countries of the world, (*c*) the industrialists and capitalists, (*d*) political parties of distinct ideological labels, and lastly (*e*) the scientists.

Before dealing with the guiding principles, which inspire each of these groups, and discussing their relative values it will not be out of place to try answering some common sense queries. We cannot talk of any future which is not related to the present and the past. For all future is shaped by the present as the present was by the past. We should, therefore, have a dispassionate and clear conception of the present world condition as well as that of the war-time and pre-war-time period as its forerunner, before we can venture to make any suggestion for the future.

The war has ended. But the conditions of the world have grown all the more chaotic in all spheres of human activity—moral, social, economic and political—with little prospect of realisation of the four freedoms so loudly proclaimed by the war-leaders. Like a great earthquake war has left only wrecks and ruins all around with a violent disturbance in the foundation of world equilibrium that will take years to subside. We have heard too much about the purpose of the war which has taken such a heavy toll of human lives, spilling oceans of blood irrespective of combatants, non-combatants, sex, age and health, besides causing material destruction and moral degradation on an unprecedented and colossal scale. To this one should also add the devastation and death caused by famine, scarcity and diseases stalking unhindered on many lands as an accompaniment or concomitant evils of war. Countless products of accumulated human energy and intellect have been crushed into dust or burnt into smoke without the slightest compunction, nay, with supercilious exultation. The war has obviously brought advantages to none, and both the victor and the vanquished now share more or less equally the enormous burden of loss, destruction and economic dislocation. All readymade formula or recipes for the remedy of world's ills in the form of oceanic charter or the scheme of co-prosperity sphere have vanished into thin air and all tall talks relating to a glorious picture of peace and heaven on earth with freedom from want, fear, exploitation and slavery, assured for all the people of all the nations, great and small, have been silenced by the clamour for power and clatter of newer armaments. For

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a common man things have not improved in the least despite the United Nation's charter born at San Francisco after a long and prodigious labour in which the delegates of several nations and mandated nations with their big protectors participated with great display. This new baby for ensuring human right and human safety, as it is said, is born already with teeth in the form of its adjunct Security Council, in which it is provided that the big five powerfully armed like tigers to the teeth will look after the welfare of the lamblike harmless smaller nations. They are agreed to keep the peace of the world by brandishing their armed might. The arrangement might be perfect or imperfect, or even the only possible one under the present circumstances, but it has failed to appeal to the common mind. The people at large groaning under the dreadful effect and after-effect of an all-devastating war have shown little enthusiasm over it. For, one cannot entertain a great faith in the efficiency of an arrangement in which those who alone have the power to wage a large-scale global war are placed in charge of preventing wars. The mutual relation between the three great victorious powers with their feverish activity for security and strategic positions, security against whom nobody knows unless it be against one another, with their programme for conscription even after the war, and with their insane craze for progressively improved armament of devastatingly destructive power, based on the closely guarded secret of atomic energy offers little prospect for freedom from fear to the common man. These are the visible omens on the political horizon of the world, which can seldom inspire the common man with much hope and confidence for a better and peaceful future. With the disappearance of its rivals, Nazism and Fascism—Imperialism has grown stronger and has revealed itself in the hydra-headed capitalistic, democratic and volshevik forms. The events in Europe and Asia, particularly in Iran, Indonesia and Indo-China, cannot but lead to this irresistable conclusion. This spectacle of alternate urge to build and then to destroy what has been built, among the nations of the world, appears to the common man as frenzied whims of a doomed civilization. The war has more or less completely suppressed the man in his being and has pampered the animal or brute in him. The nauseating spectacle of mutual hatred and strifes among different parties and sections followed by murders and speedy sentences of death passed by party courts in many so-called liberated countries of Europe and Asia bears an ample testimony to this. Even prolonged scarcity, starvation and untold suffering have failed to unite them to work for a common cause and common welfare. Man has forgotten to recognise his own image in his fellowmen. Selfishness and untruth are reigning supreme everywhere. In a word, the war has brutalised the world. It is the vilest crime that can be committed against humanity.

The question now arises how to prevent war and what is the remedy for the evils of war. For this, we should first analyse the causes that lead to war between nations. As one of the eminent thinkers of the present age has said, "All roads to a better state of human society leading to peace, prosperity and freedom are blocked by war, threats of war and preparation for war." Though the principal causes of war are pretty well-known still it might be worthwhile to summarise them here for the purpose of our discussion. People generally regard that war results from the conflict of national interests; but it has been shown by many renowned thinkers that this idea is rather erron[eous] and that war is not caused by the conflict of [the] national interest but what *appears* to be the natio[nal] interest. Real causes of war are human will and hum[an] feeling; human beliefs, convictions and sentiment[s] human prejudices, passions and follies. These, w[hen] uncontrolled by the corrective influence of reason a[nd] judgment, lead to international conflicts on a wide sca[le] in the form of war. In other words, the causes of w[ar] are more psychological than economic and political. A short discussion will make it clear.

In ancient days wars were waged for personal g[ain] and desire for conquest; and the conquerors were hail[ed] admired and worshipped as heroes. Greed for wea[lth] also supplied an additional stimulus. The names [of] Alexander the Great, Louis XIV and Napoleon at [on]ce occur to our mind in this connection.

Wars have also been made for the furtherance [of] religious creed. Wars for the spread of Mohammed[an] religion, conquest of Jerusalem (the Crusade) and [the] long series of religious wars in mediaeval Europe are illustrations on the point. But with the gradual rationalisation of human mind in Europe, due to the development of science, religious prejudices and fanaticism were brought under the discipline and control of human reason with the elimination of many savage practices like the burning of heretics, polygamy, slavery, duels etc. In modern civilized countries people regard religion more as an individual and personal function than as an 'institutional, corporate and tribal product,' or as an embodiment of conventional and denominational observances made for them in fixed forms by others. Scientific education has succeeded in Europe and America to eradicate the evils of such second-hand or pseudo-religious life which is so pregnant with the 'spirit of politics and lust of dogmatic rule.' It is, however, a cruel irony of fate that at the present time in India, a country which was the cradle of some great religions of the world, produced some of the world's highest philosophy and was noted for its tolerance of religious faiths, all the barbarities and savagery of sectarian religious life of mediaeval Europe are dominating the mind of her masses and blackening the pages of her history. What is mostly needed as a remedy for the rationalisation and humanisation of Indian masses by the wide-spread diffusion of scientific education, so that designing persons will no longer be able to consolidate their power of exploitation and domination by misleading the public mind and fomenting fanatic religious sentiment.

As mentioned earlier, modern wars are generally attributed to the conflicts of national interests and to the necessity of national defences. But many competent authorities have demonstrated that in these days of scientific and industrial civilization with its highly complicated system of international credit, exchange, trade and business, wars and conquest can seldom add to the real national prosperity. A small section connected with war-industries and war-work, however, undoubtedly make unusually large profit during war time, but when balanced against the enormous destruction of valuable young lives and national wealth involved in a modern war, as is apparent from the astronomical figures budgeted annually for war-expenses in the belligerent countries, this pales into insignificance. Widespread suffering, scarcity, starvation, disease and death amidst plenty enjoyed by a few, are, therefore, the natural accompaniment and outcome of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

war. The harrowing scenes of recent famine in Bengal, which appeared as a nightmare almost strangulating our very existence, coupled with its after-effects of disease and pestilence, offer a vivid illustration at hand. But the popular belief is that wars are fought for the protection of national interests, and that the armaments are multiplied and the territories of strategic military importance are annexed for the purpose of national self-defence. Every nation acting on these ideas naturally becomes suspicious of the others and this lands them ultimately into an explosive war. That such ideas are more or less fallacious has already been referred to. Acquisition of colonies and dependencies inhabited by industrially backward people can, however, provide a temporary advancement in national wealth to the possessor nation because of exploitation and industrial investment by the latter. But with the growth of national consciousness in the countries so occupied a spirit of rebellion and hatred against the ruling nation gradually gathers its force ; this together with the envy of other powers not in such possession of colonies constitute a potential cause of war. The temporary gain by the possessor country, even if it continues for a generation or more, is more than offset by the devastation and destruction of wealth which accompanies the inevitable war. Several generations of hard work might not be enough to recoup the enormous loss of wealth and to remove the unemployment caused by a modern global war. The main cause of war in the modern age can thus be attributed to that psychological or sentimental attitude of human mind which expresses itself in the form of political or patriotic nationalism, a sentiment akin to religious fanaticism which once destroyed the peace and happiness of mediaeval Europe. This sentiment of patriotic nationalism may appear either as an idolatrous worship of a king or a dictator, or as an aggressive demonstration of glorified national vanity. This immensely popular sentiment of nationalism is fed and fomented by the dictators and designing men of power in every nation. National vanity and national pride belittle the achievement of others with the result that a competitive nationalism has been the order of the day. Competition between nations for supremacy is the principal cause of modern wars. Pursuit by a group of people of their own private interest in each nation, such as the manufacturers of armaments, who profit by war and preparations for war, is also not an insignificant contributing factor to this end. Powerful groups of industrialists, whose interests are promoted by economic imperialism, often represent their own interest as the interest of the nation as a whole and thus help to inflame the popular sentiment of patriotic nationalism which leads to war.

Another fruitful cause of war in modern days is the difference in social ideologies with their intolerant and fanatical dogmatism akin to religious fanaticism, national vanity or idolatrous worship of dictators. Human mind is cramped, human intelligence and reason clouded, and human vision is narrowed by such passionate sentimentalism. This breeds hatred and intolerance between the followers of different ideological creeds, which may end in class wars, civil wars, or even large-scale international conflagration with alliances of nations ranging behind one or the other brand of ideology. Such has been the antagonism between the Nazis *cum* Fascists *cum* Phalangists and Communists, or between Communists and Capitalists. The second world war has also been described as a war between democracy and dictatorship.

A powerful predisposing cause of war is war itself. One might recall in this connection that during the first world war it was declared from the housetop that the allies were fighting to end all future wars. The armament race, and the very possession of an army, navy and strong air force are in themselves powerful stimulus for war in spite of the ostensible plea of self-defence by every nation for their ever-increasing military budget. This mad competition in elaborately armed self-defence logically and inevitably leads to war. But wars can never end war or bring permanent peace and harmony. In nine cases out of ten they are rather followed by a temporary truce with an unjust peace to be disturbed sooner or later by a fresh and more violent war of revenge. This is the history of the first world war and after-effects. At the treaty of Versailles, Germany was meted out a humiliating and inhuman peace with temporary military occupations of portions of German Reich and was charged with a burden of heavy war indemnities which she never paid. The result was the growth of a strong resentment and bitter hatred in Germany against the Allies with the consequent rise in power of Adolf Hitler. The preparation for the present global war of mass slaughter and unprecedented destruction then followed as a rule. Hitler is not an abnormal monstrous specimen of humanity, as regarded by some ; but only a natural product of our modern age with its characteristic psychological make-up. Hence war, unless followed by a magnanimous peace and close co-operation between the victors and the vanquished on terms of absolute equality, is bound to be followed by one still more violent. Events of the period following the first world war, which is the pre-war period of the present global war, bear glowing testimony to this. The League of Nations failed to achieve its purpose as it was dominated more or less by the victors only and the nations began feverishly arming themselves once again in apprehension of aggression by others. This ended in the formation of rival groups of alliances like the Axis and the Allies, and all talks of peace and progress vanished into eternal vacuum with preparation for fresh war. There is thus every danger of history repeating itself this time as well, and unless there be a change in human psychology, or what is popularly known as change of heart and mind, this vicious cycle of alternate war and truce with preparation for a fresh war will continue *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseum* in this unhappy planet of ours. War will never end war unless human intellect and human mind are rationalised and humanised to a wider and truer vision of life and its interests. Peace can rest only on goodwill and trust but never on conflict of interests and mutual suspicion.

In the light of the above discussions we shall now proceed to examine the various schemes of post-war planning, enumerated in the beginning.

Man is an animal endowed with intellect and mind. His need is, therefore, two-fold, physical and mental. He craves for creature comforts as well as mental and intellectual bliss. He is thus a medley of mutually interacting physical and psychological urges. The standard of life that he strives after varies with the state and development of his mind or the nature of his psychological urges. These latter represent a complex combination of his ambition, vanity, lust for power,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wealth and fame, his convictions, sentiments and prejudices. It brings him into conflict with his fellowmen both as an individual and as a member of an organised group or nation. Our planning for the peace, happiness and higher standard of life for all men in the post-war world will, therefore, defeat its own purpose if it cannot provide means to reduce this conflict. For, as mentioned before, all human attempts to build up a better social order are frustrated by conflicts of what are believed to be national interests.

Leaders of religion, idealists and moralists think that irreligious habits of a mechanomorphic materialistic civilization with its methods of violence for the settlement of national disputes are at the root of our troubles. They, therefore, advocate a method of non-resistance or non-violent resistance for the post-war reconstruction of the world. It has, however, been argued that appeals to reason, magnanimity, sympathy and justice are no better than folly and idle dreams of sick-brained visionaries when one has to deal with human tigers and human crocodiles; non-violence or non-resistance of lambs will not protect them from the violence of wolves. But it can be contended that the comparison is fallacious; for wolves and lambs do not belong to the same species as all men do and they are not gifted with mind like men. It is also well-known that human mind, human will and human ideas can be changed and transformed by moral influences and proper education; and it is these human ideas that determine human act. In fact, application of all physical forces in human affairs involves some sort of reliance upon moral power. The officer of an army becomes absolutely powerless without the loyal obedience of the rank and file, obedience not out of any fear but from a sense of moral obligation and moral discipline. In physical force the officer is infinitely weaker than the body of men under his command. Nevertheless, as a practical proposition non-violence can seldom offer an immediate solution; for the nobility and strength of mind required for non-violent resistance in the face of strong provocation and persecution can only be possessed by very few, not even perhaps by one in ten thousands. Furthermore, non-violence on the part of the persecuted is not likely to transform the mind of the persecutor or aggressor under all circumstances. Human mind and human nature cannot be suddenly and miraculously transformed on a mass-scale. Mere religious sermons from the pulpit or mechanical acceptance of codified religious practices enjoining universal love have not been able to convert the followers of Buddha and Christ, the two greatest Princes of Peace and Love on earth, into non-violent nations eschewing war, exploitation, cruel repression and domination of others by physical force.

The leading statesmen and politicians of the world have presented us with many attractive charters of freedom for the uncharted future. Most of them advocate the organisation of a new League of Nations with an International Army or Police Force as exemplified in the Security Council of the United Nations Conference. In the first place a League of Nations to be really effective must include all the nations, small and big, on terms of absolute equality and without any distinction between the victors and the vanquished. But the application of sanction or force against any of its members is likely to lead to its dissolution as in the past. Similarly the formation of an International Army or Police Force is fraught with serious difficulties and troubles. No army will like to fight against its own country. Besides, if this International Police misbehave, who will be there to police the police. The League can operate smoothly and successfully if only all its members agree, as was suggested by the Soviet representative in the last League, to abolish all armaments and to operate in an unarmed atmosphere, being convinced of the futility of arms as an instrument for the settlement of national disputes. For this, however, the mentality of the nations has to be changed. Leaders and statesmen cannot go against the wishes of their people. A leader must be led by public opinion, good or bad; otherwise he will cease to be a leader. Hence charters from politicians alone, so widely advertised, cannot give us peace, freedom and happiness.

We now turn to the planning by the industrialists and capitalists of every country. Their schemes are more or less limited being only concerned with their respective countries. They have not taken note of any possible change in social order after the war; and it is very difficult to reconcile capitalism with a better social order unless capitalism discards many of its characteristic features. Since the capitalists and industrialists have acquired untold wealth during war and as the war-boom is sure to be followed by a depression in peace time, they are naturally nervous and are anxious to advocate large-scale industrialisation of their country so as to create opportunities for the investment of their surplus wealth. But such competitive industrialisation, sooner or later, would lead to conflict between nations, which all want to avoid. In our own country, India, where 90 per cent of the people do not know what a full meal is and where millions annually die of starvation, diseases and pestilences, development of industries and intensive agriculture are urgently needed to ensure a human standard of living. Any industrial planning for India should be, therefore, on a sound socialistic basis, which will avoid unhealthy congestion in urban areas and neglect of the countryside where the peasants—the actual children of the Indian soil and producers of her food—live and work. The present-day social order in India is in need of a thorough overhaul and reform. Many have, therefore, suggested the state-ownership of Indian industries. This will make the State all powerful. But a powerful State and individual freedom can seldom go together. There is thus a risk of state-dictatorship, and unless the State is completely and unreservedly nationalised and democratised it may degenerate into a replica of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Nor, such state-ownership is likely to remove the national conflicts resulting from industrial competition, tariff barrier, favoured-nation treatment, need of foreign markets, etc. But the greatest handicap to the planning for a better social order in India is India's dependency which makes the interest of the people often differ from that of the State. In any case, provision for a higher standard of living for Indian masses must constitute the principal plank for any scheme of post-war planning. This alone can help us in solving the most formidable and vexed problem of increasing population. For, it is an established fact that the birth-rate in a country declines with the rise of its standard of living and with provision of increased opportunities for creative employments demanding intellectual skill.

Next we come to the planning by parties with different political creeds like democracy, socialism, communism, etc. Their schemes aim at a better social order but run the risk of foundering on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the submerged rocks of competitive nationalism, so fruitful of war and preparation for war. For the spirit and sentiment of patriotic nationalism are as strong in socialistic and communistic States as in any other. Nay, these different politico-social ideologies or creeds themselves often serve as contributory causes of war. Since, like the different corporate religious creeds, they are also dominated by a spirit of dogmatic rule.

Finally, we shall discuss the scheme of the scientists in which we are directly interested. A considerable section of this group of planners in most countries are strongly in favour of intensive industrialisation for national regeneration after the war. The difficulties and dangers associated with such unrestricted schemes have already been mentioned above. Science is characterised by scrupulous regard for truth ; by its freedom from dogmatism, passions and prejudices ; by its dislike for unreasoned and untested faiths ; and by its spirit of enquiry and continuous progress. It recognises no artificial barrier between man and man, and no distinction between caste, creed or colour. Science is, therefore, rightly regarded as international. There is, therefore, every reason to expect that science would show us the right way to peace and freedom for mankind by its rationalising influence upon human mind and human ideas. A scheme of broad-based scientific education should, therefore, form the basis of all our future planning. It will help to develop a clear thinking unfettered by all extraneous influences ; to liberate our reason and judgment from the bondage of all artificial and instinctive sentimentalities, and in a word to enable us to observe the facts as they are. There must be immutable laws in human affairs as those discovered by science in the physical world ; and it is only by the inductive method of science and with the scientific attitude of mind that we shall be able to discover those laws controlling human affairs. Our supreme good must lie in adjusting our life in accordance with those laws. We have seen that the human sentiment of patriotic nationalism, human desire for national supremacy, and human ideas about national interest are the most powerful and potential cause of war ; these constitute the greatest barrier to human progress and human freedom. A dispassionate analysis has also shown that such ideas are erroneous and fallacious ; such desires and sentiments are illusive and misleading. In a stable and well-ordered society all co-operate to abide by certain agreed laws ; this preserves the integrity of the society and safeguaras the interest of one and all. Society would disintegrate if every individual member would try to serve his own interest at the cost of his neighbours ; and the result would have been only chaos and disorder with the interest of every one in jeopardy. In the case of a body of nations we fail to grasp this simple truth and cannot agree to co-operate. In order, therefore, to rationalise and transform the human ideas, to awaken his reason, judgment and sense of moral values, and thus to substitute the competitive nationalism in human affairs by co-operative internationalism, which alone can safeguard the interest of each and all nations, education of the mass mind in every country on broad-based scientific methods is the only solution. Political freedom has no value unless based on intellectual freedom or liberty. Individuals of a free and powerful State might be no better than slaves, as it was in Germany, if they have only to accept the decrees of dictators in servile acquiescence. Planning a system of education for the intellectual liberty and rationalisation of mass-mind in the post-war world is of fundamental importance. This should be specially borne in mind in our unfortunate country which, apart from foreign domination and exploitation, is being torn asunder by communal bitterness and communal jealousy. Unless we shake off this communal obsession and co-operate according to some agreed moral assumptions for our mutual benefit, no plan of industrialisation, socialisation or political emancipation can have any realistic significance. We shall only continue to persist in our folly of attaching higher values to the dross than to the metal, that is, preferring the fortunes of our particular parties and the vindication of our economic doctrines or religions creeds to real political and intellectual freedom.

In this scheme of education for intellectual freedom, all interference from the State or any other outside body should be rigorously excluded ; for we have seen that the education controlled or regimented by the State authorities can do immense mischief, as the controlling body will naturally try to give a shape to the mass-mind which will help perpetuation of their own power under all circumstances. What is needed is a free and unfettered development of human mind capable of clear judgment. All corporate and sectarian religious dogmas or practices should be tabooed from such a scheme ; moral and ethical principles should be incorporated only on a universal basis ; and teaching of science is to be made compulsory from the primary stage. Science must be taught so as to enlighten and illuminate the mass mind and not merely to dazzle it with its miracles and spectacular effect. It must supply pabulum for man's moral and spiritual uplift in addition to mere creature comforts, luxuries and material wealth resulting from its applications. The cultural and philosophical aspect of science would be as much stressed upon in its teaching as its mechanical and material side. Such a scheme for India might be brought into full working order within a period not exceeding ten years. India can not afford to wait for forty years to educate her masses as some authorities have suggested. An increase of literacy for the Indian masses at the rate of ten per cent per annum is not a very extraordinary progress and should not offer any insurmountable difficulty if we do not fritter away our resources in bricks and mortars or other non-essential paraphernalia including the elaborate measures for inspection, control and counter-control. Planners for post-war scientific and industrial researches in India should give their first consideration to a scheme of mass education on a scientific basis, if they want to see their scientific activities acceptable to, and utilized for, the masses in general and not for the vested interests alone.

Similarly, co-operation in international affairs safeguarding the interests of all nations can be a practical proposition only when the mass-mind in every country is freed from the passions and prejudices of competitive and patriotic nationalism, which is at the root of all national conflicts and all our ills in the modern world. The misappropriation and the prostitution of the results of scientific researches for organising co-operative mass-slaughter have been possible because of the exploitation by the national leaders and dictators of the passions and prejudices of human mind ; or it might be otherwise stated that the leaders have been so led by the passions, follies and fallacies of the mass-mind regarding national interest. Leaders and politicians, who depend for their position and career in life upon people's votes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rapidly gathered in the heat of an election campaign, cannot ignore public passions ; on the other hand, they gain approbation and receive ovations by inflaming them. So, any scheme of better social and international order will be of little avail unless backed by public opinion and the mass-mind. The will of the people has to be transformed in the first place from the direction of competitive nationalism with national supremacy and national glory as goal to that of co-operative super-nationalism with international harmony and peace safeguarding the individual national interests and freedom as the objective. For this we require a comprehensive scheme of mass education on the most liberal and scientific basis as adumbrated above. Here lies the special work of the scientists, the need of which is most acute in India today. The rationalisation of the mass mind of India is no less important than its industrialisation for India's regeneration and India's freedom—political, intellectual and moral.

The materialisation of such a scheme of education and industrialisation in India within a period of ten to fifteen years will not present any difficulty which could not be overcome by the willing, intelligent and enthusiastic co-operation of the people under the guidance of selfless and devoted leaders at the helm of a truly national government. A national government alone can guard against the risk of all these post-war planning schemes degenerating into planning for posts, as well as counteract the formation of a body of highly paid bureaucrats running a show for their own interest and glory cut off from all contact with the people at large. In fact, some of the plans for industrial and scientific researches in the country, which are already before us, give grounds for such suspicions ; as salaries for officers advocated in these plans may suit a highly industrialised and rich country like England with an average income of Rs. 6 per head per day as against pice six prevailing in India. This may at most raise the standard of living for a few who are already fortunate but will not touch that of the many whom we profess to serve. It is feeling sympathy and spirit of service alone which can make for efficiency and success ; whereas high salaries in an atmosphere of scarcity, suffering and starvation become a potent cause of demoralisation at the top besides corruption and discontent at the bottom. Such schemes for scientific researches closely resemble those for industrial regeneration on a capitalistic basis and are, therefore, liable to imbibe all the evils of the latter. We should adopt the standard of salaries prevailing in countries like Japan and Russia in this regard, if we really mean business and service.

Before closing this article, a few words about the constitution of a national government may not be out of place here. By national government I do not necessarily mean a mere representative government with members of its executive drawn from all communities and sects. Such a body may not often pull together harmoniously for a common cause if they cannot see beyond their own narrow sectarian or communal interests. There lies the danger of their quarreling over the dross while allowing the metal to slip away from their grasp. The success or otherwise of a national government will depend upon the selection of its personnel. What is needed for India today is a government composed entirely of Indians of proved ability and impeccable character, men who are not lured by position, power or pelf, whose visions have not been clouded and narrowed by communal sentiments and prejudices, whose minds are not obsessed with any fixed ideological creed and its code, but who are inspired only with the spirit of service and sacrifice. There is no dearth of such men in India today with a long record of service and sacrifice for the country behind them. Such men alone, irrespective of their party or communal affiliation, if allowed to run the Government will be able to do real good to the country and lead it on from its present fallen condition to the path of peace, prosperity and progress. Such a government may appear outwardly as an autocratic one. But India in its present condition is in need of such a benevolent autocracy. For, to build a democratic or a socialistic State some amount of culture, tolerance, mutual consideration and accommodation is necessary, which is unfortunately lacking today in modern India in spite of its past glory. The breakdown of the recent Simla Conference serves as a pointer to this direction.

———:O:———

HISTORY OF BENGAL'S SHIFTING BOUNDARY AND POPULATION

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Bengal has a chequered history of its boundary shifting and changing from ancient times. The earliest boundary of Bengal so far fixed has been given by Prof. H. C. Ray Choudhury in the *History of Bengal*.[1] He says that from the fourth century A.D. onwards, the epigraphic records assignable to distinct chronological periods enable us to trace with a good deal of precision the chief political and geographical divisions and administrative units of Bengal. But although the units are known, the exact boundaries of some of them have not yet been defined with certainty. The difficulty is increased by the fact that even wellknown divisions like Gaur, Vanga and Rarh varied in size in different ages and periods. The more important divisions were, Gaur, Vanga, Samatata, Harikela, Chandradvipa, Vangala, Pundra and Varendri, Rarh and Tamralipta. The bhuktis or divisions of Bengal proper were split up for administrative purposes into *vishayas* or *sub*-divisions.[2]

Inscriptions of the Gupta age disclose the existence of the two well-known *bhuktis*, Pundravardhana and Vardhamana, and an unnamed *bhukti* which included Suvarnavithi and Navyavakasika. The first two of these along with the following five are known from the Pala and Sena records to have formed part of the Bengal Empire :

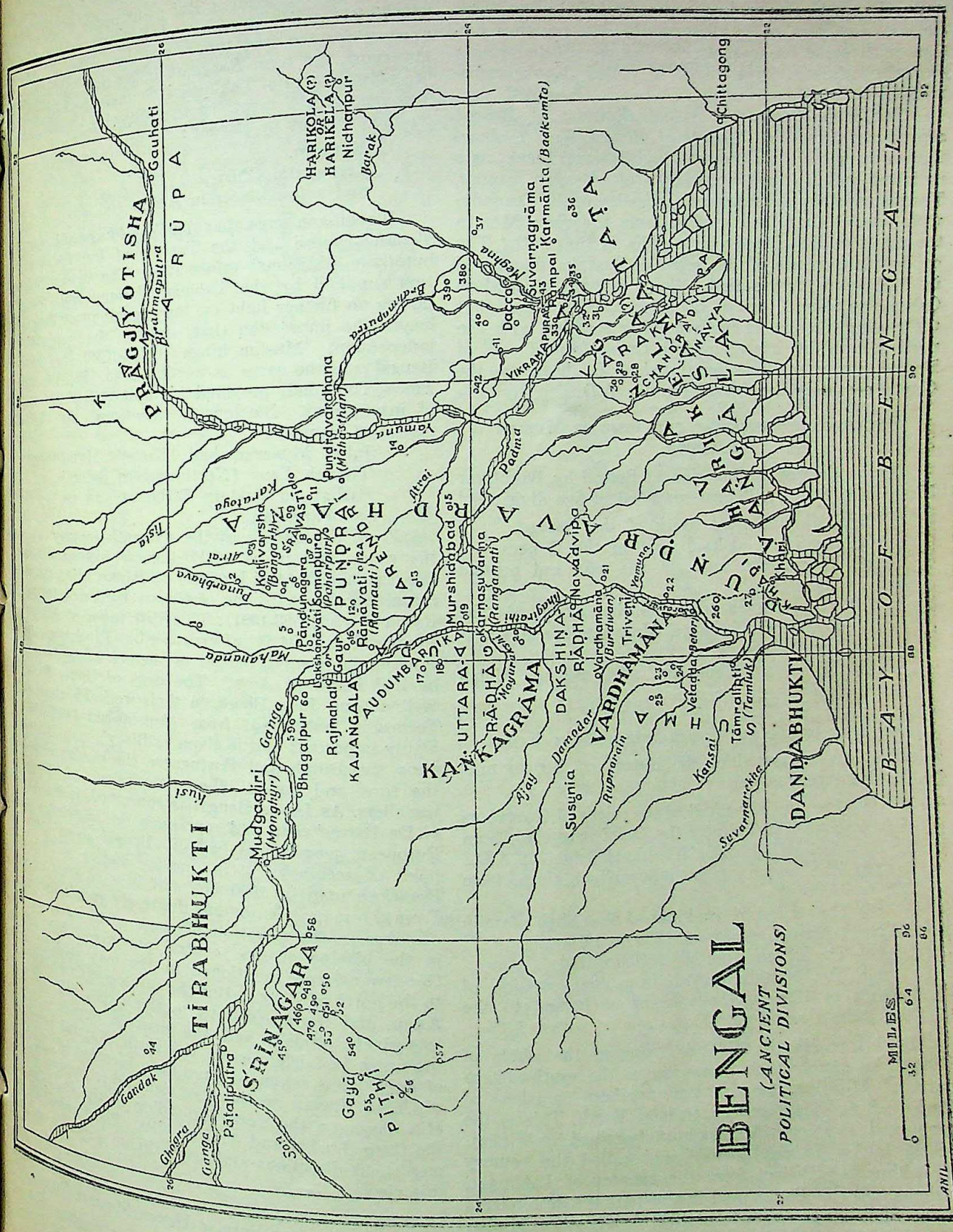
1. Tira-*bhukti*.
2. Srinagara-*bhukti*.
3. Kankagrama-*bhukti*.
4. Danda-*bhukti*.
5. Pragjyotisha-*bhukti*.

1 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Ed. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 11 *et. seq.*

2 *Ibid*, p. 24 *et seq.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Of these Tira-*bhukti* (Tirhut in North Bihar), Srinagara-*bhukti* or Magadha-*bhukti* (in South Bihar) and Pragjyotisha-*bhukti* (in Assam) lay beyond the limits of Bengal proper. In the time of Lakshmana Sena, the northern part of Vardhamana-*bhukti*, together perhaps with some adjacent tracts, was constituted into a separate administrative division called Kankagrama-*bhukti*.[3]

The map giving the ancient divisions of Bengal, reproduced from the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, shows that a large part of present-day Eastern Bihar was included within the boundary of Bengal proper. Vardhamana-*bhukti* embraced the valley of the Damodar river and at times it stretched from the river Mor in the north to the river Suvarnarekha in the south.[4] The copper-plate grants of the reign of Sasanka discovered in Midnapore proves that a large portion of modern Orissa also formed part of Bengal proper. The fact that the eastern districts of modern Bihar together with the north-eastern districts of modern Orissa formed part of Bengal proper can now be traced as far back as the Gupta period in the fourth century A.D.

Boundary of Bengal at the Time of Muslim Invasion

At the time of the invasion of Bengal by Bakhtiyar Khalji in 1198 A.D., Bengal consisted of five divisions:[5]

(1) Rarh, the tract south of the Ganges.
(2) Bagdi, the deltaic tract of the Ganges.
(3) Vanga, the tract to the east and beyond the delta.
(4) Varendri, the tract to the north of the Padma and between Mahananda and Karutoya rivers.
(5) Mithila, the country west of the Mahananda.

Boundary of Bengal Under Independent Kings

The Muslim period of the history of Bengal may be divided into five parts :

(1) The 'Initial period' or the reigns of Governors of Lakhnauti appointed by the Delhi sovereign, from the conquest of Bakhtiyar Khalji, 1198 to 1338 A.D.
(2) The period of the independent kings, from 1338 to 1538.
(3) The period of the kings of Sher Shah's family and their Afghan successors, 1538 to 1576.
(4) The Mughal period, 1576 to 1740.
(5) The Nawabi period, from the accession of Alivardi in 1740 to the transfer of Bengal to the East India Company.

Bakhtiyar Khalji did not conquer the whole of Bengal, he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithila, Varendri, the northern portions of Rarh and the north-western tract of Bagdi. This is the conquered territory which has been described by Minhaj-i-Siraj in his *Tabaqut-i-Nasiri* and called the country of Lakhnauti. Distinct from the country of Lakhnauti is the country of Banga[6] and in this part the descendants of the Sena kings reigned till 1260 A.D., when Minhaj wrote his history. Sunnargaon appears to have remained independent well after the first century of Muslim rule.

In Muslim historical literature, it is first mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Barani* as the residence during Balban's reign, of an independent Rai ; but under Tughlak Shah (1323 A.D.), Sunnargaon and Satgaon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muslim governors, the term *Bangalah* being now applied to the united provinces of Lakhnauti, Sunnargaon and Satgaon. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* mentions the following places as being on the frontiers of Bengal :

Kamrup,
Jagannath (Puri),
and a few places in Assam and Tibet.

Blochmann says that *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Afif, *Tarikh-i-Barani* and the Travels of Ibn Battuta yield but little additional information. The meagre information supplied by the *Tabaqat-i-Nizami* and *Firishta* throws no further light on the geography of Bengal but leaves the impression that during the reign of the independent Muslim kings (1338-1538) the extent of Bengal was the same as we find it in 1582, the year in which Todarmall prepared his rent roll. From a study of inscriptions, Blochmann mentions the following places of Bengal[7] :

Iqlim Muazzamabad (Eastern Mymensingh),
Thanah Laur (North-western Sylhet),
Sarhat, in western Birbhum now in the Santal Parganas.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical *Da Asia* by Joao de Barros (died 1570), and the graphic descriptions of Caesar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583-1591). The *Haft Iqlim* of Amin Ahmad composed in 1594 is informative but Blochmann doubts whether he visited Bengal or merely wrote down what he had heard at Agra. The map of Upper India by William and John Blaev, in their work *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* published from Amsterdam (1645-1650) is highly important and is given as Blaev's map. It is based upon the Dutch and Portuguese charts that existed at the time and upon the description of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of De Barros' map and represents the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy, it is much inferior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660 but still it is of great interest. From the map it is obvious that early geographers made mistakes in the situation of some countries as we find in the placing of the central provinces then called Gondawana and mentioned in the map as Kanduana to the north of Bengal. But the placing of Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Burma lead us to think that this area was intensively studied and the map in respect of these provinces is fairly nearer the truth. Natural boundary of Bengal was taken to have been bounded by the hills of Chota Nagpur on the west right up to the foot of the Himalayas on the north extending to the east through the Garo, Lushai and Arakan hills. Place names in the map, their directions and approximate distances confirm this view.

Boundary of Bengal Under Mughal Rule

In Akbar's rent-roll, the following nineteen Sarkars are mentioned as composing the kingdom of Bengal proper[8] :

3 *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.
4 *Ibid*, p. 27.
5 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 291.
6 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's translation, p. 267.
7 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 214.
8 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 130.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sarkars North and East of the Ganges—

1. Lakhnauti or Jennatabad, extending from Teliagarhi (near Colgong), including a few mahals now belonging to modern Bhagalpur and Purneah districts and the whole of Maldah district.

2. Purneah, comprising a great portion of modern Purnea district as far as the Mahananda.

3. Tajpur, extending over eastern Purneah, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur.

4. Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dinajpur, comprising a large part of Dinajpur district.

5. Ghoraghat, comprising portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra districts.

6. Barbakabad, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and large portions of Rajshahi and Bogra.

7. Bahuza, comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south.

8. Silhat, modern Sylhet.

9. Sunargaon, extending to both sides of the Meghna and the Brahmaputra, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Mymensingh and Noakhali.

10. Chatgam, modern Chittagong.

Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges—

11. Satgaon, comprising south-western Murshidabad, western Nadiya and a large portion of 24-Parganas extending to the Kabadak river and in the south of Hatiagarh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged the *mahal* Kalkattah (Calcutta).

12. Mahmudabad, comprising north-eastern Nadia, North-eastern Jessore and western Faridpur.

13. Khalifatabad, comprising southern Jessore and western Backerganje, South-eastern Jessore or Rasulpur was included in this Sarkar.

14. Fathabad, comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Faridpur, northern Backergunje, a portion of Dacca district and the islands of Dakshin Shabazpur and Sandvip.

15. Bakla or Bogla, south-east of the preceding Sarkar, comprising portions of Backergunje and Dacca districts.

Sarkar South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathi—

16. Udner or Tandah, comprising the greater part of Murshidabad district with portions of Birbhum.

17. Sharifabad, south of the preceding Sarkar, comprising remaining portions of Birbhum and a large portion of Burdwan district including the town of Burdwan.

18. Sulaimanabad, comprising a few southern parganas in the modern districts of Nadia, Burdwan and the whole north of the Hooghly district.

19. Madaran, extending in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birbhum over Ranigunje along the Damodar to above Burdwan, and from there over Khandaghosh, Jahanabad, Chandrakona (western part of Hooghly district) to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain river.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari,* Orissa, consisting of five Sarkars, is included in the Subah of Bengal. Thus the Subah of Bengal is described as consisting of twenty-four Sarkars, *i.e.,* nineteen for Bengal proper and five for Orissa.

These nineteen Sarkars made up Bengal proper until 1582 when Todarmal prepared his famous rent-roll. This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Midnapore and Hijli having been annexed and on the east and north-east by the conquests of Tipperah and Koch Hajo. When Prince Shuja was made Governor of Bengal, he made, about 1658 A.D., a new rent-roll (which showed thirty-four Sarkars). Shuja's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the re-conquest of Chittagong and conquest of Assam during Aurangzeb's reign. In that year Murshid Quli Khan prepared his *Kamil Jama Tumari* or perfect rent-roll in which Bengal was divided into thirty-four Sarkars, forming thirteen *chaklas* and sub-divided into 1660 parganas.

Frontier of Bengal Under Muslim Kings

Abul Fazl estimates the breadth of Bengal from Teliagarhi to Chatgaon at four hundred *Kos.* From north to south the longest line was from Koch Bihar to Chittua in Sarkar Medinipur. In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosi River, but under some of the early Muslim governors and independent kings, Bengal included Upper Bihar, north of the Ganges as far as the district of Saran. Ilyas Shah founded Hajipur, opposite Patna, on the Gandak. Sikandar Shah's coins have been found far west of the Kosi. Southern Bihar formed part of Bengal till (about 1330) Muhammad Tughlak annexed it to Delhi. Since 1397, the whole of Bihar belonged to the kingdom of Jaunpur under Pathan kings. It is not clear how far these Pathan kings depended on Hussain Shah of Bengal whom inscriptions represent firmly established in Munghyr in 1497 while other inscriptions would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihar and the western portions of southern Bihar belonged to him in 1502-3.[9] Again, we read in the Bengal history the cession of Bihar, Tirhut and Saran by Hossain Shah and their re-conquest by his son Nasrat Shah. Nasrat Shah seems to have passed beyond the Gandak. A mosque near Sikandarpur, on the right bank of the river, in the Azimgarh district, was built during his reign.

Teliagarhi, near Colgong on the Ganges, was the entrance or key pass to Bengal. In Todar Mall's rent-roll, the following Mahals are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ag Mahal (Rajmahal), Kankjol, Molesar in Sarkar Tandah; Bharkundah, Akbarshahi, Katangah in Sharifabad (Birbhum); Nagor, Sainbhum, Shergarh (Raniganj), Champanagari (north-west of the town of Burdwan), Madaran (Jahanabad and Chandrakona, west of Hooghly), Chittua (District Midnapore) and Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain, all belonging to Sarkar Madaran.

Blochmann believes the frontier mahal of Bhatkundah in Birbhum to have formerly extended to the whole of Birbhum and Santal Parganas.[10] In this extended sense it is used in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi,* on De Barros' map of Bengal and on Blaev's map of India. In the latter, it is given as Barcunda. West of Barcunda, Blaev give Patanes, *i.e.,* the Pathans, the military and semi-independent landholders of the western Bengal frontier. In the reign of Jahangir, the Pathans were completely routed.

9 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.,* 1873, p. 222.
10 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.,* 1873, p. 223.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Rennell's Map of Bengal and Bihar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The western boundary has been drawn by Blochmann, as a line passing from Teligarhi along the Ganges to the south of Rajmahal when it again turned westward to north-western Birbhum passing along the boundary of modern Santal Parganas to the confluence of the Barakar and the Damodar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damodar to the neighbourhood of the town of Burdwan. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Hooghly and Howrah districts down to Mandalghat where the Rupnarain flows into the Hooghly river. This territory excludes the whole of the Santal Parganas, from the south of Colgong to the Barakar, Pachet and the territory of the Rajahs of Bishnupur, from the boundary of Bengal under Muslim Rulers.

The Santhal Parganahs and the Rajahs of Bishnupur had maintained their independence for a very long-time but this should not lead us to think that Santal Parganas and Bankura were beyond the geographical limits of Bengal. The Rajahs of Bishnupur were known as Ghatwals because they guarded the frontier passes on the west of Bengal. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* records that, until 1855, the southern and western portions of the Santal Parganas belonged to Birbhum.

The following list of jungly and hilly frontier districts have been given by Blochmann[11]:

Birbhum.
Sainbhum (along the left bank of the Ajai, in Birbhum district).
Sikharbhum or Shergarh (Raniganj Mahal).
Gopibhum (along the right bank of the Ajai).
Bamanbhum (in northern Midnapore).
Manbhum (in Chota Nagpur).
Barahbhum (" ")
Dhalbhum (" ")
Singhbhum (" ")
Tunbhum (in southern Purulia).
Malbhum (the frontier of Burdwan and Midnapur districts).
Bhanjibhum (with the town of Midnapore).

The frontier line drawn by Blochmann excludes Midnapore district as well. This district had a shifting boundary. It was included within the original boundary of Bengal down to the fifteenth century A.D. Midnapore and Hijli (south-east of Midnapore and then known as a separate district) belonged to the Hindu kingdom of Orissa till 1567 when Sulaiman, King of Bengal and his General Kalapahar defeated Mukunda Deb, its last Gajpati king. Even after Afghan conquest, Midnapore and Hijli formed part of the province of Orissa. When Man Singh, Akbar's General, had finally annexed Bengal to the Delhi Empire, Midnapore and Hijli formed part of Orissa. It was for this reason that these two districts appear together in Todarmall's rent-roll as one of the five Sarkars of the province of Orissa. Subsequently, Orissa had separate Governors. Under Prince Shuja their power was gradually lessened and the portion from Mandalghat to Balasore, including Midnapore and Hijli, was separated from Orissa and finally attached to Bengal.

Southern Frontier

It is easier to define the southern frontier which is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. The southern frontier of the Muslim kings was up to the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, which extended generally speaking in the same manner almost as it now does, from Hatiagarh, south of Diamond Harbour to Bagerhat in southern Jessore and to the Haringhata, *i.e.*, along the southern mahals of Sarkar Satgaon and Khalifatabad. On the south-east, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittgong districts were contested grounds, of which the Rajahs of Tipperah and Arakan were, at least before the seventh century, oftener masters than the Muslim kings. It was only after the transfer of the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca that the south-east frontier of Bengal extended to the Feni river, which was the Imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, when Chittagong was permanently conquered and annexed to subah Bangalah. Dakshin Shabazpur and Sandwip, at the mouth of the Meghna were included in Sarkar Fathabad.

Eastern Frontier

The eastern frontier of Bengal under Muslim rule extended from Sonargaon and the Meghna northward and then passed to the east including the district of Silhat (Sylhet). In Shah Jahan's reign, the line extended from Feni river instead of Meghna and passed over southern and western Tipperah. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of Jaintiah, Khasi and Garo Hills to mahal Sherpur in Mymensingh district to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmari and from these along the river to mahal Bhitarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The Sarkars that lay along the boundary were Sunnargaon, Bazuha, Silhat and Ghoraghat.

Silhat, modern Sylhet, was conquered in 1384 A.D. North-western Sylhet had the name of Laur. Laur, as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* consisted of Partabgarh, Panchkhand, Banyachong, Bajua, Jaintia, Haveli Silhat, Satrakhandal, Laur and Harinagar. The author of *Haft Iqlim* repeatedly calls Silhat as Srihat and it explains why Sylhat has been mentioned as Sirote in Blaev's map. Its position on the Surma has, however, been correctly shown.

Northern Frontier

From Bhitarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra and in later times from Gauhati, the frontier under Muslim kings passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihar to Mahal Patgram (west of Koch Bihar) which is mentioned by Mughal historians as the frontier town in the extreme north and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepal to the northern portions of Purneah district. The Rajahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve their independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtiyar Khalji during Muslim rule. Debkot, near Dinajpore was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north. Koch Bihar was conquered by Mir Jumla but it regained its independence soon after.

Boundary of Bengal Under Early British Rule

The extent of the Province under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was stated in the First Administration Report as follows[12]:

11 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 224.

12 Buckland, *Bengal Under Lieutenant Governors*, Vol. I, p. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Area about
Bihar	42,000 Sq. miles
Bengal	85,000 „ „
Orissa	7,000 „ „
Orissa Tributary Mahals	15,500 „ „
Chota Nagpur and the Tributory States on the S.-W. Frontier	62,000 „ „
Assam	27,500 „ „
Arracan	14,000 „ „
Total area	2,53,000 Sq. miles

Arracan was soon transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Burma. Assam continued to form part of Bengal until the year 1874.

In 1881, Bengal included the following divisions and districts :

Divisions	*Districts*
Dacca	Dacca, Faridpur, Backergunje, Mymensingh.
Chittagong	Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Patna	Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran.
Bhagalpur	Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purneah, Maldah, Santal Parganas.
Burdwan	Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah.
Presidency	24-Perganas, Calcutta and Suburbs, Nadia, Jessore, Khulna, Murshidabad.
Rajshahi	Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Darjeeling Jalpaiguri.
Orissa	Puri, Balasore, Angul, Banki.
Chota Nagpur	Hazaribagh, Lohardaga, Singbhum, Manbhum.

In 1901, the same boundary was maintained. In the Census Report of that year, Risley and Gait described the "Natural Division of Bengal" as follows :

1. West Bengal	Burdwan Division.
2. Central Bengal	Presidency Division excluding Khulna.
3. North Bengal	Rajshahi Division, Maldah, Cooch Bihar and Sikkim.
4. East Bengal	Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, Khulna and Hill Tipperah.
5. North Bihar	Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, Saran, Bhagalpur, Purnea.
6. South Bihar	Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr.
7. Orissa	Orissa Division, excluding Angul.
8. Chota Nagpur Plateau	Chota Nagpur Division, Santal Parganas, Angul and the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

Bengal Under Partition

In 1905, Bengal was partitioned and a new Province called Eastern Bengal and Assam was created by the transfer of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions to Assam. Maldah was given to the new Province in lieu of Darjeeling.

Some change was effected on the western border of Bengal as well. Five Hindi-speaking States on the border of Chota Nagpur were transferred to the Central Province in exchange for the district of Sambalpur and five feudatory States whose vernacular was Oriya.

The Present Boundary and the Disputed Districts

After the annulment of partition in 1912, the boundary of Bengal assumed its present form. The Bengali-speaking districts which formed part of the western front were cut out and transferred to newly created province of Bihar and Orissa. On April 1, 1912 Bihar with Chota Nagpur and Orissa was made into a separate province.

Singhbhum, Manbhum and Purnea have been separated from Bengal. We have earlier seen that the district of Purnea did form part of Bengal proper. During the Muslim rule, Manbhum was regarded as part of the *Jharkhand* or 'forest tract' which was the name given in *Akbarnama* to the whole region from Birbhum and Panchet to Ratanpur in the Central Provinces and from Rhotasgarh in South Bihar to the frontier of Orissa. In the *Badshahnama*, the zemindar of Panchet is shown as a commander of horse under Shah Jahan and his zemindary was subject to a fixed peshkash. The territory comprised in the present district of Manbhum was acquired by the British with the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. Up to 1805, the estates contained in it were attached some to Birbhum and some to Midnapore; but in that year they were formed with a few others into a separate district called the Jungle Mahals. It was created under Regulation XVIII of 1805 and consisted of fifteen Parganas or Mahals from Birbhum district, three from Burdwan and five from Midnapore (including Manbhum and Barabhum). In 1832, Ganga Narayan, a claimant to the Barabhum estate, in this district, rose in rebellion but was driven to Singhbhum where he died. As a result of this conflict, a change of administration was decided upon. Under Regulation XIII of 1833, the Jungle Mahal was broken up ; the estates of Senpahari, Shergarh and Bishnupur were transferred to Burdwan, while the remainder, with the estate of Dhalbhum, detached at the same time from Midnapore were formed into the present district of Manbhum. The district of Manbhum has been reduced to its present area by further transfers of minor importance in 1857 and 1879. When the district was first constituted, the civil station was fixed at Manbazar, but it was transferred to Purulia in 1838.

The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* says, Dhalbhum was originally part of Midnapore; when the district of Jungle Mahals was broken up it was included in the newly formed district of Manbhum. It was transferred to Singhbhum in 1846. In 1876 some forty-five outlying villages were again made over to Midnapore but an area of 1188 sq. miles have been retained in the present district of Singhbhum. Until the formation of Santal Parganas as a district in 1855, the northern half of it formed part of Bhagalpur while the southern and western portions belonged to Birbhum.

Estimates of Population

Anything like a modern census of India or Bengal has not come down to us from our ancestors. Under the Hindu Administration it is found that a record of the number of households in each village and the number

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and description of residents therein were carefully maintained and integrated for the whole Empire through the Revenue Department. A graphic account of the method of maintaining such records are found in Kautilya's Arthasastra, but the records themselves are apparently lost.

But during the Muslim rule, no such record seems to have been maintained. Ashraf writes :[13]

"No systematic record was ever kept by the government of the population of the kingdom. It is reported that when Sultan Mohammad Tughluk decided to give relief to the people of Delhi, he ordered the judicial functionaries to compile census registers of the various quarters of the capital city. The results of even this solitary attempt are unknown."

Moreland is of the opinion that the population of the Northern Indian plains from Multan to Monghyr must have been well over thirty millions and probably little less than forty millions, about the year 1605. His estimate for the whole of India about this time is a total population of 100 millions. In arriving at these figures, Moreland accepted as his basis of calculation, the strength of the armies and the density of cultivation. Relying on the fact that "the main lines of the Indian system of 'agriculture have persisted during the last three centuries and consequently the area placed under crops is a rough index to the number of the rural population", Moreland comes to the conclusion that "the western Gangetic plain was as full of people in Akbar's time as it is today (1920), and consequently was very densely populated when judged by the European standard of the sixteenth century, while on the other hand the eastern Gangetic plain as far as the confines of Bengal was not, as it now is, a congested area, but supported a population of about one-fifth of the present density."[14] Bengal, north-western plains, Gujarat and southern India, specially Vijayanagar, were "thickly, or very thickly, populated when judged by contemporary European standards."[15] Many of the European travellers tell the same story. M. de Faria y Sousa writes :

"The heathens say that God granted these particular prerogatives or blessings to five kingdoms—to that of Bengala, infinite number of foot : to Orixa, elephants : to Bisnagar, people skilled in sword and buckler : to Delhi, abundance of towns and to Cou, innumerable horses."[16]

Barbosa estimated the population of 'Gouro' (Gaur) the principal city of Bengal, at 200,000.[17] Considering the fact that Bengal did not live in towns, the population of Gaur can be taken as a good index of the thickness of population of the province.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, some systematic attempts seem to have been made for ascertaining the population of Bengal. An inquiry was instituted in 1789 and conducted chiefly by calling upon the collectors of districts for their opinions on the population of their respective jurisdictions, furnished grounds for estimating 22 millions in Bengal and Bihar. Colebroke estimated 25 millions about 1790.[18] Sir William Jones arrived at a figure of 24 millions for Bengal and Bihar.[19] Colebroke's calculation included Bengal, Bihar and Benares, and Jones' calculation included Bengal, Bihar, Orissa with Ghazipur, Benares, Jaunpur and part of Mirzapore. In 1814, the result of two investigations, one by Bayley and the other by Buchanan, revealed a population of 39 millions. Francis Buchanan had arrived at his results by ascertaining the number of ploughs and taking five persons as dependant on one plough. Adam, writing on vernacular education in 1835, placed the population at 35 millions on the basis of some very imperfect official returns called for by Lord Wellesley in 1801. Thornton's Gazetteer of 1858 gives an estimate of 40 millions for the British territory of Bengal without the native states and Darjeeling and the Dooars. 42·5 millions was the figure officially accepted up to 1872. The Census of 1872 came as a surprise, it disclosed a population of over 62 millions or about 24 millions more than the population of the United States as it then stood.

Growth of Muslim Population

Arrival of the Muslims in Bengal can be definitely traced back to 1198 A.D., the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khalji. The exact number of the army he brought is not definitely known, but we know this much that after his conquest of Lakhnawati, he got an army ready which contained 10,000 horse, and invaded Tibet. This expedition was a disastrous failure. Bakhtiyar Khalji succeeded in escaping with only one hundred troopers. From excessive humiliation he fell ill and at length died. How many of these troopers and infantry were Muslims who came with Bakhtiyar Khalji and how many of them were people of Bengal recruited here, are not known.

Instances of forcible conversion into Islam recorded in a contemporary history of Bengal, the *Riadus Salatin*, are only two. Peculiarly enough, in both the cases, the conversions were made by Hindus converted into Islam. One of them was Sultan Jalaluddin, son of Raja Ganesh and the other Murshid Quli Khan, who was a Brahmin by birth. Although records of conversion were not made by Muslim chroniclers, there is little doubt that extensive conversions were taking place. In the *Riadus Salatin*, Raja Ganesh, whose rule lasted only seven years, (1407-1414 A.D.), has been described as an infidel who "attempted to destroy and extirpate Mahommedans."

Basic Racial Unity of Hindus and Muslims

Definite accounts of the Muslim population of Bengal are found only since the mutiny. Writing about this time, Nolan gives the following description of Indian Mussalmans :[20]

> The Mahommedans of India differ very much from their brethren in Western and Northern Asia, as well as from those in Europe and Africa. Everywhere else, except so far as sectarian differences divide, the features of Mahommedan faith and character possess a clear identity; in India they are so modified by caste, and by the heathenism which holds so

---

12 *JASBL*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1935, p. 336.
14 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 21.
15 Ibid, p. 13.
16 M. de Faria y Sousa, *The Portuguese Asia*, Stevens's translation, Vol. I, p. 415.
17 Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hackluyt Society, Vol. II, p. 246 (Appendix).
18 Colebroke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, p. 9.
19 Jones, *A Sinical*, preface.
20 E. H. Nolan, *History of the British Empire in India and the East*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tenaciously its position, that Indo-Muhammadanism has a distinctive character. The various inroads of the prophet's followers were followed by extensive efforts at proselytism ; force, guile and gold, were all freely used to bring over the heathen to Islam ; and all were so far successful that multitudes joined, bearing into their new circle of religious fellowship the love, and, as far as possible, the practice of their old superstitions. The result has been that while the Mahommedan and heathen populations hate one another, and the monotheism of the followers of the prophet is rigid and uncompromising, they yet adopt castes and customs that are Brahminical, and which give to the social life of the Indo-Muhammadans peculiarities of character very dissimilar from those of their fellow disciples elsewhere . . . Whatever their general character, the Mohammadans of India have lost, they retain the fierce intolerance which they everywhere else exhibit, and the desire to attain power as a religious duty, by means no matter how repulsive and sanguinary. Tyrants everywhere, they are in India as despotic as the genius of their creed might be supposed to make them, and their history on every stage exhibits them.

This special characteristics of the Indo-Muslims, with reference to this province, have been observed and recorded in the Census Reports of Bengal since 1872 down to the Report of 1931. In his Report for 1872, Beverley stated that the Bengali Muslims, except a very few, were racially of Hindu origin and mostly converts from the depressed classes.

The basic unity of the social relations of Bengali Hindus and Muslims has been described by A. E. Porter in his Census Report for Bengal, 1931. He has cited them as instances of tolerance of Hindu practices by the Muslim, but the real ethnic reason will be clear with reference to the statements made by Nolan and Beverley mentioned above. Porter says :[21]

> Muslims used to take part in the famous Janmastami procession at Dacca and even at the present time instances are reported in other parts of the province of specific Hindu practices followed by the Muslims. The use of combined Hindu and Muslim names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal. In Jessore it is reported that the Muslims revere the *Tulsi* plant and *bel* tree and observes the festivals of Jamai Sasthi and Bhratridwitiya. In Bogra in some areas the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard, the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent. It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal and that Muslims from great distances travel to the shrine of Gopinath at Gopinathpur to offer fruit and milk and to bathe in a well for the cure of their ailments, while at Mahasthan, Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *puja* with offerings of *sinni*. In Jalpaiguri Muslims propitiate the goddess Buri by filinging offerings of rice or fruits (*naivedya*) into the stream. The Buri *puja* is also observed by Muslims in Rangpur particularly during a spell of continuous misfortune or on undertaking any litigation. In Pabna, Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them and they contribute towards the Kali *puja* particularly in time of epidemics whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *Kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess.

The Problem of the Depressed Classes

The most peculiar feature of depressed classes in Bengal is its existence in both the communities, Hindus and Muslims alike. In the Census Report of 1901, Risley says :

> "Just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadan, a Saiad will marry a Shekh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return, and inter-marriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Muhammadans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best it can. Even there, however, it is only under the stress of great poverty that a member of the *Ashraf* or 'noble' class will give his daughter to one of the *Ajlaf* or 'low people' as converts of indigenous origin are called in Bengal . . . Speaking generally it may be said that the social cadre of the higher ranks of Muhammadans is based on hypergamy with a tendency in the direction of endogamy, while the lower functional groups are strictly endogamous, are organised on the model of regular castes with councils and officers which enforce the observance of caste rules by the time-honoured sanction of boycotting.[22]

According to Gait,[23] the Bengal Muhammadans recognise two main social divisions, (1) Ashraf or Sharif and (2) Ajlaf which in Bengali has been corrupted into Altrap. The first, which means 'noble' includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from the higher castes of Hindus. All other Muhammadans, including the functional groups and all converts of lower rank, are collectively known by the contemptuous term Ajlaf, 'wretches' or 'mean people.' This category includes the various classes of converts who are known as Nao Muslim in Bihar and Nasya in North Bengal, but who in East Bengal, where their numbers are greatest, have usually succeeded in establishing their claim to be called Sheikh. . . Like the higher Hindu castes, the Ashraf consider it degrading to accept menial service or to handle the plough. The traditional occupation of the Saiads is the priesthood.

In some places, a third class, called Arzal or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as Halalkhor, Lalbeghi, Abdal, and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground.

Obviously for political reasons, we find a growing tendency to classify Muslims as Muslims only, generally discarding their classification into different castes or sub-castes. In the case of the Hindu, this division and

21 *Census Report, Bengal and Sikkim*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 390.

22 *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 543.

23 *Ibid*, pp. 543-44.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sub-division is steadily growing. But the existence of castes among the Muslims, which, like the Hindu, prohibited inter-marriage and imposed indignities on the lower castes is admitted. Porter, in his Census Report for 1931, says :[24]

> The only current word which can be used to describe the groups actually existing amongst Muslims is *jati* with its associations connoting the whole Hindu caste system and a gradation of religious privilege . . . The exclusiveness of the existing distinctions was actually emphasised by the group now shown as 'Mumin' who in a representation which reads very much like a memorial from one of the 'depressed' classes of Hindus set forth the indignities imposed on them by the more elevated social groups owing to their lowly status in the society. The frivolity of the religious argument (*i.e.*, the claim that from the standpoint of religion they were one) was exposed when a *Mullah* in one district was urging it but abruptly desisted upon the district census officer's shrewd suggestion that he would cancel the entries in the caste column of the schedule if the *Mullah* would on his part issue a *fatwa* encouraging inter-marriage between Sayyads and Jolahas (Mumins).

Porter has classified 19 sub-castes like Badiyas of Bogra, Bajadars of Jessore, Dai of Dacca, Punjhra of Maldah, etc., whom other Muslims "refuse to acknowledge" socially.

The problem of defining depressed classes came up for consideration at a meeting of the superintendents of Census operations in January, 1931. As a result of these discussions, the Census Commissioner defined the depressed classes as "castes contact with whom entails purification on the part of the high caste Hindus." Social backwardness was not the test as it would have made the recognition of a depressed class among the Muslims as imperative. The unworkability of this arbitrary definition was realised by intelligent observers at the very moment of its enunciation. Porter, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1931, gives the most challenging verdict :[25]

> As an administrative problem demanding the cognisance of the Government, social and religious disabilities are unsatisfactory as a test of the classes to be included whilst the extent to which depressed classes are denied participation in the advantages and conveniences maintained by the administration is so small as to be negligible. For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist, gave in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in comparatively recent years as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, the attempt to treat any social usage or any civic disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail and some other distinction must be sought.

Rate of Growth in Hindus and Muslims

The rate of growth among the Hindu and Muslim population has been different for different areas in Bengal. The following percentages of Muslim population in a few typical districts will illustrate how erratic the rate of the variation has been :

	1881	1931	*Result*
Birbhum	20·5	26·7	Increase
24-Parganas	37·9	35·8	Decrease
Rajshahi	78·42	75·79	„
Rangpur	60·99	70·79	Increase
Jalpaiguri	35·85	23·9	Decrease
Dinajpur	52·55	50·51	„
Mymensingh	66·79	76·56	Increase
Tipperah	66·33	75·78	„

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Nolan[26] who gives the proportion of Hindu to the Muslim population in Buckergunge as it stood in 1852 as five to two. It has now been more than reversed, the present proportion being one to five.

The total rate of increase of Muslims for the period 1881-1931 has been 51·2 per cent, while that for Hindus for the same period has been 22·9 per cent. Percentages of Muslim population in the different divisions are as follows :

	Muslim per cent	*Hindu* per cent
Chittagong Division	73·68	22·65
Dacca Division	70·93	28·55
Rajshahi Division	62·24	34·89
Presidency Division	47·20	51·24
Burdwan Division	14·14	82·85

The accompanying map gives an idea of the relative proportion of the two communities for all the districts.

The Muslims form a fairly solid block of more than 50 per cent of the population in an area running throughout the whole of Bengal from the districts of Murshidabad, Maldah and Dinajpur on the north-west to Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong on the south-east. The increases in their number are the most marked in Rangpur, Maldah, Pabna and Bogra districts. In the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Rajshahi they have decreased since 1881. The most striking increases have been in East Bengal.

A. E. Porter and P. J. Griffiths have tried to fit Raymond Pearl's Logistic Curve to the census population of Bengal but their results have been unsatisfactory. By applying the Logistic Curve to Hindu and Muslim population, they suggested a population of between 53 and 53·25 millions in 1941. The actual increase has however been much higher. This vitiates their claim that "the Muslim and Hindu equations imply that the point at which the rate of increase ceased to be successively greater than in previous decades was passed in about 1886 by the Muslims and 1812 by the Hindus who are now approaching a stationary population."[27] According to their calculation, the maximum population of Bengal will be 74 millions and it will be attained in 2063 A.D.

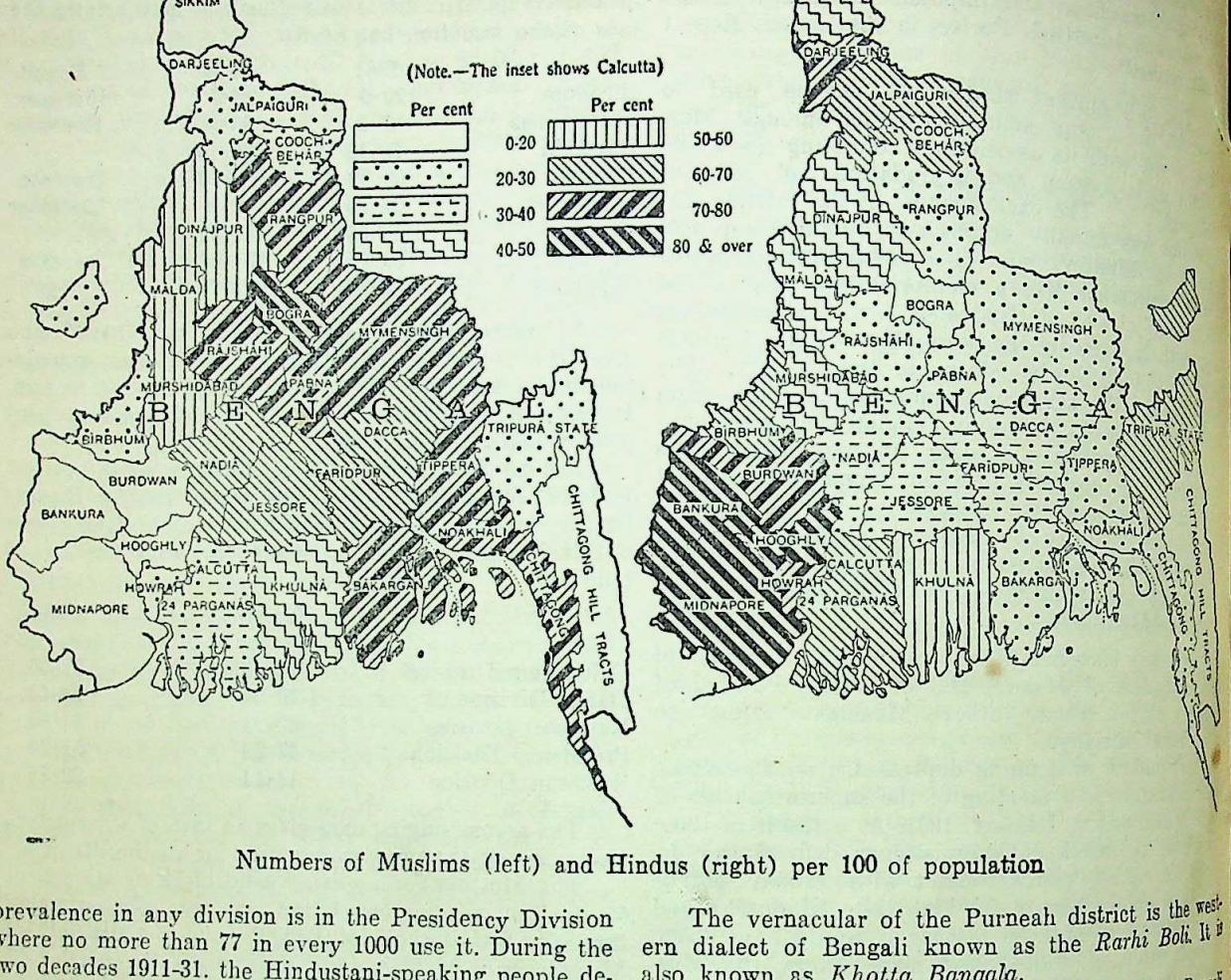
The Boundary of the Bengali Language

The Census Report for 1931, gives the number of people speaking Bengali as mothertongue in Bengal as 922·6 per thousand. The number speaking Hindustani as mothertongue is less than 4 per cent. Its greatest

24 *Census Report*, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 123.
25 *Ibid*, p. 497.
26 Nolan, *loco*, p. 79.
27 *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 41.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Numbers of Muslims (left) and Hindus (right) per 100 of population

prevalence in any division is in the Presidency Division where no more than 77 in every 1000 use it. During the two decades 1911-31. the Hindustani-speaking people decreased considerably and there was an increase in the number of those who speak Bengali.

The boundary of the Bengali language has been described by Risley in the following way :[28]

"North of the Ganges, the western boundary of Bengali may be taken as the River Mahananda in the east of the district of Purnea. South of the Ganges it reaches up to the foot of the Chota Nagpur plateaux. It covers the greater part of the district of Midnapur and the tract of Singhbhum which is known as Dhalbhum. To the east, it runs a short way up the Assam Valley, taking in about half the district of Goalpara and in Surma Valley, it covers the whole of Sylhet and Cachar.

"The lines of perpendicular cleavage drawn for dividing the language into dialects, affect only the colloquial form of Bengali. . . In western Bengal, the language has been affected by the neighbouring Bihari and we, also in the same locality, find some broken forms of speech employed by the Hill tribes. The principal of these is the Mal Paharia of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum which has hitherto been thought to be a Dravidian language. In Purnea the Bengali used is much mixed with the adjoining Maithili and Bihari, and the Kaithi character of Bihar is even used for recording the Bengali language."

The vernacular of the Purneah district is the western dialect of Bengali known as the *Rarhi Boli*. It is also known as *Khotta Bangala*.

Rakhaldas Banerjee, in his *Origin of the Bengali Script*, has shown that in the north-east, the Bengali alphabet was adopted in Assam. In many of the Inscriptions of the kings of Assam, Bengali characters have been exclusively used. In the south, the Bengali script was used throughout Orissa. The modern cursive Oriya script was developed out of the Bengali after the fourteenth century A.D. like the modern Assamese.

The language position of the four disputed districts is given as follows. The figures are taken from the Census of 1891 when they were within the administrative boundary of Bengal and were free from any political bias. Since 1921, systematic attempts to increase the number of Hindi-speaking people and to put down the Bengali-speaking have been noticed.

	Purneah	Santal Parganah	Singhbhum	Manbhum
Bengali	108,794	212,452	77,943	830,878
Hindi	17,38,506	702,796	13,588	109,781
Santali	..	588,120	32,292	100,047
Kol	..	7,244	194,296	13,463
Oriya	..	..	94,451	..
Total	18,48,687	15,68,093	453,775	10,53,228

Conclusion

From the foregoing data, we can come to the following broad conclusions :

28 *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 321-322.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(1) That the natural and historical boundary of Bengal includes the districts of Purnea, Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum on the west, and Sylhet on the east.

(2) That the linguistic boundary of Bengal includes this whole tract *plus* Goalpara and Cachar districts.

(3) That Hindus and Muslims of Bengal belong to the same racial stock; their social structure, including the caste system and social behaviour, and culture are basically the same.

(4) That the mothertongue of 92·2 per cent of the people of Bengal is Bengali showing that Hindus and Mlslims of this province belong to the same linguistic stock.

(5) That although the religions of the two communities are different, the religious observances of both of them are basically the same.

The rate of increase among the Muslim population is not uniform, it differs widely both in number and direction in different areas of the province. A study of the age groups for the two communities reveal that the Hindu population is neither decaying nor stationary, the increase of adult Hindu population is steady and definite. The Muslim birth-rate is higher but the death-rate is also higher thus leaving a lesser proportion of survivals.

Bengal can, therefore, rightfully claim that as the racial, linguistic and cultural affinities of her people, in spite of their religions being different, are the same, she must remain united. Her claim to a return of Purnea, Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum as also the inclusion of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara within her borders is rightful and just.

———:O:———

B. BISSOONDOYAL GOES TO JAIL

By S. BALGOBIN, *Mauritius*

The great ceremony (*Mahayajna*) held at Gandhi Maidan, Pouce Street, Port Louis, Mauritius, on the 12th of December, 1943, was too much for Mauritius. Laws were at once made to place restrictions in the Hindu meetings and processions which had, by that time, become far too frequent and popular to be "tolerated."

A series of prosecution directed against the central figure of the meetings, began. The newly-made law which meant the end of freedom of worship so far as Hindus went, required of the organisers a permit issued by the Commissioner of Police. Mr. B. Bissoondoyal took the position that in the case of religious meetings no permit was necessary. Cross-examined by him, a police witness stated that Christian priests were holding their meetings without any permission. The public saw that it was passing strange how the authorities had overlooked the fact that Christians had been sinning against the law. No doubt was left in the minds of justice-loving Mauritians as to the meaning of the anti-Hindu move. Hindu Mauritius had not so far proved so fertile a field for Christian missionary activities. Hence this manoeuvre to dragoon Hindus into obedience.

The attention arresting cases won for the accused the sympathy of countless Hindu and non-Hindu Mauritians coming from all the nine districts of the island. At the end of every sitting, he would be caught in the throngs that would raise the cry, "Pandit Vishnudayal Ki Jai!"

Impartial barristers were full of praise for our missionary. His command of English, Hindi, and French, his original way of putting things, his eloquence held some magistrates and the public spell-bound. But in spite of the able defence put up, he went to jail thrice in 1944.

The third time he was found guilty of having held an "illegal procession." Police witnesses knew that main roads had not been used, that the "procession" lasted for not more than ten minutes. A similar procession had been held earlier by the accused but it had not been found advisable to prosecute him. This time the letter of the law mattered much more than the spirit.



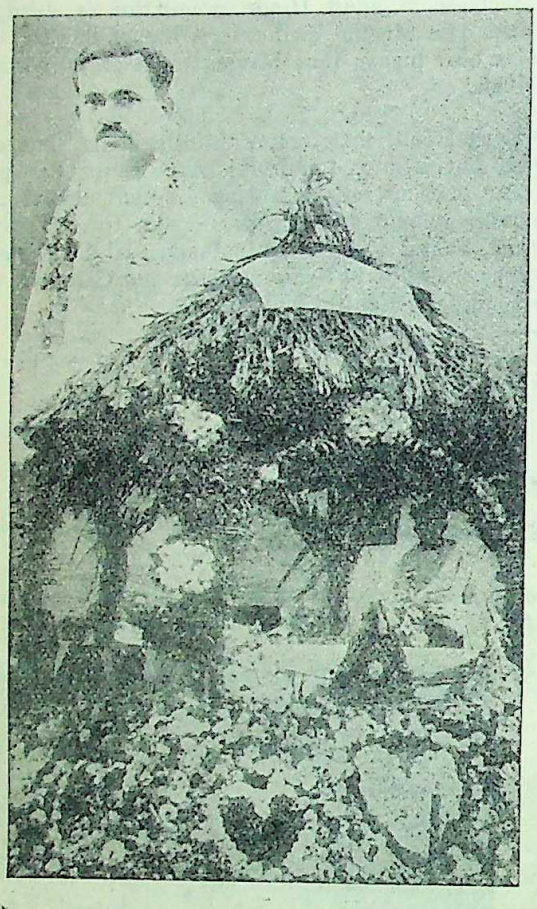
The heavily bearded prisoner
B. Bissoondoyal

The prosecution gave the show away. This is how it happened. The charge was not serious. To make up for

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection. Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the lack of gravity, a totally irrelevant matter was introduced. The words our missionary was supposed (by witnesses having more brawn than brain) to have uttered when the procession was long over, were considered



Reception at Creve Coeur

relevant to the case. Curiously enough, the judgment was based largely on those words ! Mr. B. Bissoondoyal was flung into gaol for twelve months. What is more astounding still, it was not a sentence of simple imprisonment that was pronounced.

The imprisonment made Lajpat Rai's *Young India* intelligible to his Mauritian readers. They say that they understand now how it came about that the young boys who "had flaunted rebel colours in mere sport" were tried and sentenced to death.

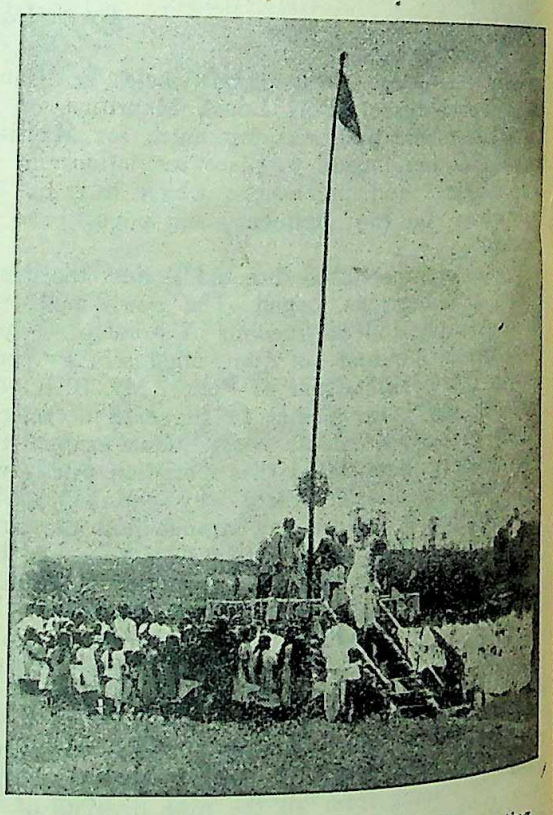
Mr. B. Bissoondoyal went to gaol on the 3rd of November, 1944. He had not been there more than twenty-five days, when the public had disquieting news about him. Hindus resolved to devote the whole day to prayer. They had already sent more than 10,000 letters of protest to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The country was in a melting pot. Hindus found unity in sorrow. The hot-tempered Governor was out of all patience. At a meeting of the Legislative Council, he made the following irresponsible statement :

"From my place in this Council I make an appeal and I issue a warning. The appeal is to those numerous good fellows who are following after false philosophies, who are endangering the future of themselves, their wives, their children.

"The warning is this : That my patience is wearing thin. British tolerance is known throughout the world and sometimes is the subject of criticism but there are limits even to the toleration of the Englishman, and when I see the fields unweeded, some places the cane uncut, when I hear of men sitting down for a whole day and doing no work because *some convicted person is enjoying a hunger strike in a jail,* then I say to myself that the public of this island must wake up to the reality of the dangers which threaten not so much the island as themselves."

The naked truth is that the accusation levelled against Mr. B. Bissoondoyal did not hold water. On being interviewed by a press representative, the then Superintendent of Prisons said that the missionary was not on strike. Nobody else was.

The cause of so much irritation was that the 28th of November, 1944, became a milestone in the history of Indians in Mauritius. It marked the beginning of *Satyagraha*. The even-tempered public had caught the spirit of Mahatmaji's *Satyagraha*. Hindus suffered on that day. They went without food and directed their thoughts to the Lord Almighty.



The "Om" flag has been hoisted at a meeting. Mr. B. Bissoondoyal is on his way back to his *gaddi*

Two independent editors upheld our dignity. Dr. Millien wrote in his paper *L'Oeuvre,* that it was unbecoming on the part of His Excellency the Governor to use the words he had used. Mr. Naudeer similarly retorted in his old daily *The New Era.*

Mauritius Hindus stood up bravely to difficult conditions. They did not shirk their duty. A missionary held a procession in December and was accordingly arrested. The barrister who appeared for him did not mince matters. He said that Mr. B. Bissoondoyal had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been persecuted and not prosecuted. Mr. Jules Koenig—so he is called—has made a name for his independent spirit. The Magistrate could not be left unimpressed. He pointed out in his historic judgment that :

"After the procession the accused addressed the meeting and *inter alia* stated that Bissoondoyal was



Reception at Mare D'Albert

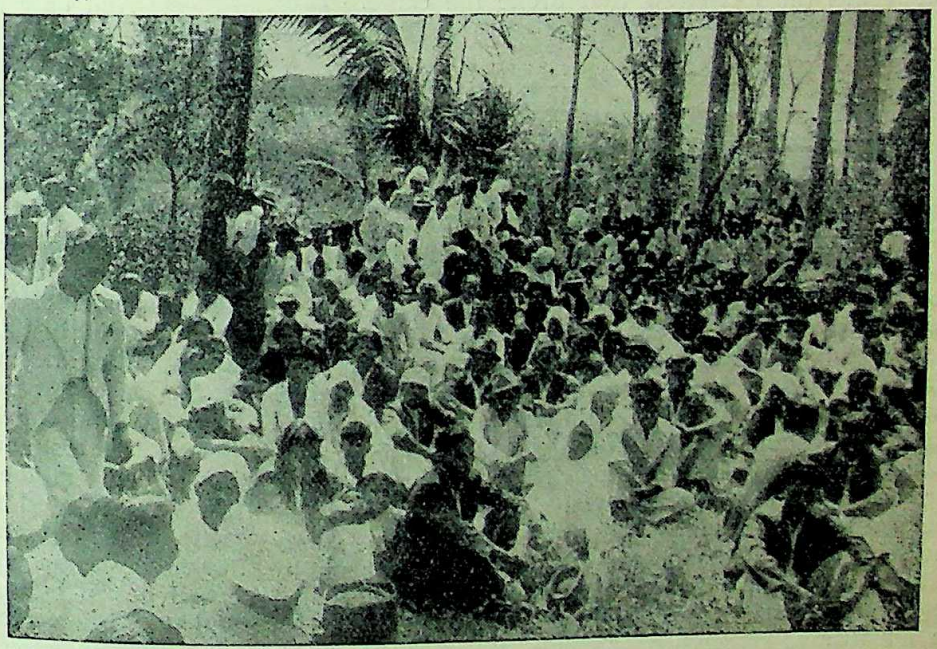
an innocent man who had been thrown into jail, that he (the accused) was ready to forfeit his liberty, nay, if need be, his life, in what he believed a just cause. Now I have no doubt in my mind that had not the accused talked in that strain, he would not have been prosecuted, in spite of his breach of the law.

"This case should be a lesson to the authorities : there should be no kow-towing to anybody with regard to such cases. If the authorities are determined that the law should not be *lettre morte* they should prosecute in each and every case that there is a contravention of the statute irrespective of creed or religious denomination. The courts will take good care to inflict nominal penalties in all deserving cases. Picking and choosing between offenders is neither a safe nor a reasonable policy."

Hindus were not to be daunted. On the 15th of April, 1945, some six missionaries held meetings and processions. It needs no argument to show that they subsequently met Mr. B. Bissoondoyal in the Port Louis Central Prisons. One of them fasted for fourteen days and another for ten. The minds of educated Indians turned to Jatindranath's epic fast. The tenacity of purpose shown by those ordinary missionaries led them to victory. They had to be served food in utensils fit for use.

Had not Mr. B. Bissoondoyal and other Hindu missionaries been set to prison they would not have seen with their own eyes that the discrimination against Hindus was a feature of the Prisons Department too. What they saw added point to the contention that Hindus were the helots of the country. Hindus had a separate kitchen ; they were allowed to go to their temple to worship their God. As one might expect, that temple is much inferior to the Christian Chapel that greeted Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's eyes when he found himself within the precincts of the Central Prisons. It is thus that another illustration of the anti-Hindu policy was drawn from a Government institution. Hindus had been arguing in huge petitions that they were not being properly treated. The The state of affairs in the prisons fortified that argument.

At last, the laws floated away like cloud wreaths on the horizon. There were, of course, some people who saw in the untimely abolition of the laws the operation of a cause that was altogether different from the real one. They said that because the laws had been made to meet the exigencies of the war, they were abolished. But they have yet to explain why the abolition came before the end of the war.



Reception at Mare D'Albert

Something more was achieved. One Captain Bell

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who had been spending seventeen years in Bengal and other parts of India, had an interview with the mighty prisoner. He then left for England. Some two months later, the people of Mauritius heard with some satisfaction that their country was on the eve of having a new constitution.



Dr. J. M. Cure, M.B., B.S. (Lond.)

Ever since 1885 leaders of all shades of opinion have been trying to get a new constitution. Dr. Cure, the founder of the Labour Party, is prominent among those who may be said to have obtained a measure of success. Be it said to the credit of the new movement that it was the last straw that broke the camel's back. The question of Indian representation is now much to the fore. The idea foremost in the Governor's mind at the time is the desirability of seeing a Mauritian who has undergone twelve months' penal servitude debarred from the right of standing for an election. Every trick that Government ingenuity can devise is being employed to favour those who have not lost their taste for British titles.

Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's imprisonment is one of the most important events in all Mauritian history. Our missionary is the first eminent Mauritian who has gone to jail. His arrest is the talk of the country to this day. Military and police had a competition as to which could best strike terror. The population could, on that memorable day, be easily led to believe that Mauritius was on the point of being attacked. The armoured cars that adorned the streets of Port Louis only excited Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's smile.

Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's countrymen are holding big receptions in his honour. He was released on the 18th of July. A loud speaker has been placed at his disposal on at least a dozen of occasions since that day. There are universal rejoicings. Mauritians are convinced that their children will live in the brilliance lit by the flames of the missionary's sufferings.

Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Darwin, Mark Twain and others have been bewitched by the picturesque scenery of the island of Mauritius. The inclemency of weather is for other shores. The Mauritian can roam wherever he likes without any fear of being attacked by ferocious lions and tigers. Mauritius can lay claim to the distinction of being a country,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

———:O:———

SIR UPENDRANATH BRAHMACHARI

By X

Sir Upendranath Brahmachari was born on 7th June, 1875, in Jamalpur, E. I. Ry. (Dt. Monghyr), where his father, the late Dr. Nilmoney Brahmachari spent the whole of his official career in the Medical Service of the Railway. Sir Upendranath took his B.A. degree from the Hooghly College in 1893 where he was awarded the Thwyates Medal for standing first in Honours in Mathematics. For some time he could not make up his mind whether he should go up for higher studies in mathematics, chemistry, or medicine. This thought continued for some time in his mind, even after entering upon his medical studies. Finally when he decided to study medicine with higher chemistry, he left Mathematics with a sigh. The combination of the knowledge of higher chemistry with medicine no doubt helped him in his future researches. During the course of his studies in the first year, he took his Master's Degree in Chemistry in 1894 from the Presidency College, Calcutta, in the first class, obtaining the University Medal. He passed the M.B. examination in 1898 standing first in Medicine and Surgery for which he obtained the Goodeve and McLeod's Medals. He passed the M.D. examination in 1902 and obtained the Ph.D. degree in Physiology in 1940 by his researches on *Haemolysis*.

Sir Upendranath entered the Provincial Medical Service in 1898. His versatile knowledge and intelligence attracted the attention of the professors of the Medical College of Bengal. For a short time he worked under Sir Gerald Bomford who regarded him as a living dictionary of medicine. He was so much impressed with young Brahmachari's capacity for research and assiduity in the discharge of his duties that he very soon got him appointed as Teacher of Pathology and Materia Medica in the Dacca Medical School. In Dacca he did researches with Sir Neil Campbell, Superintendent of the Medical School. Subsequently, he was appointed as a Lecturer in Medicine in the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta. He was elevated to this coveted post within a short period after entering into service. This post he occupied for nearly twenty years. He carried on most of his researches in kala-azar in the Campbell Medical School and it was here that he made his monumental discovery of *Urea Stibamine*. He retired from the Government Service in 1927 as a Physician in the Medical College Hospital of Bengal. He was for some time financed for his researches by the Indian Research Fund Association. It is creditable to him that all his researches after his retirement from service were carried on with his own private means without any financial aid from outside. Since retiring he had been carrying on researches in diseases such as, kala-azar, malaria, the chemistry and pharmacology of quinoline compounds, and other subjects.

Sir Upendranath has won for himself an international

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

reputation as a research worker. Early in his official career, he discovered in 1901 the prevalence of *quartan fever* in Bengal which was considered in those days to be extremely rare in India.

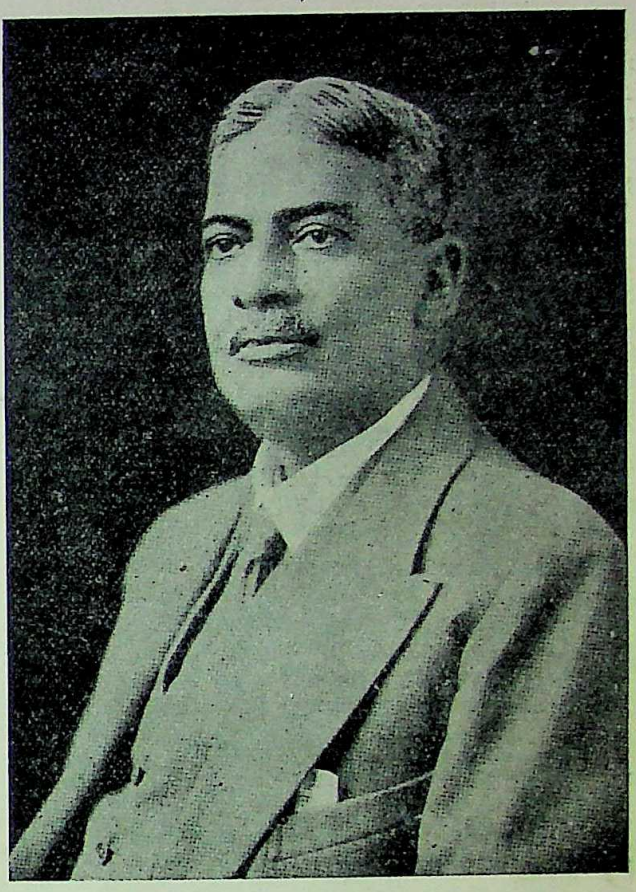
In the course of his researches in kala-azar he discovered *colloidal antimony* and showed its therapeutic value in the treatment of the disease. He was the first to use successfully antimony in a state of fine subdivision intravenously and of sodium antimonyl tartrate in the treatment of kala-azar. His subsequent researches in connection with the chemotherapy of antimonial compounds in kala-azar which formed the basis of all subsequent modern treatment of the disease are well-known.

In the course of his researches he drew attention to the remarkable undiscovered skin manifestation of the infection with Leishmania Donovani which was named by him *dermal leishmanoid*, a new tropical disease and which had been previously mistaken for leprosy.

Early in 1921 Sir Upendranath discovered an urea antimony compound for the treatment of kala-azar. Its introduction and his other researches on antimonial compounds opened up a new vista in the treatment of the disease by means of therapeutic organic antimonials, just as the discovery of salvarsan led to the introduction of organic arsenicals in the treatment of spirochaetal diseases. This urea compound was named *Urea Stibamine* which is the most outstanding discovery in recent times and which stands today pre-eminent in the treatment of a campaign against kala-azar and has deprived the disease of its terrors. Speaking on *Urea Stibamine* (1929), Sir Upendranath observed as follows in his Presidential Address at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal :

"I recall with joy that memorable night in the Calcutta Campbell Hospital at Sealdah where after a very hard day's work I found at about 10 o'clock in a little room with a smoky dimly burning lantern that the results of my experiments were up to my expectations. But I did not know then that Providence had put into my hands a wondrous thing and that this little thing would save the lives of millions of my fellowmen. I shall never forget that room where *Urea Stimamine* was discovered. The room where I had to labour for months without a gas point or a water tap and where I had to remain contented with an old kerosene lamp for my work at night, the room still remains but the signs of a laboratory in it have completely disappeared. To me it will ever remain a place of pilgrimage where the first light of *Urea Stibamine* dawned upon my mind. To-day *Urea Stibamine* stands pre-eminent in the treatment of kala-azar in India and as a powerful prophylactic against the disease and it is a matter of supreme satisfaction to me that the treatment evolved out of my research has removed the terrors of this distressing disease. It may be hoped that before long the disease will be completely banished from India and other parts of the world where it occurs—that will be the happiest and proudest day of my life if it falls to my lot to see it."

The Kala-azar Commission, India, used throughout the seven years of their existence, *Urea Stibamine* only, in the routine treatment of kala-azar. According to them the acute fulminating type characteristic of the peak period of an epidemic responded to treatment with *Urea Stibamine* extraordinarily promptly and with an almost dramatic cessation of fever, diminution in size of the spleen and return to normal condition of health. It may be expected that similar beneficial results will be obtained in other epidemics of the disease.



Dr. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari

The use of *Urea Stibamine* in an experimental scale was started by the Government of Assam from 1925. The results were so encouraging that it began to be used on a mass scale from 1928. For some time experiments with *Neostibosan* were conducted side by side with *Urea Stibamine*. The use of *Neostibosan* was subsequently discontinued. The Director of Public Health, Assam in his Annual Report for 1923, summarised the saving of lives by the use of *Urea Stibamine* as follows :

> "*Urea Stibamine* was our mainstay in the treatment of kala-azar. Since 1933, when reliable figures for the disease first became available to the end of the year under report, no less than 3,28,591 persons have been brought under treatment. *It is no exaggeration to say that approximately 3·25 lacs of valuable lives have been saved to the Province.*

Sir John Kerr, once Governor of Assam, in his farewell address to the Assam Legislative Council referring to the value of *Urea Stibamine* stated that,

> "The progress in the campaign against kala-azar in Assam has been phenomenally rapid and if it continues at the present rate there is an excellent prospect of the dread scourge being brought under complete control in a few years."

Such a great service to humanity, as the stamping out of kala-azar resulting in the saving of millions of lives, have ultimately been recognised all over the world.

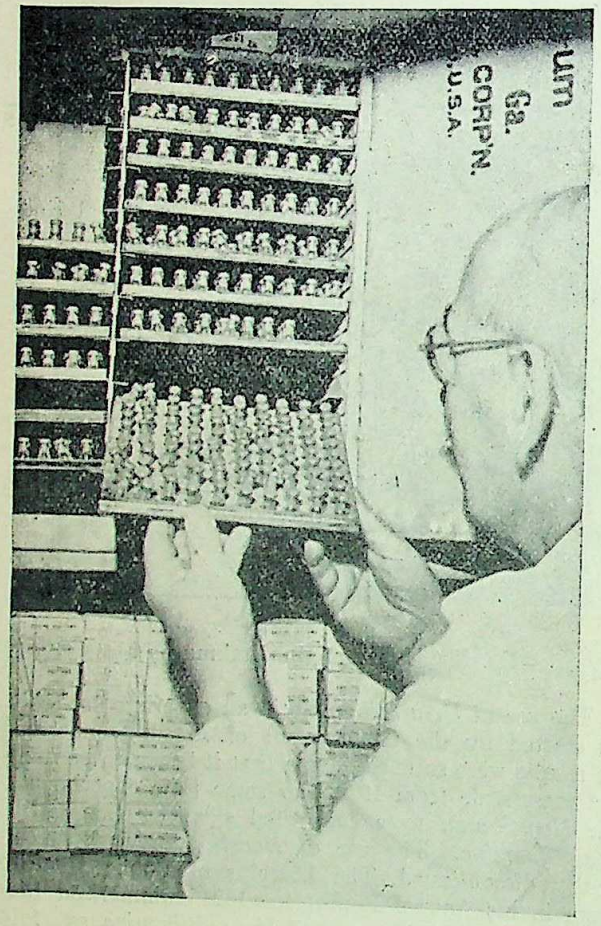
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HEALTH IN A U. S. CITY

A Serum and Vaccine Farm

In a typical year the New York Health Department distributes more than 700,000 items of vaccines and serums to immunize the city's millions against disease, and cure the sick. This is one of the chief factors in producing the very low mortality rate of New York City among the great metropolises of the world.

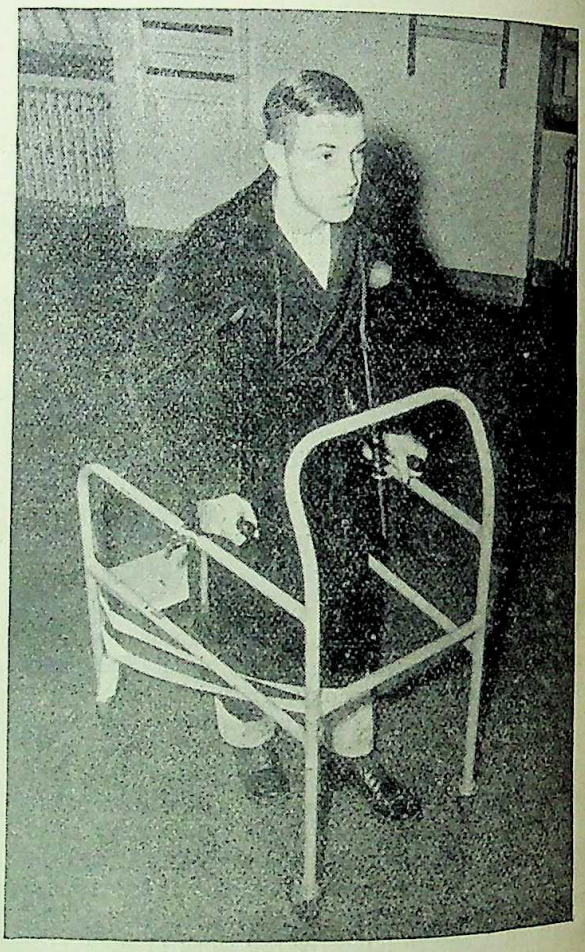


A tray of small bottles containing smallpox vaccine is being removed by a bacteriologist from a refrigerator

The bulk of the city's output of vaccines and serums is produced at a farm maintained by the municipal government at Otisville, in the southern part of New York State. Consisting of 200 acres, the farm is staffed with biologists, veterinaries, laboratory technicians, farmers and labourers for the maintenance of several thousand mice, rats and rabbits, a few hundred guinea pigs, a herd of sheep and from 50 to 100 horses.

These animals are used for testing preventive agents and in themselves constitute a factory for making serums and vaccines. In general the principles of manufacture is that an animal is inoculated with germs of a disease prevalent among human beings. Then the animal's blood begins to manufacture what are known as "antibodies" to fight off the disease. Some blood of the animal then is drawn off and the antibodies it contains are applied to human beings threatened with the disease, the antibodies were designed to triumph over in the body of the animal.

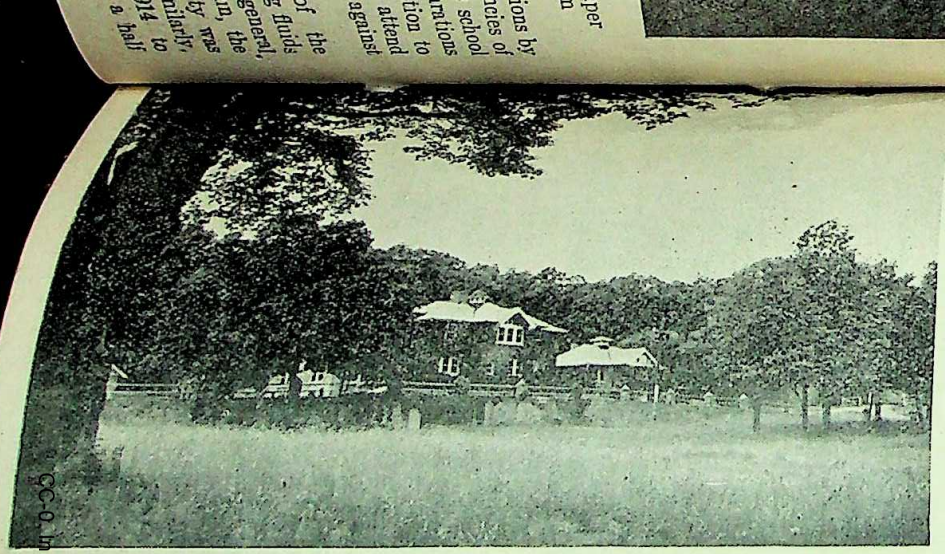
Among the most important products of the serum farm are smallpox vaccine, tetanus antitoxin, diphtheria antitoxin, rabies vaccine, typhoid fever vaccine and typing serums for streptococcal infections. Distribution is carried out mainly through 450 drug stores scattered over the city, designated as Board of Health stations by the municipality's medical authorities. Other agencies of distribution are Child Health stations for public school children. A nominal charge is made for the preparations but they are free if the patient is not in a position to pay. The law in New York is that no child may attend public school without having been vaccinated against smallpox.



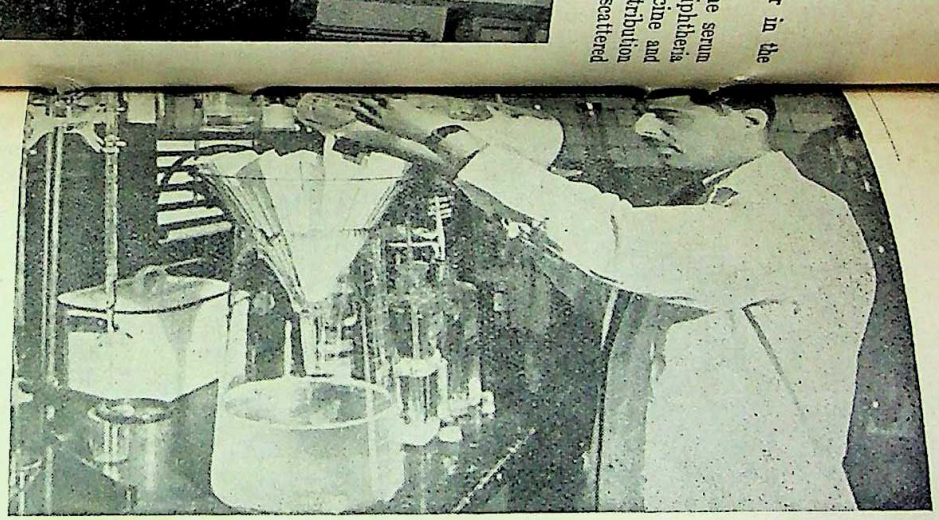
A convalescing U.S. soldier uses a Comper Walker to help him regain his equilibrium

One of the most dramatic demonstration of the results of this wide distribution of health guarding fluids is shown by figures on diphtheria. In 1914, before general, distribution of preventive agents had fairly begun, the number of cases of diphtheria in New York City was 17,129. In 1942, the figure had dropped to 392. Similarly, the number of deaths dropped from 1,491 in 1914 to seven in 1942—seven in a city of seven and a half millions.

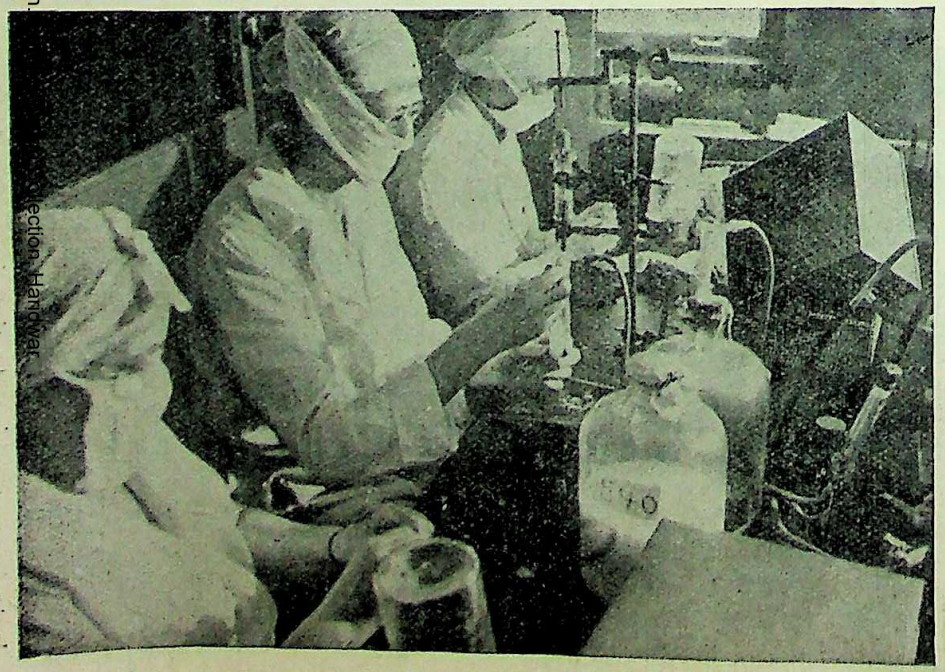
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



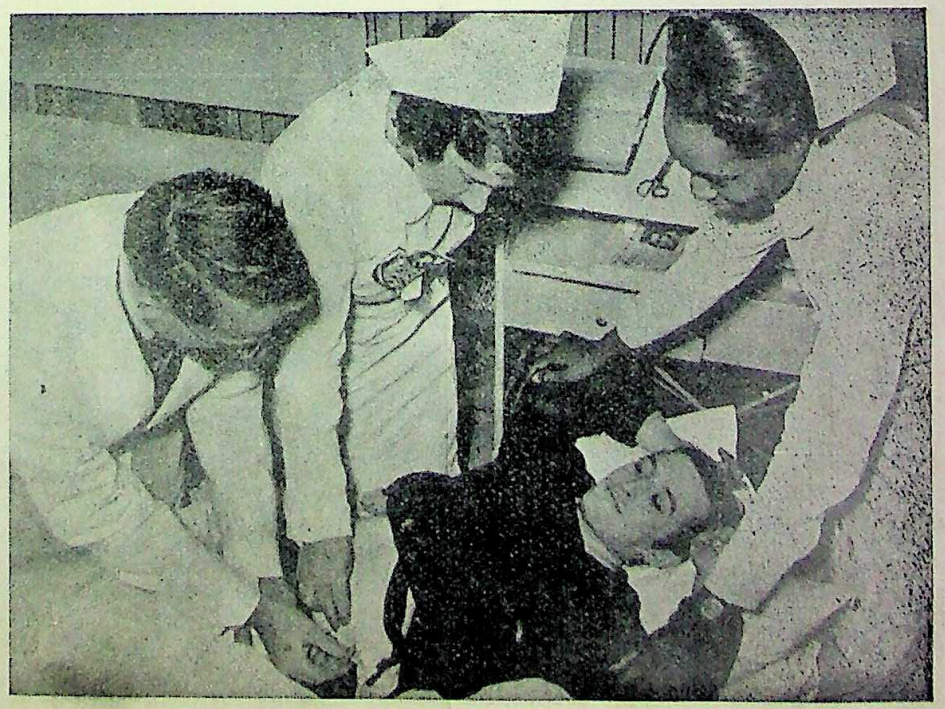
In the southern New York State countryside at Otisville this farm is continually manufacturing vaccines and serums for free distribution among the city's millions



A technician in the laboratories of the New York City Department of Health is refining the crude serum supplied by the city's serum and vaccine farm at Otisville



Technicians in the laboratories in the New York City Department of Health pack and label a consignment of rabies vaccine for distribution to physicians



At one of the public health agencies maintained by the New York City Department of Health a patient is getting an injection to safeguard him against the development of rabies

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since smallpox vaccine has been made available to residents everywhere in New York a case of smallpox has become such a rarity that reporting one would make front-page news, while a death from smallpox would be sensational news. Several years ago the isolation of an immigrant afflicted with smallpox drew hundreds of physicians and medical students to inspect the patient as a matter of clinical curiosity.

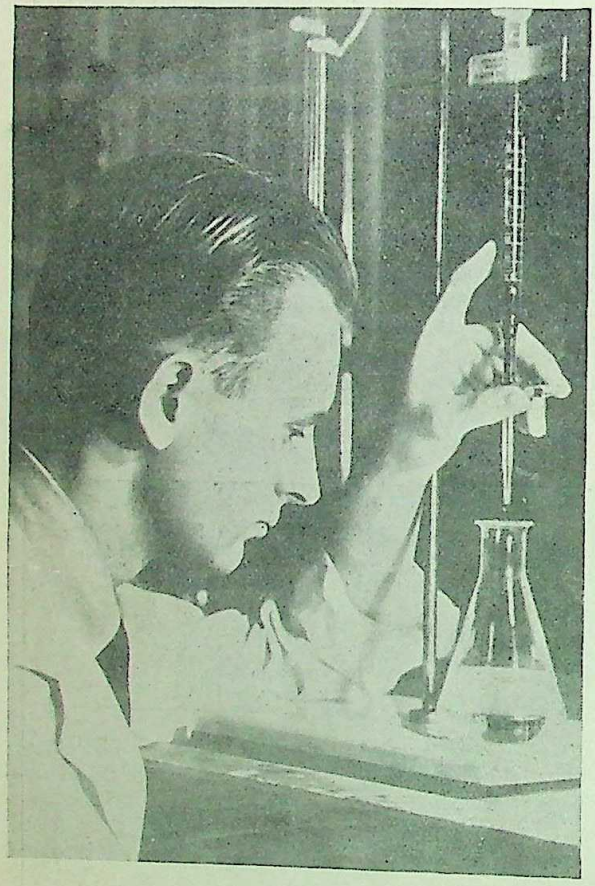
As a matter of fact, preventable epidemics of any kind are a rarity in New York City today and the incidence figures on all ailments are low due to the vigilance of the city's medical authorities.

How Cancer is Checked in the U. S.

American medical science has made great progress in the last fifty years in the discovery of the causes and cures of many of the diseases to which the people of the United States and others the world over are subject. As a result the incidence of many of these diseases has been greatly reduced and those which still baffles scientists loom higher on the list of killers than they once did. Cancer now ranks as the second cause of death in the United States; 25 years ago it stood seventh. At least 165,000 Americans die of the disease each year. The apparent increase in the danger of cancer is at least partly due to the growing control of other leading diseases, the improved methods of diagnosis which now indicate cancer as the cause of deaths which once would have been veiled in mystery, and the lengthening life span which makes it possible for more people to become subject to the disease.

The chances for cure of cancers discovered in an early stage of development are 80 per cent to 85 per cent for cancer of the uterus, 90 per cent to 100 per cent for skin cancer, and in general 70 per cent to 80 per cent of all early cancer if promptly treated.

Cancer is the uncontrolled growth of cells in the body which multiply in unlimited numbers at the expense of normal body cell, robbing them of blood and food supply. Travelling by way of the blood or lymph they may invade parts of the body and start new growths there, a process known as metastasis. Any abnormal growth of tissue in the body is called a tumor. Cancer is a malignant tumor because the cells never stop multiplying and spreading. Sometimes tumors which were originally an abnormal growth of tissue become malignant and begin to grow rapidly, although malignant cells have never been known to become benign.



A chemist works on an experiment at the National Cancer Institute



The radium treatment of cancer

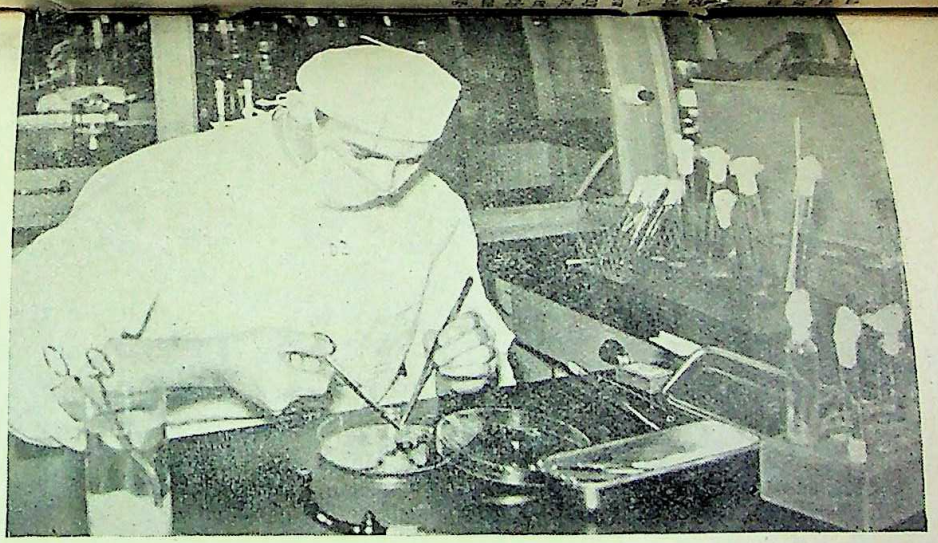
The cause of cancer is not yet known. It is neither infectious nor contagious; there is no danger of catching it from any kind of contact. Whether the disease may be inherited is not yet clear, although it seems possible that a tendency of certain tissues or organs to become cancerous may be inheritable.

Although the specific causes of cancer have not yet been discovered certain factors have been isolated which are so frequently associated with the growth of malignant tumor that they are believed to contribute to their development. Age is an important predisposing condition. Cancer is essentially a disease of middle and advancing age, although children may be affected. Warts and moles, chronic inflammatory conditions, dry scaly

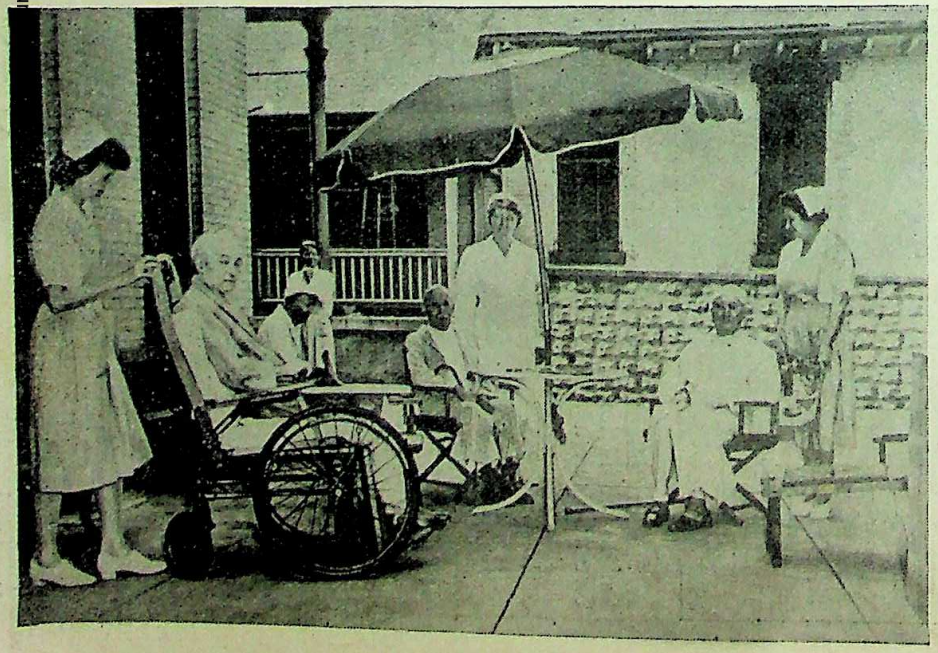
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



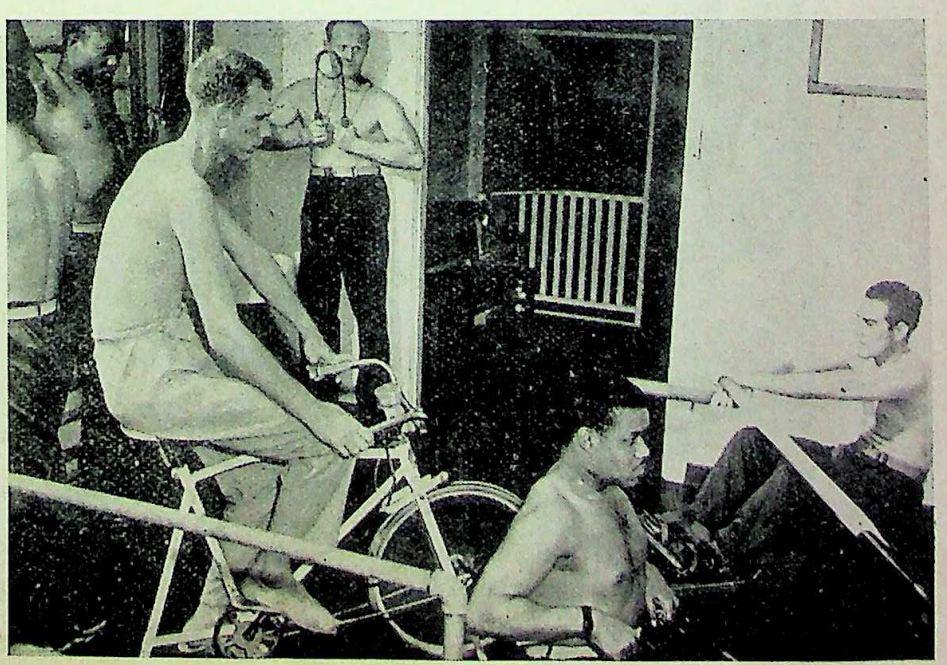
New York City school children line up at a Child Health Station for inoculation against disease



Tissue culture work at the National Cancer Institute



Patients on the porch at the Welfare Island Hospital in New York



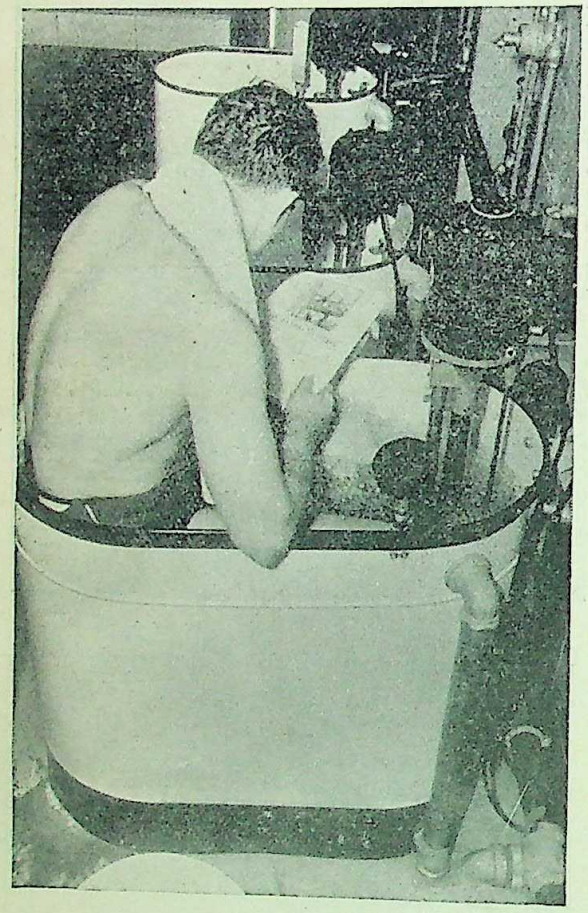
Wounded U.S' soldiers use gymnasium apparatus for exercises that will strengthen their bodies

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

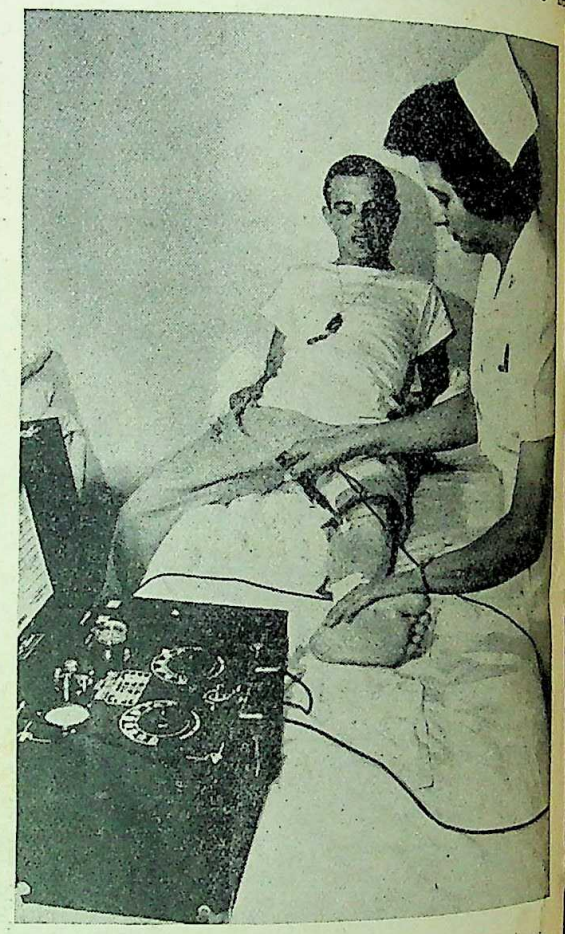
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

patches and white patches on the skin, and persistent sores or ulcers are frequently considered "pre-cancerous" because they may develop into cancers if not corrected. Chronic mechanical, thermal or chemical irritation are recognized as being definite predisposing causes of many cancers since they are so often associated with the development of the disease. A single blow or injury rarely causes cancer though it may sometimes serve to attract attention to a tumor previously unnoticed, or may stimulate a small cancer to active growth.



A soldier-patient sits in the whirlpool tub, in which the action of the water agitated by an electric current stimulates the blood circulation of his legs



A nurse of the physiotherapy department at Bushnell General Hospital uses an electrical device to activate the stiffened muscles of this soldier's wounded leg

Very often a combination of several irritating factors is found to have contributed to cancerous growth. In the case of the pipe smoker, for example, there is mechanical irritation from the pipe stem, thermal, or heat irritation, and chemical irritation from the tobacco. Cancer of the lip or the mouth often results. Certain types of occupations may expose workers to the disease. Pitch, asphalts, paraffin, the tar of chimney soot, arsenical drugs have all been found to have contributed to the growth of cancers.

Keeping the body clean helps prevent cancer since dirt tends to act as a skin irritant. Foods that irritate the digestive organs should be avoided. Such irritation may be caused by food eaten without sufficient chewing, food that is too hot. General mouth hygiene is also considered an anti-cancer precaution since bad teeth may cause chronic irritation of the lips and tongue.

Although much remains to be learned about the disease, cancer in its early stages is curable. The prompt complete removal of a cancer will check the spread of the disease throughout the body. The only effective means of curing cancer are surgery and destruction by X-ray and radium, the form of treatment depending upon the nature of the cancer. Injections of drugs and serums have been tried from time to time and up to the present proven to be worthless. Salves and other home remedies do not completely destroy the cancer and cause the patient to waste valuable time before he receives adequate treatment. These remedies may even stimulate cancer cells to further activity.

Pain from cancer is usually a late symptom. Various types of cancers make themselves known in various ways, and the following are danger signals which often indicate the presence of the disease :

1) any sore that does not heal, particularly about the tongue, mouth or lips ;
2) a painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip or tongue ;
3) irregular bleeding or discharge from the nipple or any natural body opening ;
4) progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark ;
5) persistent indigestion ;
6) persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing ;
7) any change in normal bowel habits.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The American Society for the control of cancer was founded in 1913 to educate the public about the disease as a means of controlling it. The Society chose as its symbol a flaming sword, entwined in caduces, and as its slogan "Fight Cancer With Knowledge." Both are now familiar throughout the United States of America.

Physiotherapy Brings New Life to U.S. Wounded

Physiotherapy is now used in all U.S. Army General Hospitals.

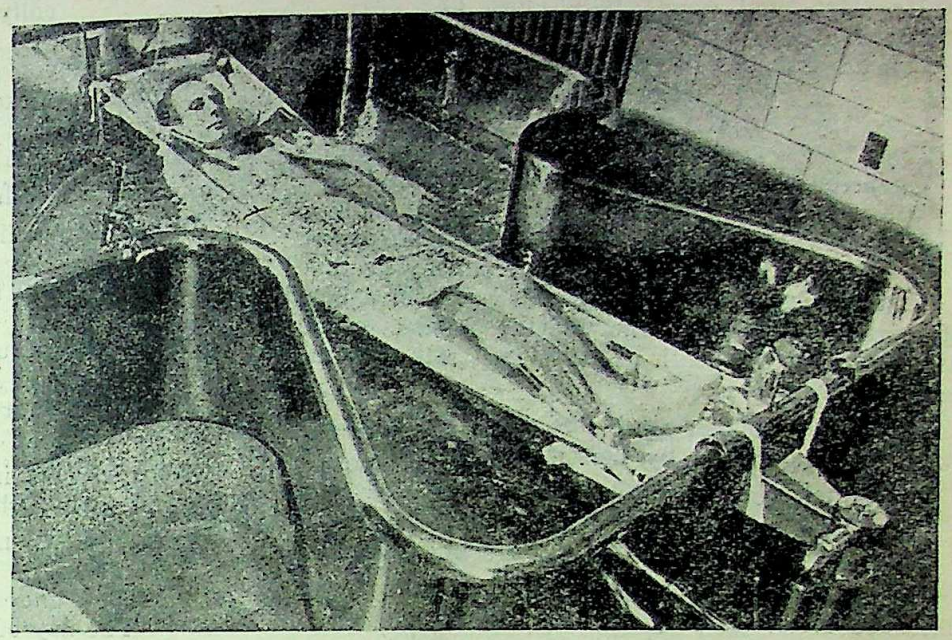
Nineteen of these specialize in treatment of amputees, neurosurgical and neurological cases, which constitute the large number of war injuries, the U.S. Surgeon General's office reported.

Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah, is typical of specialization centers where physiotherapy is an important phase of the treatment in these cases. The physical section there is under direction of a medical officer who is assisted by qualified physical therapists. In addition to the usual departmental activities, a training course for student physical therapists, approved by the American Medical Association, is conducted.

Daily instruction in exercise is a routine practce in all general hospitals. When patients are able to report to the physical therapy clinic, the exercise program, conducted in groups, is graduated and augmented by instruction in balance and walking. Bandaging of stumps is another responsibility of the physical therapy section.

Patients with cord and head injuries are usually treated in the wards. Head injury cases receive specialized exercise instruction directed toward increasing range and speed of motion, and is confined to an arc not producing a "stretch reflex." Instruction in walking and common activities are included. Cord injury cases, in addition, receive radiant heat and massage as tolerated.

Patients with peripheral nerve injury receive some form of heat, massage, reeducational exercise and daily electrical stimulation. Before going on furlough, patients are instructed in exercise programs and self-massage.—*USIS.*



The Hubbard Tub makes it possible for weakened patients to exercise, after limbs have been made buoyant by the action of the water

———:O:———

ROYAL MOGHUL POETESSES

By RATTAN LAL KHANNA, M.A., J.D.

"Music when soft voices die
Vibrates in the memory."—*Shelley*

The literary history of the Moghul era is starred with the names of many royal poetesses who put forth blossoms of rich and varied hues and aromas. Fates have been cruel to their work. Much the most of it has perished; but a precious little has been kept 'from the dew and dust of time.' It has in it an abundance of the freshest flowers of a delicate perfume which once breathed will haunt the memory for ever.

Gulbadan Begum and Gulchaira Begum

Babar's two daughters, Gulbadan Begum and Gulchaira Begum, were gifted poetesses. Their work has perished. The following is the only couplet which gives us a taste of the quality of Gulbadan's poetry:

Every fairy-faced beauty who is not intimate with her lover,
She is not gathering life's rose-buds—you may be sure of that.

Evidently she was of a romantic temper. Her poetry has an epicurean colouring. The same tone characterizes the only extant couplet of her sister Gulchaira:

The saucy sweetheart with rosy cheeks is never without (my) rivals,
Truly there are no roses without thorns in the world!

Jahanara

Emperor Shajahan's beloved daughter Jahanara sings in a different key. She is pre-eminently a religious poetess. Her poetry like that of Christiana Rossetti breathes a fervour of faith. She chants hymns with a burning zeal:

Where there is the perfection of Thy glory
The whole universe is a drop from the ocean of Thy munificence.
How dare we sing Thy praises?
Only Thy praise is worthy of Thee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When Shajahan died, she composed an elegy on him. The elegy throbs with pathos. Here are a few verses :

O my sun that hath set !
Was thy night of separation also like day-break ?
O ! the Emperor of the world, O ! the *Qibla* of the universe !
Open thy eyes of mercy and cast a glance at my plight,
On account of my anguish my condition is pitiable,
In sorrow I am like a candle and smoke rises from my head.

In this elegy we hear the lyrical cry from a bleeding heart of a daughter, who was the model of filial duty, mourning the death of her august father in most tragic circumstances.

On the slab of her marble tomb at Delhi, the following couplet written by herself is inscribed :

Let no one cover my tomb except with verdure
Since grass suffices for the tomb-cover of a poor creature like myself.

The modest tone of this couplet reminds us of Christiana Rossetti's song :

When I am dead, my dearest,
Sing no sad songs for me.
Plant thou no roses at my head
Nor a shady cypress tree.
Be the green grass above me
With showers and dew-drops wet,
And if thou wilt remember
And if thou wilt forget.

The tomb of Jahanara has no roof interposing itself between the showers and dew-drops on the one hand and the green grass over her on the other.

Nurjahan

Rupert Brooke has said that there are only three things in the world : one is to read poetry ; another is to write poetry, and the best of all is to live poetry. Nurjahan lived poetry ; she read poetry with a connoisseur's palate, and she wrote poetry of moving lyricism.

Like Mrs. Browning's her poetry excels in the romanticism of emotions. It vibrates with lyrical cry or lyrical ecstasy. Like Mrs. Browning, again she abundons herself to emotion or unrestrained passion when feeling is at its highest pitch and thus creates the song of the heart. The following couplet throbs with the agony of love :

I am a spark; I am a flame; I am a scar; I am a piece of roasted meat ; I am a manifestation of light.
I am quivering lightning ; I am perturbation and the pulse of the sick.

Her poetry shows psychological insight :

If the zephyr of the garden opens up a bud ;
The key of the lock of our heart is the smile of the beloved.

She sings of the pangs of the love-lorn :

If I were to reveal the fire of love ; it will blight the flower in the garden.
If I were to weep in my privacy, the candle of the assembly will be consumed.

Her passion is as fiery as it is authentic :

The agony of your love has melted my heart into water,
The dust that remained of me became the collyrium of the eye of the bubble.

Again :

I invoked you and set fire to my heart
I am a fire like the candle at my own heart and tongue.

Here is a fine example of narcissism in poetry—beauty in love with itself :

When I unveil my face the rose begins to seek refuge,
If I comb my tresses there springs up a cry of "help" from the hyacinth.
With this beauty and charm when I pass through the garden,
From the hearts of the nightingales arises a chorus of felicitations !

With a belief in the doctrine of "carpe diem" it is no wonder that she ridicules strait-laced ascetics :

O ascetic ! do not fill our hearts with the terror of doomsday.
We have undergone the dread of separation—
The day of resurrection is full well known !

It is clear that she is gifted with a rich and delicate imagination. She sings unbidden, because she must. Her poetry is nothing but the outgoings of her heart. The following verses inscribed on her tomb at Lahore were composed by herself :

On the tomb of a humble creature like myself let there be no lamp nor rose.
(So that) no wing of the moth may burn ; and no nightingale lament.

Her desolate tomb and the inscription it bears, are a commentary of the vanity of human glory.

Zeb-un-Nisa

Last but the most brilliant star of the galaxy of the royal Moghul poetesses is Zeb-un-Nisa. She is the celebrated daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Her life was a tragedy of frustrated love. Her lyricism displays the spectacle of a sorely bleeding heart :

. . . a high born maiden
In her palace tower
Soothed her love-laden soul in secret hour
With music sweet as love which overflowed her bower.

The following lyric is as sad as it is wistful :

O idle arms !
Never the lost beloved have ye caressed:
Better that ye were broken than like this
Empty and cold eternally to rest.
O useless eyes !
Never the lost beloved for all these years
Have ye beheld, better that ye were blind
Than dimmed thus by unavailing tears.
O foolish springs !
That bring not the beloved to my abode :
Yes all the friends of youth have gone from me,
E'en so his appointed road.
O fading rose,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dying unseen as hidden thou wert born
So my heart's blossom fallen in the dust
Was never destined his turban to adorn.

Her heart was aflame with passion which was to remain unquenched :

My heart is hot within me, nay has burnt
In flames of love ; the while
So fierce that like a drop to quench my thirst
Was the river of Nile.

In the following verses she gives a picture of the agony of disappointed love :

O blessed pain !
O precious grief I keep and sweet unrest,
Desire that dies not, longing past control
My heart is torn to pieces in my breast
And for the shining diamond of the soul
In vain I pine.

Pessimism emanates from her poetry like a bitter essence. It is coloured by her own despair which leads her to fatalism and finally to mystic resignation :

Night after endless night
I sat in lonely grief remembering thee
Tears trickled into my disconsolate heart
How long have I in striving to be free
Broken my bleeding nails but never quite
Untied the knot of Fate.

Again :

Foundered by bark of life
Vainly on the sea of despair,
I ventured out seeking the tranquil shore
And the beloved. No further can I dare
I bow to fate. I turn me from the strife
I scheme no more.
Often she clothed her feeling in mystic imagery.

But she was an epicurean to the core :

Four things are necessary for happiness :
Wine and flowers, a running stream and the
face of the beloved.

These royal poetesses sang like spring songsters in language as naive as it is spontaneous. Their poetry has charm, sincerity and personality. They are conscious of the power of song and wine and of beauty which gives "grace and truth to life's unquiet dream."

———:O:———

THE STORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF PLASTICS

By M. A. AZAM,

Industrial Chemist and Plastics Engineer (U.S.A.)

It all started with billiard balls. They were made from ivory which was becoming scarce. In 1868 a U.S. firm, Phellan and Collander Company, declared a prize of $10,000 (or about Rs. 35,000 at the present rate of exchange) for a substitute. This aroused the imagination and aspirations of a twenty-six-year old journeyman printer—John Wesley Hyatt—from Albany, New York, resulting in the discovery of celluloid, the first plastic. During the same period Alexander Parkes of Birmingham was also experimenting with nitrocellulose compounds to produce 'synthetic horn'. Celluloid sheets, rods and tubes in commercial quantities were not, however, available before 1875.

Cellulose derived from wood or cotton is the basic raw material for celluloid. Cellulose is treated with nitric and sulphuric acids. Cellulose nitrate thus obtained is kneaded with camphor and the dough-like mass which can be pigmented is made into sheets, rods and tubes which have found innumerable applications. They are used, as for example, in making pen and pencil barrels, drawing instruments, tool handles, etc.

Celluloid is easily inflamable. To eliminate this undesirable property scientists developed a related compound, cellulose acetate. Gradually, other members, such as, cellulose acetate-butyrate and ethyl cellulose added to the family of cellulose plastics.

The casein plastics were developed in 1897 through the efforts of W. Krische, a printer in Hanover and Prof. Adolph Spitteler of Prien in Bavaria. They were both trying to produce a hardened and waterproof surface with casein solution treated with formaldehyde. The plastic product was marketed in about 1904. Casein obtained from skim milk is thoroughly kneaded with water, alum and colouring matter and then formed into sheets, rods and tubes by suitable presses and extrusion devices. The formed pieces are then hardened by treatment with formaldehyde.

Casein plastics are widely used in the manufacture of buttons but their application is limited due to the difficulty in moulding the material and the comparatively high coefficient of water absorption of the finished articles.

History was in the making when, in 1871, Bayer had first observed the phenomenon of resin formation resulting from the condensation of phenol with formaldehyde. No particular significance was attached to the dark sticky mass thus obtained. It remained for Dr. Leo Bakeland, a Belgian chemist who lived in Yonkers, New York, to work out in 1909 a satisfactory formulation for phenolic moulding compound known, after his name, as Bakelite. Dr. Bakeland was looking for a substitute for shellac which was in a great demand for the manufacture of phonograph records. Unfortunately, Bakelite is not suitable for the purpose that led to its discovery as the material cannot be re-melted like shellac ; but the potentiality of the new plastic composition was quickly recognised and it soon found many applications in the electrical and automotive industries. Now-a-days, Bakelite of which telephone receivers, switch cups, ash trays, etc., are made is known in almost every household. Bakelite has other trade names, such as, Resinox, Durez, Textolite, etc.

Because of the inherent characteristics of the chemicals, fillers and other ingredients used in the phenol-formaldehyde (Bakelite) moulding powders it is not usually possible to get transparent or light colours with them. Urea, most important material chemically related to Bakelite but admitting of a wide assortment

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of colours including many of the delicate pastel shades is urea-formaldehyde. As early as 1897, a German chemist had discovered a resinous product from the reaction of urea with formaldehyde but it was not before 1924 that the compound could be commercially developed. By this time, low cost synthetic urea was made available from the firm of I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G. The foresightedness of H. D. Bennet, President, Toledo Scales Co., Toledo, Ohio, who sponsored several fellowship on plastics research at the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, Pittsburg, Pa., and the pioneering efforts of Dr. John and Dr. Pollack were really responsible for the success of the urea moulding compounds. The history of urea is, in a way, the history of plastics and traced back to 1828 when Wohler, a German scientist, synthesized the chemical, the first organic compound from inorganic sources. The ground work for the synthetic industry of organic plastics was thus unwittingly laid.

Urea plastics are popular for scale and radio housings, display units and luminaries for lighting fixtures, etc. Some of the popular trade names are Beetle, Plaskon, Formica, etc.

The Vinyl plastics became commercially known by 1929. Regnault, in 1838, first observed the formation of a white precipitate when sealed tubes of vinyl chloride were exposed to sunlight. This and similar other phenomena were closely studied by Wislicensus and Claisen. But as in other cases there was a gap, in this case of about a century, between the test tube and the production plant. Thanks to the works of Dr. F. W. Skirrow, an Englishman and Staudinger, a German who vastly contributed to the development of the Vinyl plastics which sell under trade names Vinylite, Koroseal, Vinyon, Saran, etc., and are used in transparent wearing apparel, waterproofing fabric, seat covers and the like.

Polystyrene, a member of the vinyl group of plastics (Trade names : Lustron, Styron, etc.) was little known in industry before 1938, although styrene, the monomer is one of the oldest synthetic resins being first produced in 1831. Berthelot in course of his classical researches on pyrolytic reactions during 1866-1868 synthesized styrene by the thermal decomposition of ethyl benzene, which method is industrially employed even to this day. Polystyrene is recognized as an excellent insulating medium for high-frequency radio equipment and similar apparatus where dielectric properties are of primary importance. It has some other highly desirable characteristics such has, lightness, resistance to acid and alkalis, high index of refraction and a pleasing metallic sound. Polystyrene is very popular as a material for hair combs, bottle caps, electrical parts, etc.

Acrylic acid was first prepared by Redtenbachen in 1843. Otto Rohm and Bauer of Germany investigated into the commercial possibilities of a resin based on this compound. In 1927 Bauer's method was successfully employed to produce a quantity of methyl acrylate resin. By 1931-32, the Rohm & Haas Company began production of the plastics on a large scale. Polymethyl methacrylate is the name of the new plastics—popularly known as Plexiglas, Lucite, Perspex and Diakon. They are noted for their ideal optical properties being crystal clear and very stable in outdoor exposures. These, as such, are used in bomber noses and aeroplane cockpit housings. They also make attractive displays in cocktail lounges, novelties, jewelry, transparent furniture, etc.

All the above plastics fall in two principal categories, namely, the *thermoplastic* materials which may be softened by heat and re-moulded again and again. The cellulose and the Vinyl plastics including Polystyrene and Acrylic types belong to this group. The phenolic and the Urea plastics are distinguished as *thermosetting* materials because of their property of being set to an infusible and insoluble solid on the application of heat—imparting to the product a more or less permanent form which cannot be melted again for remoulding. More nearly related to the thermplastics, though not strictly classified as such, are the Casein plastics.

The number of plastics is legion. The following interesting chronology of the best known and well-established plastics is taken from Simond's *Industrial Plastics*. Within the brief span of a little over half a century the plastic industry in the U.S.A. alone totalled an output worth over 150 crores of rupees. Before the war, in 1937, the *per capita* consumption of plastics of the three great plastics producing countries was as follows :

Great Britain	1·10 lb.
U.S.A.	1·45 lb.
Germany	1·50 lb.

In 1945, the *per capita* consumption in the U.S.A. was about 6 lbs. The plastics industry marches on !

Chronology of Plastics

1875 Celluloid—Sheets, tubes, rods.
1904 Casein—Thick sheets, rods.
1909 Phenol-formaldehyde (Bakelite)—Castings.
1911 Cellulose acetate—Sheets, tubes, rods.
1919 Vinyl acetate polymers—Adhesives.
1922 Phenol-formaldehyde—Laminated sheets.
1924 Phenol-formaldehyde—Moulding powders.
1924 Urea-formaldehyde—Cast forms.
1929 Urea-formaldehyde—Moulding powders.
1929 Modified vinyl acetate—Powders, sheets and films.
1931 Acrylic esters—Castings, mouldings.
1931 Urea-formaldehyde—Laminating sheets.
1931 Phenol-formaldehyde—Modified cast resins.
1932 Methacrylic esters—Castings, mouldings.
1933 Vinyl benzene—Moulding powders.
1933 Cellulose acetate—Injection moulding powders.
1933 Benzyl cellulose—Sheets, rods, tubes.
1934 Celluloid and cellulose acetate—Continuous extruded sheets.
1935 Vinyl chloride polymers and mixed polymers—Sheets, rods, powders, film.
1936 Phenol-formaldehyde—Extruded tubes.
1936 Ethyl cellulose—Sheets and powders.
1938 Casein—Moulding powders.
1939 Cellulose acetate-butyrate—Moulding powders.
1940 Melamine—Moulding powders.
1941 Vinylidene chloride—Extruded strips.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDONESIA

The Land of Promise

By P. MADHAVAN NAIR, B.A.

South-east of the Malay Peninsula lies one of the richest colonial empires in the world : Holland's. The Dutch are envied. The ambitious Japs coveted the great wealth of the East Indies or Indonesia rich in raw materials and natural resources. The temptation, added to the prospect of an easy walk-over, was irresistible. Thus Indonesia fell a prey to Japanese lust for conquest and it all happened in one lightning sweep as it were. As matters stood the Dutch could do little, in fact nothing, against so mighty a bid on the part of the Nipponese to make themselves supreme in "Greater East Asia". Now with the end of the war in the Far East, the Dutch are once again on the scene in Indonesia, but not with flying colours as they might have hoped or desired.

The Netherlands Indies Empire grew out of the Dutch East Indies Company, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The enterprising Dutch merchants and navigators opened up a brisk trade with the historic Spice Islands or the Moluccas, an island group in the East Indies. The Dutch monopoly of the spice trade and Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the Far East culminated in what is known in history as the Amboina Massacre, and thereafter the British concentrated on India and the Dutch began to establish their supremacy in Indonesia. The Netherlands Indies are at present governed by a Dutch Governor-General under the direct control and supervision of the Dutch Minister for colonies at the Hague—the capital of Holland.

The Malay Archipelago

The East Indies comprise the major portion of the great Malay Archipelago—that immense conglomeration of islands which lie between the mainland of Asia and Australia, mostly along the Equator. They consist of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Banka, Billiton, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Soemba, Flores, Timor, the Moluccas and a host of other minor and less important islands, besides the great land-mass of New Guinea. Of these, all the major islands except Timor, the Molucca group and New Guinea are sometimes called the Sunda group of islands and are collectively spoken of as Malayasia. The strategic and favourable geographical situation of these islands can well be imagined for they lie athwart the great sea-route to the Far East and Australia. The British Empire air route from London to Sydney *via* Port Darwin also passes through Batavia in Java.

The Colossal Extent of the Indies

The Netherlands Indies have a total area of over 730,000 sq. miles. The islands comprising it are spread out over a vast expanse of ocean and from east to west extend to about 3,000 miles or roughly the distance between New York and Liverpool. The north-western part of Borneo, the biggest of the Sunda Islands, is under British control and consists of the Protectorates of Sarawak and Brunei, the former ruled by a white Raja and the latter by a Malay Sultan. British North Borneo is administered by a chartered Company with headquarters at London. Only the western part of New Guinea belongs to the Dutch and the island of Timor is shared by the Dutch and the Portuguese.

Though New Guinea is included in the East Indies, it naturally forms a part of Australasia. Though strategically important and intrinsically rich in natural resources and mineral wealth such as gold, petroleum, etc., it is quite undeveloped. Much of the territory is covered with dense forests but thanks to the war it is not now quite unknown as it used to be formerly, though the interior is still largely unexplored. The inhabitants, who are Papuans, are distinctly primitive in their habits and ways of living and cannibalism is prevalent among some of them.

Country and Climate

The islands of the East Indies, though mountainous in nature, contain rich river basins and immense tracts of fertile lowlands both near the coasts and in the interior. The East Indies are of volcanic origin and this fact accounts for the extreme fertility of the soil. There are many volcanoes but the majority of them are extinct and the activities of the rest are somewhat trifling at present. The East Indies possess a hot wet type of climate with rains all the year round. All the islands of Malayasia except the greater part of Java, are covered with dense equatorial jungle—the favourite haunt of the gibbon and the orang-outang. The flora and fauna of the region are noted for their great variety and abundance. The interior of the bigger islands, *e.g.*, Borneo has not been fully explored as yet. The Malays, Chinese and some of the aboriginal tribes dwell on the coastal plains and river valleys, where they cultivate tropical products like sago, cocoanuts, groundnuts, sugar, cassava, etc. In remote parts of the interior of Borneo may be found the fertile roaming grounds of the head-hunter and the cannibal. The head-hunter kills friend and foe alike for the much-prized trophies of human skulls and cannibalism has not been completely eradicated from the island. The impact of civilisation has not been felt in the interior of some of the islands.

The Wealth of Indonesia

Indonesia is one of the most fortunate countries in the world. She is extremely rich in natural resources. Her forest wealth is practically untouched. Her immense forests possess an inexhaustible reserve of valuable timber especially teak. The country is very rich in mineral resources and produces coal, iron, tin, nickel, manganese, gold, sulphur, copper, etc. To these must be added the extreme fertility of the soil, and the climate which are responsible for the great production of variety of tropical products like rubber, tobacco, rice, sugarcane, cinchona bark, sago, cotton, copra, sisal-hemp, spices, coffee, tea, etc. It is clear, therefore, that Indonesia is rich in some of the essential raw materials of industry, such as coal, iron, tin, rubber, oil, timber, etc. In recent years, the East Indies have come into prominence as a great producer of petroleum. The oil produced in the Indies has a ready market in India and the Far East. The Balik Papan oilfields in south-east Borneo and the oil-fields in Tarakan have become specially famous since the last war. Indonesia is one of the major tin and rubber producing countries in the world. Tin is chiefly mined

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the islands of Banka and Billiton, lying to the south-east of Singapore and coal is mined in Java, Borneo, etc. Next to Java, Sumatra offers the best conditions for agricultural development. She exports a large quantity of her tropical crops and is rich in minerals. Java with its numerous plantations and extensive tracts of cultivated territory is practically a tropical garden and a reservoir of tropical products. The historic spice islands or the Moluccas and Celebes produce a great quantity of spices especially pepper, nutmegs, cloves, etc. Celebes is also rich in her timber resources and minerals, such as gold, sulphur, iron, tin, etc.

Indonesia is not only a great producing country but is also a great exporting country. If her resources are properly tapped, she would be one of the greatest exporters of raw materials and foodstuffs for the world's markets. At present all the islands except Java, are largely undeveloped and are covered with dense evergreen vegetation. The exploitation of the vast mineral resources of the East Indies has only just begun. There is great scope for the development of water power. Indonesia can be an exceedingly rich and prosperous land provided the best use is made of the natural facilities and advantages offered. Her agricultural output can be increased a hundred-fold by proper development. With a truly national Government and proper organisation and investment of capital there is great scope for the development of industries as well. Industries, such as paper, matches, rubber, tobacco, chemicals, etc., could be profitably and speedily developed. So much about Indonesia in general.

Java—the Wonder Isle

Java is by far the most important and highly developed island in Indonesia. With its adjacent island of Madura, etc., it is about 50,000 sq. miles in area. The population is in the neighbourhood of 50 millions, which makes her one of the most thickly populated countries in the entire globe. Java is one of the distinctly volcanic areas in the world. Volcanoes have made it and volcanic forces have continued to devastate and fertilise it. The greater part of the primeval forests has been cleared and the land cultivated. The hot wet climate is such, that left to itself Java would soon clothe itself with even a richer natural vegetation than it had been when it was first occupied by man. Rainfall is abundant and is distributed throughout the year. The rigour of the climate is somewhat lessened by the influence of the sea.

The volcanic soil of Java and the East Indies is extremely rich and productive. Climate and soil and human enterprise have made Java one of the richest agricultural lands in the world. It is even now one of the wealthiest and most highly cultivated islands in the globe. Intensive cultivation is carried on as in Japan. Even hill-tops and mountain-sides are brought under the plough by skilful terracing, which incidentally prevents soil erosion as well. The island is largely covered by cultivated fields and numerous thriving plantations. The plantations are mostly owned by Europeans, mainly Dutch and Chinese. The Javanese own only a comparatively small percentage. Among the agricultural products of Java may be mentioned, rubber, rice, tobacco, maize, copra, tea, cinchona bark, coffee, indigo, sago, groundnuts, sisal-hemp, cassava, fruits, etc. It is a veritable storehouse of tropical products. She also possesses such minerals as iron, coal, tin, etc. Though Indonesia is not noted for its cattle wealth, Java has a good number of domestic animals especially cattle, sheep and horses.

Of all the islands of Indonesia, Java enjoys a unique position; not only because of her central position, wealth and culture but also because of her dense population and astonishing progress in a region which is generally backward. One of her greatest assets is manpower. The island is densely populated and well over two-thirds of the 70 million and odd people of the Indies find their abode here. Due to their mixed racial descent, the Javanese are more active and industrious than the other peoples who belong to Malayasia, Melanesia and Polynesia. Plenty of skilled labour is therefore available. This distinct advantage can be put to the best use for the development of Indonesia as a whole and of Java in particular. But it must be borne in mind that population alone might be a liability and a source of weakness rather than of strength. The danger lies only in Java's threatened political and economic isolation from the rest of the Indies. If that calamity is averted by some means, her dense population will have ample scope for expansion and development. The population problem can then be satisfactorily solved by encouraging emigration, development of manufacturing industries, utilisation of all available arable land and still more scientific farming methods. Java enjoys a central and advantageous position in Indonesia and her natural resources are easily accessible. She lies at the cross-roads of the world's commerce. Java is also fortunate in possessing a tolerably good system of communications, mainly roads and railways to a large extent supplemented by canals and waterways. These facts and Dutch enterprise account for the phenomenal development of Java as an agricultural wonderland. But much remains to be done. Industrially, Java, not to speak of the other islands, is very backward even though most of the requisites of industrial development, such as raw materials, transport facilities, skilled labour, nearness to markets and proximity to sea-routes, are present. Here again isolation would be a great handicap to Java, for Sumatra and other islands are potentially richer in some respects than her. They are richer as regards their mineral resources, oil wealth, etc. Small industries as do exist are confined to Java which is by far the most populous and developed part of Indonesia. These industries *viz.*, textiles, sugar, etc., came into existence especially after the great economic depression of the last decade. A few large-scale industries especially in rubber, tobacco and chemicals received a stimulus due to the last war. But the dislocation caused by the war, Japanese occupation and internal troubles are standing in the way of industrial progress. There is great scope for the development of industries in Java in the future.

The chief occupation of the people is agriculture. Some are engaged in industry, mainly handicrafts. A good number are engaged in the fishing industry. Trade and commerce are mostly in the hands of Arabs and Chinese. The latter form the most important element in the population next to the Indonesians and number about a million in Java. The other sections of the population include some thousands of Europeans and Indians. Java with her teeming population had been a great market for Netherlands manufactures and a potent and cheap source of raw materials for her manufacturing industries before the war. Java, though only just self-sufficient in the matter of food is a great exporter of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tropical products like sugar, tea, coffee, cinchona bark, rubber, copra, etc. Java supplied India with a great quantity of sugar which she needed before the war. The chief supply of the world's cinchona bark, from which quinine is made, comes from the East Indies, especially Java. Quinine being the best known remedy for Malaria, the curse of the tropics, is much valued as medicine and has a ready market in tropical countries. India imported a large quantity of quinine from the East Indies before the war. The Japanese conquest of the East Indies cut off India's chief source of this commodity and local production being quite inadequate to meet the country's needs there was an acute quinine shortage in India and there has been much consequent suffering. Indonesian trade and commerce suffered a great setback since the great economic depression but there is great scope for their increase in the post-war era. As matters stand at present and for some time to come, Java with her great population offers India with a market for manufactured goods which she can produce.

Though the vast bulk of the people of Java live in villages as in India many cities have grown up in recent years. The capital and chief port of Java as well as of Indonesia is the great City of Batavia. Next in importance is Sourabaya in eastern Java which is a great port and naval station. Bandoeng is an important city and hill station in the interior. Semarang and Magelang are also notable cities. Jogjakarta and Soerakarta are ancient and important cities in the interior and they are also the capitals of the sultanates of the same names which exist in Java.

The Indonesians

The home of the vast bulk of the Indonesian people is Java. The Indonesians are a people who are descended from the Malay stock, but have been considerably improved and refined by mingling and union with people of many races. The original Malay residents came into close contact with the Hindu and other invaders with the result that they became civilised, more advanced and industrious. Indonesian culture and civilisation have been profoundly influenced by Hindu culture. This was brought about by the enterprising Hindu colonists and empire-builders of old. Though the vast majority of Indonesians at present profess Muhammadanism, there is abundant and indubitable evidence to show that their cultural background is of Hindu origin. The Indonesians as a whole are not bigoted and lack religious fervour. They content themselves with a loose adherence to religious observances and some of them even retain animistic beliefs and practices in contravention of the tenets of Islam. But, nevertheless Muhammadanism is the reigning and dominant religion. Great prestige attaches to pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Indonesians are skilful agriculturists and excel as artisans. They lead a simple life and their dwellings are mostly made of bamboo. They live mostly in villages but cities and towns are growing up. The staple food of the people is rice but a considerable quantity of fish is consumed. Sago is also much valued as food in many of the islands. Judged by their history the Indonesians must have been a warlike and vigorous people. They are sober, simple and industrious. They are also good boatmen and fishermen. The Indonesians are far more civilised and advanced than the Malays, Polynesians and Papuans (Melanasians).

Historical Outline

A peep into the early history of South East Asia and the Malay Archipelago would show that, many hundreds of years ago Hindu cultural influences spread over these lands and that great kingdoms and settlements were established by Hindu immigrants in Indonesia and elsewhere, especially in Cambodia in Indo-China. This fact is fully borne out by archaeological discoveries, ancient monuments and temples, literature and customs and historical evidence. Many relics of a bygone Hindu age are scattered over many lands of Indonesia. Bali and Lombok, two small islands to the east of Java, can even now boast of a Hindu civilisation. The inhabitants of these two islands are mostly followers of the Hindu religion and many Hindu customs and practices are observed by them. The foregoing facts will make it abundantly clear, therefore, that India and Indonesia are linked by racial and cultural ties dating back to many centuries, such as even a casual observer will not fail to note.

The relics of the Hindu period which have come down to us are of great historical and architectural value. Of all the great Hindu temples which are now found in Java, Bali, etc., that at Borobudur in Java is the largest and the most magnificent. It is one of the greatest architectural wonders of the world. The whole temple has been hewn out of solid lava rock and the excellence of its sculpture has been universally acclaimed.

The advent of the second era in the history of Java is marked by the invasion of Islam in the beginning of the fifteenth century. With the fall of the great Hindu kingdom of Majapahit in Java towards the end of the same century and the decline of the other Hindu States in Indonesia like Sriwijaya and Mataram, Muhammadan influence and power became predominant in Indonesia and many Muhammadan kingdoms and principalities came into existence. Islam became triumphant and Hindu and Buddhist influences which prevailed for the first fourteen centuries of the Christian era suffered a great setback.

The sixteenth century saw the coming of the Europeans especially the Portuguese to the Malay Archipelago. The Dutch who came into the field only in the beginning of the seventeenth century finally established their sway throughout the greater part of Indonesia during the course of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In spite of the competition of the other European powers, notably the British and serious internal rebellions, even in the last century, they remained masters of the vast territories of the East Indies. Slavery was abolished by the Dutch in 1860 but a system of forced labour took its place. The main concern of the Dutch seemed to be the economic exploitation of the islands at the expense of the colonials rather than of good government and ordered development. Though the Dutch had been in Indonesia for the last three centuries and more, nothing substantial has been done by them for the uplift of the people generally.

The Freedom Movement

Before the war the vast territories of the East Indies were governed by a Dutch Governor-General assisted by a body of Dutch officials and administrators and a standing army. Many native sultanates and chieftainships also existed under Dutch suzerainty. There was a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

People's Council consisting of Indonesians and Netherlanders but its functions were purely advisory. Political advance in the pre-war years was extremely slow. All power and authority were in the hands of the few Dutch residents and the people did not possess even a shadow of power. The Dutch did not prove to be good administrators, inasmuch as they cared only for pumping wealth into the mother country and raise their standard of living to great heights at the expense of the subject people. There was practically no freedom of the press, speech or association. The people were kept poor, illiterate and ignorant and industrially backward.

The enterprising Dutch with their slender resources could not have prevented their far-flung and vast domain from falling a prey to a gangster power like Japan who over-ran the whole of South-east Asia with comparative ease in the early stages of the war. But the sudden rise of an organised and determined freedom movement in Java, coming as it did in the wake of the sudden Japanese collapse and before the imperialist power had had time to re-establish herself firmly in her old jealous possessions has upset all her plans and has created an entirely new situation as grave as unexpected for the Dutch. The restoration and reimposition of Dutch rule and authority over Java is fanatically resisted by the Javanese. All eyes are now turned on Java, which hitherto figured rarely in the news. The Indonesian struggle is being watched with intense interest and sympathy by all the subject peoples of Asia who are struggling for national independence. Their battle-cry 'Merdeka' which means freedom resounds throughout the length and breadth of Asia.

In this connection the more or less parallel movement now being carried on in Indo-China should not be lost sight of. All honour to the Annamites who are struggling against tremendous odds. The Indonesian and Annamite struggles for freedom are fraught with far-reaching economic and political consequences to the imperialist powers including Britain. The significance and implications of the struggle can well be imagined in the light of the facts which has been stated above. The reasons for the present struggle are not far to seek. The obvious answer is colonial exploitation. Other factors, besides, might have contributed to the present impasse, such as bad government, the temperament of the people, the chaotic conditions produced by the Japanese occupation and after, the procurement of arms, distrust of Dutch promises, loss of Dutch and European prestige, etc. Instances like this can be multiplied. The fact which emerges from all these, however, is the ruthless exploitation of a weaker by a stronger and better organised power, for enriching herself at the expense of the subject people, irrespective of whether they are fit or unfit for self-government and the passionate desire of the suppressed people to wrest themselves free. Permanent peace and progress in Indonesia, in the circumstances could only be achieved by the recognition of the right of the Javanese people to self-determination and friendly co-operation between the contending elements.

Indonesia can be a great and prosperous country and she will be in a position to export immense quantities of tropical products, raw materials and foodstuffs for the world markets if only her resources are developed on proper lines. This extraordinary tropical region is such, that man can by comparatively little effort get back lavish dividends. Indeed the East Indies are as rich in natural resources, so rich in raw materials, so wealthy and so full of potentialities that it can well be termed the tropical treasure-house of the world. The Sunda Islands set amidst coral atolls and beautiful seas with its background of lofty mountain peaks, some of them active volcanoes, and dense evergreen vegetation and situated as they are in the far lands of the colourful Orient, present us with a picture of sublime grandeur and charm alike for its varied attractions as for its great wealth and progress, which are enhanced beyond measure by the great freedom struggle of a brave and patriotic people who are the Javanese. 'Merdeka'!

———:O:———

COMMUNISM AND INDIAN COMMUNISTS

By B. K.

Communism has come to stay. Scientific progress in the means of communications and in the scale of production has made capitalism an anachronism. The strong current in industry towards integration has led to the growth of industrial monsters which in the present-day contracting economy have become a social scourage and an economic pestilence. The good old spacious days of little men are gone for good ; individualism or freedom of enterprise has become merely a cloak to perpetuate an order beneficial to a possessed few. The growth of monopoly and restrictionism has led to periodic breakdown in our economy. Unemployment at home and imperialism abroad leading to frequent wars are the natural consequences. But we cannot simply "wish the new monsters away." We must tame them or perish. Capitalism has demonstrated its inability to control them because control would spell ruin of those few who own them. Communism alone holds out the prospect of harnessing the tremendous potentialities—for good and evil—of these industrial monsters for the good of mankind.

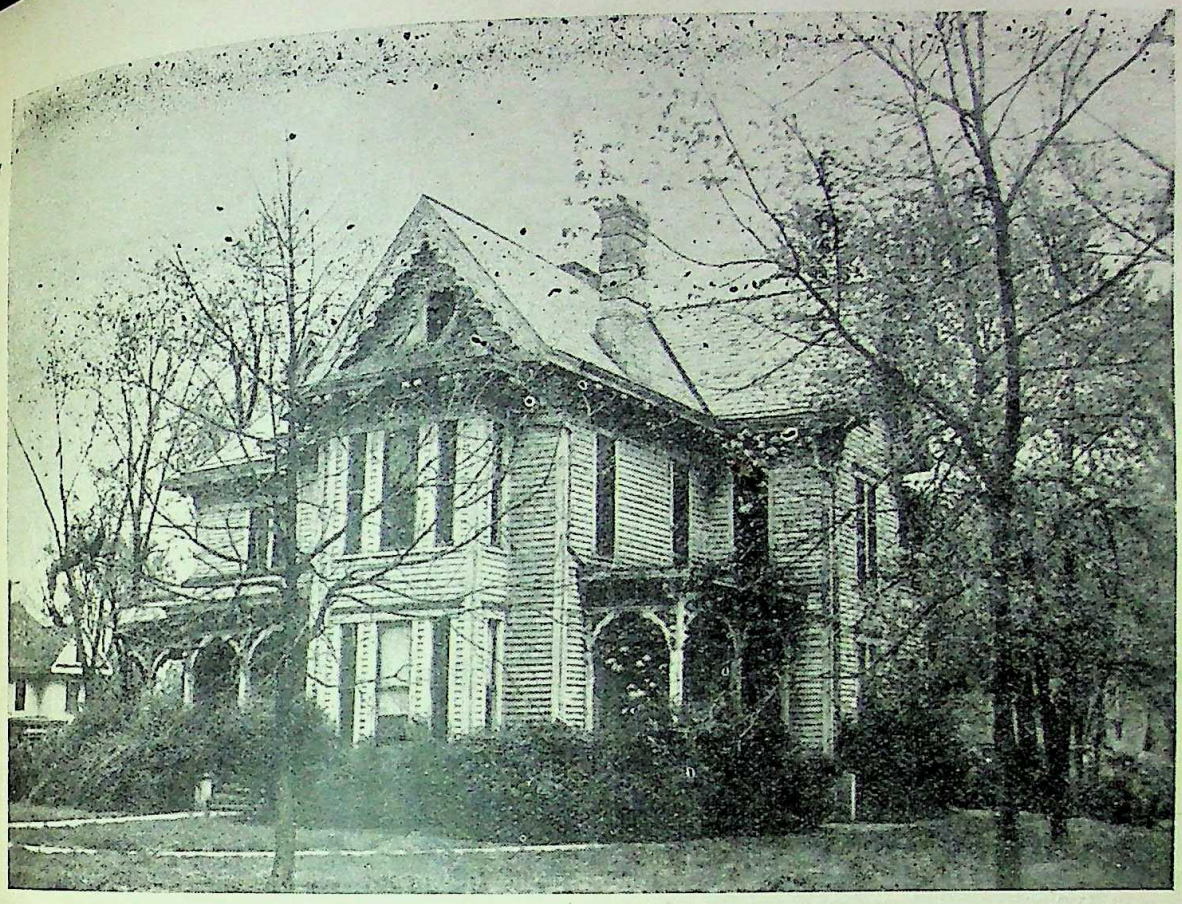
While the stark economic realities are forcing the world more and more towards communism, politically the marvellous achievement that has attended the Russian arms in this war and the decisive swing of the British electorate towards the Left have won social recognition for an hitherto heretic and outcast creed.

Communism and Spiritualism

The early, though inevitable, anti-religious bias of the Russian revolutionaries has led many especially the Gandhites to brand communism as atheistic, anti-religious and materialist. This fallacy has further been fed on the emphasis which naturally Marx laid upon the economic interpretation of history. But it is not communism but industrialism that is soulless and anti-spiritual. Though the present-day drift towards communism is the result of industrial anarchy, communism as an economic order is neutral between machine economy and 'primitive' economy. (By primitive economy we mean an economy where machine is dethroned). It is capitalism that has made man the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



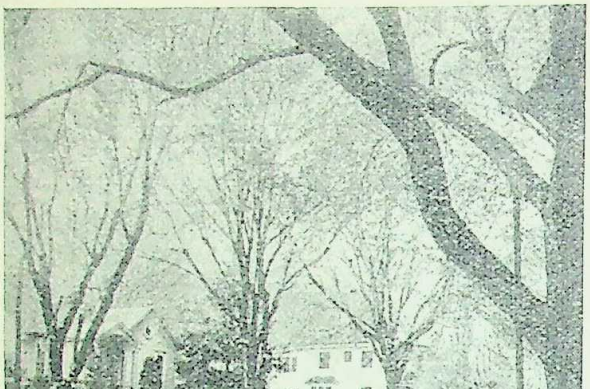
This house in Independence, Missouri, is the family home where President Truman and members of his family stay on trips home from Washington



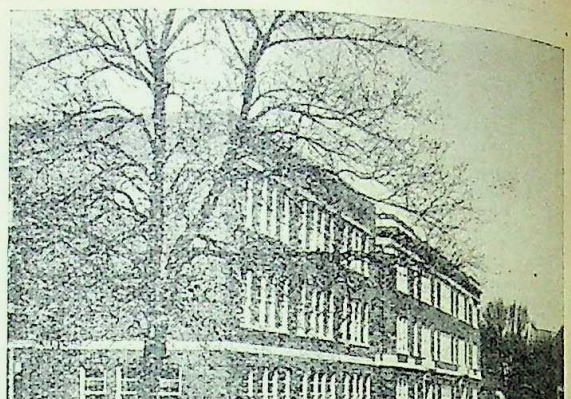
The Jackson County Court House in Independence, Missouri, built under the supervision of Harry S. Truman when he served as presiding judge of the county

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A residential street in Independence, Missouri, a typical small American town



The Independence, Missouri, High School, letting out classes for the lunch hour



Prof. Robert Richards, leader of the members of the British Parliamentary Delegation, addressing the Press Conference at Delhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

slave of machinery and communism promises to emancipate him from that serfdom. At least communism offers much greater scope for the development of man's spiritual personality by making possible for him to pursue his spiritual aims unfettered by economic want or haunting sense of insecurity and by allowing him greater leisure. Capitalism, with its outward veneer of religiosity, creates conditions through degrading, soul-crushing poverty and unemployment which are most inimical to the growth of culture and spiritualism. What art to please the eye, what beauty to feed the soul can develop in the society where production is conditioned not by pleasure or by the satisfaction of the aesthetic sense but by the exegencies of the market-place? True it is, that mechanisation and mass production, specialisation and scientific management have largely been responsible for the "artlessness" in industry and such conditions would obtain as much in industrial communism as they do in industrial capitalism. Through the provision of leisure and liberal entertainment, communism will solve the urgent problem of industrial fatigue and boredom; through industrial democracy it can offset the effects of mechanisation tending to kill initiative and also give scope to the worker for creative self-expression. In this way communism can mitigate to a large extent the soullessness of modern industrialism. But in capitalism where the wheels of the economic machine are run by private profit, this divorce between production and pleasure, between machine and art, between 'thought and toil' is accentuated. With its degrading poverty and its elimination of art from industry, capitalism is fatal to spiritualism. Surely a society based on equality, distributive justice and economic security and where production is governed by social utility is much more spiritual in its content than one based on private profit, greed and exploitation, and where money, not work, is the yardstick for social distinction and political power, where individual self-gratification and not social service is the criterion of success.

But our faith in Communism must not be mistaken for a priase of the Indian Communists.[1] That party with its admirable creed held out the hope that it would play an important part in organizing the masses and bringing them political consciousness. Its war-time record is dark and our charge-sheet against it is long. It followed a policy of political opportunism and of alliance with reactionary imperialist forces.

The outbreak of the War found the Communists in a dilemma. Of all the countries Soviet Russia had concluded a pact of non-aggression and friendship with Nazi Germany. Marxian dialecticism failed to throw much light on the problem. Communists, save the Boyists, quietly concluded that it was an imperialist war with which they would have nothing to do. Perforce they went into political hybernation. But in 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. Overnight the character of the War was transformed as though through a process of alchemy; it had become a people's war—a war of the international working class against the forces of privilege and reaction.

The case for or against the Communists hinges on the meaning of the term, people's war. Comrade P. C. Joshi, the authoritative spokesman of the Communist Party, has defined it thus: "People in people's war means all peoples, the world over without exception. It, of course, includes India's millions and also the Negroes wherever they be."[2] The word "people" has justifiably been extended by Mahatma Gandhi to include, along with Asiatics and Negroes, the proletariat of Japan and Germany.[3] On the truth or falsity of this contention, the reputation of the Communists stands or falls.

When Hitler launched his hordes against Russia, Stalin called upon his countrymen to rally round their *Fatherland*. It was followed some time after by the dissolution of the Comintern to free the Communist parties of various countries to pursue national policies unfettered by any allegiance to the International. While Stalin called upon his countrymen to fight for their hearth and homes, for their country rather than for the interests of the international working class movement, while his appeal was national rather than international, the Indian Communists repudiated their motherland and called upon the Indian people to fight for the peoples all the world over. Modern wars are indeed people's wars because they are total wars. War to-day is everybody's concern; but it is people's war in the sense that it is people's national war. The British, French and Russians have undoubtedly been fighting for their national existence; the first two for their overseas possessions as well. For them it can aptly be called a people's war.

Communists, of course, will say that the policy of national appeal was forced upon Russia by the exigencies of the war. That Russia, the embodiment of Communism, should be able to live, mattered above all. But why was Stalin, the mumbo-jumbo of Indian Communists, mum when Bengal in particular and India in general was (and is) dying of hunger? Any expression of sympathy for the starving millions of India would not have involved a breach of diplomatic etiquette or jeopardised the Soviet Union. Molotov's reference to India at the San Francisco Conference was more calculated to achieve debating advantage and to play to the gallery than inspired by any altruism to help our country.

People's War must obviously lead to a People's Peace. But a perusal of the Potsdam Agreement clearly shows that it is not a people's peace; it is emphatically an American, British and Russian peace.

If War was the result of a group of German capitalists and junkers, of a handful of Japanese industrialists and militarists, who coerced the mass of pacific proletariat into submission, clearly there is no justification for penalising the people when their criminal leaders have been liquidated. But the Potsdam Agreement has a different story to tell. Germany (this will apply to Japan as well) is to have agricultural and domestic industries which will inevitably depress the standard of living of the German people. Coupled with this, reparations will lower their standard below the low 1939-level when German economy was fully geared to the production of guns instead of butter. Further the German standard of living is not to rise beyond that of the other European peoples excluding England and Russia. We are not here discussing the justice and desirability or otherwise of the Potsdam Agreement. But it definitely affects the German and Japanese pro-

1 We use the words 'Indian Communists' not in the sense of individual communists but as organised political parties.

2 *Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi.* Edited by P. C. Joshi, p. 4.

3 *Ibid*, p. 18.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

letariat adversely. If the Axis had won (God forbid), the common people in these countries would have been better off than now by getting a share, though it would have been very meagre, in the spoils.

Why, it may be asked, special treatment or preference has been shown in the Potsdam Agreement for the British and Russian people over the other non-German Europeans, say the French, the Dutch, the Danes, the Poles and Czechoslovaks who have fought valiantly and suffered grievously in the war? Undoubtedly it was a national war, not a people's war.

The case of Rumania makes the nature of the war abundantly clear. Rumania could not help remaining out of the Nazi tentacles. Under German pressure and through anti-Slav propaganda, her ruling and propertied classes led her into war against Russia. When Germans were rolled back, the Soviets liquidated the reactionary Rumanian classes; now Russia has imposed on Rumania reparations which can only be paid by tightening closely the belt of the Rumanian peasants and workers. There might be some justification for exacting reparations from the Axis peoples; but there is none whatsoever from the Rumanians. Russia is fighting for the interests of her own people. The claim that it is people's war all the world over is patently hollow.

That is not all. England and France have fought for the maintenance of their imperial possessions. The French policy in Lebanon, Algeria and Indo-China needs no comment. Some Communists fondly believe that the character of the British war-effort changed the moment Labour joined the Conservative in coalition. Save on domestic issues, the foreign and imperial policies of the parties are identical. It was Labour that gave its tacit approval to Churchill's exclusion of India from the Atlantic Charter and to his declaration that he did not become King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire or "what we have we hold." It is travesty to say that the Conservative-Labour Coalition had been fighting a 'people's war' when it suppressed the Communists in Belgium and Greece by force, when it continued to have a soft corner for Franco in Spain or for the Kuomingtang dictatorship vis-a-vis the Yenan Communists in China.[4] Can it be called 'people's war' when South Africa—a member of the United Nations—passes anti-Asiatic laws which smack of Nazi anti-Semitism and affect Indians who have shed blood for exorcising the doctrine of race-superiority? The Communist thesis betrays an inexcusable political naivety or an utter disregard of facts. Undeniably the Allies did represent comparatively more progressive forces than the Axis; but only in their methods rather than their aims, in their means rather than their ends. In that too they were only a degree better than their rivals. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress were right when they could not extend to them anything beyond moral support. And when the Congress tried to convert the national, imperialist war into a people's war for Indians in August 1942, the Communists stabbed it in the back and aided the Government in putting down the spontaneous risings of the people. People naturally said: *Et tu Brute!*

In internal politics, the part played by them is not creditable. They have allied themselves with the Muslim League—the party of arch-reaction. In the Soviet Constitution every constituent state enjoys theoretical autonomy and complete right of secession. Taking their stand on this, they support self-determination and Pakistan for the Muslims regardless of the peculiar conditions prevalent in India and its dangerous effects if carried out into practice. In their blind admiration for the Russian Constitution, they forget that "Mother Russia" would not only frown upon but would put down with a heavy hand any attempt to give practical effect to the right of secession.[5] While the Communists organise themselves on economic basis and regard religion as a reactionary force in politics, they do not mind hugging the League dominated by landlords, Nawabs and titleholders and organised on appeal to religious fanaticism. And in spite of the numerous concessions by the Congress to the Muslim League including the recognition of the Muslim right of self-determination, the Communists continue to snipe the Congress for its alleged reluctance to come to an understanding with the League.

Communists and Class War

Communism is not merely a negative creed based on hatred and conflict of interest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the worker and the capitalist. Class antagonism is a phenomenon of capitalism and Marx's excessive emphasis on it was necessary in the first attempt to organise the workers. This dogmatic insistence on class conflict had an appeal to the psychology of the worker and won many adherents to Communism. But in India conditions are different. Class antagonism in the economic sphere is overshadowed by community of interests between the worker and the capitalist in the political sphere. Of course, we must be watchful as not to allow our national objective to be perverted and suffer a substitution of British regime by a rule of the propertied and moneyed classes. If that were to happen it would be a tragedy of first magnitude. But in the present political circumstances of the country we must not complicate and delay our march towards freedom by driving the vested interests into alliance with British imperialism. The slogan of class war must not be allowed to deflect our attention from our immediate national objective. But the Communists do not lose any opportunity to defame the Congress. They have decried it as an organisation of big business which incidentally gives the British Government additional material to misrepresent the Congress. But if Russia could come to terms with Nazi Germany or can make an agreement with 'the extremely anti-Communist authoritation' Kuomingtang Congress with impunity can befriend the Indian business magnates. If Stalin can shake hands with Churchill—the man who helped the Whites against the Reds in the Russian Civil War between 1917-1922 and who declared, at the time of extending his hand of friendship to Russia in 1941, 'I hate Communism'[6] the Congress can certainly do some harmless flirtation with the Indian capitalists. If the Labourites in England can sit with men like Churchill—who dubbed socialism as Gestapo rule—and Beaver-

4 How do the Communists square the cry of people's war with the declaration of Mr. Bevin that 'our territories (in the Far East) will be returned to us' and that Hong Kong and Malaya be reclaimed in face of the strong Chinese feeling about it?

5 "Though the Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of secession to any national unit, in reality any advocate of such secession is treated as a counter-revolutionary."—Maurice Hindus in *Russia Fights On*, p. 175.

6 In 1927 Churchill denounced Leninism as a creed of "bestial passions and appetites." Quoted in Laski's *Faith, Reason and Civilization*, p. 158.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

brook without ceasing to be socialists, the Congress certainly does not deserve the malicious traducement the Communists are pouring over it.

It is not unnatural that the temper of the people has been rising against the Communists. Disowned by the Muslim League, hated by and now useless to the British Government, distrusted by the Congress, Nemesis is bound to overtake the Communists in the shape of isolation and political ostracism from the Indian political scene.

———:o:———

STUDY OF PHONETICS

By PANNALAL CHAKRABARTI, M.A., B.T.

Correct pronunciation is the ornament of a language. It is required not only in English but in every language of distinction. In whatever sphere we may live or work, correct pronunciation is a condition of success. The utilitarian aim is predominant, not the cultural one. Unfamiliar accents, emphases, pronunciation and intonation stand in the way of mutual understanding.

Pronunciation plays a vital part in reading aloud, in conversation and in speaking with others. So we cannot overlook its realistic value. In trade, commerce, law-courts, academic institutions and social gatherings we must try to talk well and correctly.

We learn a language not only to read, write and understand it, but also to speak it and follow it when spoken by others. In our country this point is sadly neglected in the teaching of English. Students learn this language and become masters of it, but unfortunately in most cases, the conversation and reading of our boys is jarring and unintelligible. Often we hear our boys conversing with English gentlemen use the familiar phrase "Beg your pardon, sir ?" Students fresh from the mofussil look vacant when addressed by the professors in the colleges here. In such cases Englishmen must lower their standard and much energy is lost, though the medium of intercourse is English. The defect lies with us. We do not pay proper attention to teaching children from a tender age the art of pronouncing by well-trained teachers and professors and oral work is not encouraged. The result is, difficulties concerning sounds.

Phonetics is concerned with the sound of a language when spoken. Its seeks to ascertain how sounds are produced, it traces the changes which sounds undergo according to time and place and attempts to determine the standard of speech suitable for general use.

So clergymen, actors, singers, professors, reciters, lawyers and politicians stand in need of its aid. But a question arises here : There is provincialism—there are varieties of speech, properly termed dialects. Which is to be followed in order to be a master of elocution ?

We admit that no two speakers agree in vocabulary and intonation, and individual speakers often differ in varieties of speech according to circumstances. But, there is, in every well-established language of the world, a *standard form* of it. Though rustics and uneducated speakers have made many divergencies, still, gradually and slowly the standard form has evolved and educated gentlemen follow it. Various agencies like (1) great public schools, (2) good dictionaries, (3) the stage and the cinema, (4) gramophone records, (5) compulsory elementary education, (6) broadcasting stations and (7) foreigners who master it, have been at work to secure its widespread extension. The English of South-ern England, spoken by educated speakers, is recognised to be standard English ; and the Calcutta dialect of spoken Bengali is recognised to be so.

Standard speech is required (1) in teaching a foreigner, (2) in general intercourse with the persons of other provinces of the country, (3) in aesthetic appreciation, *e.g.*, in reading a book and (4) in public speaking.

We *should acquire the pronunciation of this standard speech* only. Phonetics teaches us the sound of this speech and according to Prof. W. Ripman—"the standard dialect would spread much if the spelling were phonetic."

Phonetics is the science of sounds and so students require a set of standardized and generally accepted symbols. Without phonetic symbols the designation of sounds is awkward and students would be unable to express pronunciation in writing. Though there are other systems of transcription, the I.P.A. system of symbols is the best. (1) It has several characteristics which are its own; (2) it is widely used in all parts of the world ; (3) it is based on the most up-to-date scientific treatment of the subject ; and (4) every possible sound can be transcribed by its use.

Beside the above advantages, the utilities of studying phonetics are many :

(1) Any sound of any language can be analysed and taught by phonetics and can be phonetically transcribed ;

(2) Spelling and pronunciation can be differentiated by phonetic transcription and thereby we can train ourselves to speak in the right way ;

(3) One symbol of these alphabets stands for one sound and one only, while the symbols of the ordinary alphabets may indicate more than one sound ;

(4) Foreigners may easily master a language through this script ;

(5) The actual sounds of words may be transcribed on paper by this system : These sounds are peculiar to the languages which produce them, and cannot be properly represented by the ordinary symbols of other languages. This does much harm. Several Anglo-Bengali Dictionaries are examples to the point.

One eminent phonetician has remarked that the number of serious students is small. But if students take the subject seriously and have early training in phonetics with the aid of reliable books and eminent professors, they will be benefited in their after-lives. Understanding and comparative study of the other tongues of the globe would then be easy.

N. B.—(*a*) My thanks are due to Prof. W. Sutherland, M.A., of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, for his invaluable and ready help as to the composition of this article.

(*b*) Reference may be given to the following books which I have often consulted during the composition of the above : (1) *English Phonetics and Specimens of English*, W. Ripman ; (2) *English Speech To-day*, B. McDonald, M.A.; (3) *Clear Speaking and Good Reading*, Arthur Burrell, M.A.; (4) *Outlines of English Phonetics*, D. Jones; (5) *Handbook of English Pronunciation*, Mukharji and Trivedi; (6) *English Intonation*, H. E. Palmer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CONGRESS AND THE MASSES: *By H. C. Mookerjee, M.A. Ph.D. Foreword by K. M. Munshi. The Book House, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. v + 260. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is divided into twelve chapters dealing with the following subjects: Indian Political Organisation and the Masses, The Congress Approach to Some Indian Problems, The Agrarian Programme of the Congress, Cottage Industries and Unemployment, Cottage Industries in Congress India, Congress and the Proletariat, Congress and Labour Unrest, The Bihar Government and The Masses, Some Achievements of the Bihar Congress Government, Prohibition in India, Prohibition in Madras, Congress Leadership and The Awakening of the Masses.

The author has taken great pains to show how the Congress has consistently stood for the welfare of the masses, irrespective of any communal consideration, throughout its long history. Its social programme has been of a radical character, specially designed to free the poorest people from the numerous disabilities which have been oppressing them for centuries. In the matter of economic interests too, the Congress has always tried to be fair to all classes without distinction; but its special aim has been to bring a ray of hope in the forlorn lives of the toiling millions. The book contains a very full account of the measures initiated by Congressmen when they accepted office in the seven provinces in which they were in majority. These activities clearly prove the correctness of the observations made in previous chapters.

We hope that this very seasonal publication by an unprejudiced observer of the standing of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, will go a long way to clear the misunderstandings spread by interested parties against the premier national organisation of the country.

GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR FREE INDIA: *By Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Kitabistan, Allahabad, January, 1946. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book consists of two parts containing twenty-two chapters altogether. In the first half of the book, the author deals with certain basic principles and tries to establish the soundness of the Gandhian scheme in which the productive, as well as the administrative systems are decentralized. Defence is by means of organized non-violence, which is calculated to bring power within reach of even the physically weakest. This is, according to Gandhiji, the only way to establish real democracy. In the second half of the book, certain concrete suggestions have been set forth in order to give shape to the principles enunciated above. While criticizing the Western democracies, the author has made ample use of the writings of many modern Western thinkers; but, we are afraid, this process has itself handicapped his critical treatment to a certain extent.

The essence of the proposed scheme consists of this: 'The administrative system envisaged in this constitution is that of a pyramid whose broad base is composed of numberless village communities of the country. The higher panchayats shall tender sound advice, give expert guidance and information, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the village panchayats with a view to increasing the efficiency of administration and public service. But, in the non-violent state of Gandhiji's conception, it will be the basic units that would dictate to the Centre and not *vice versa* (p. 135). The system of election favoured will be direct for the village panchayats and indirect for those higher up. There will be universal adult franchise. Minority rights will be protected by an adequate reservation of seats and the right to contest additional seats through joint electorates.

Undoubtedly, these measures will go a long way to relieve India of the consequences of the Party system which is unfortunately coupled in our country with communal representation. They will also help to foster the spirit of initiative, and loyalty to common interests irrespective of communal considerations. So far, the author's suggestions are sound and practical. But, we are afraid, this is not the whole of the problem of democracy in the modern world. How are we to make sure that the right men have been placed in the right place to look after the community's interests? A man who may have proved his ability in smoothening out human relations within a village council, or even higher up, need not necessarily have the ability to decide satisfactorily on technical questions like those connected with, say, mining and irrigation, banking or engineering or afforestation. This is a problem which faces us all over the world today. Capitalism tried to find a way out by unequal distribution of opportunities; and it has made a hash of human lives. Ancient India tried to go round the difficulty of selection by assuming that abilities and aptitudes are transmitted along the family line, which is not proved true by scientific observation. As a matter of fact, this reliance upon the hereditary caste system resulted in the rule of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas in the past. Elsewhere in the world men have tried device of functional electorates; that has been found by experience to lead to the growth of sectional interests. Now, all these are matters which we must take into consideration, and we must find some way out if we are to save democracy, which ought to mean that all men should be given equal opportunity to develop their special aptitudes and abilities, and exercise them in the best interests of society.

We expect to learn more from Shri Agarwal on these fundamental sociological questions; in the meanwhile, we can recommend the present book warmly to all those who are interested in the welfare of our motherland and of its downtrodden rural population.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GANDHI AND GANDHISM : *By Nagendranath Gupta with a foreword by Mr. K. Natarajan of the "Indian Social Reformer", an appendix giving the life-sketch and an estimate of the author by the late Shree Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, "The Modern Review". Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 125. Price Rs. 3.*

Those familiar with the more prominent among the elder race of journalists are aware of the position created for the late Mr. Gupta for himself through his abilities. These were so well-known and so widely appreciated that, in the course of a fairly long life, he was called upon to exercise his talents in six Indian provinces—Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Sind. One naturally expects that anything written by such an individual would go to the fundamentals of the subjects discussed as also that they would be treated in such a fashion that even the ordinary man would experience no difficulty in understanding them. Nor do these expectations remain unfulfilled as is abundantly clear from the author's exposition of Ahimsa and Satyagraha which are treated in the first and the eighth sections of the book. The analysis of Gandhiji's gifts to India is both clear and convincing. The comparison between the trials of Christ and of the Mahatma, the prevalence of violence in the world as contrasted with the new orientation given to the problem of combating evil through non-violence are praiseworthy instances of the writer's powers of analysis and interpretation.

Constituting the first part of *Sidelights on the National Movement in India*, the book under review presents an appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi by the late Mr. Gupta, and is worth the study of all who are interested in India's foremost leader and the ideals for which he stands.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN : *A Report by M. Molotov. Book Forum, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 163. Price Rs. 4.*

This book contains a fairly exhaustive statement of the objectives of the Soviet Union's Third Five-Year Plan. The targets of agricultural, mineral and industrial production, technical and scientific advancement and cultural progress are set forth in the manner of a catalogue. The third Plan was interrupted by World War II and will now be revived in order to achieve the aims set by its authors. The familiar note of Communist propaganda runs throughout the book. Comrade Saroj Adhikary has added a learned Preface on the historical significance of Soviet planning. It is a spirited defence of the Stalinist regime and explains the recent developments in Soviet economy in a truly doctrinnaire fashion. The central theme is : "Russia was prepared for war and won it ; her preparation and victory will also win the peace and save mankind."

WE NEVER DIE : *By D. F. Karaka, Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pages 238. Price Rs. 7-14.*

Karaka of the "I-Go-West" fame kindled through his early literary efforts much greater hopes than most of his later works have justified. Of all the assignments he has held so far, from Oxford to Washington *via* New Delhi and Chungking, I think the billet in the *Bombay Chronicle* suited him most. He is a journalist by temperament and experience. His latest experiment to interpret India through English novels has not just worked. It is really purposeless writing. I wonder for whom the present novel, depicting the impact of political agitations and social movements on the structure of India's village life, has been written. In every progressive Indian vernacular there are novels portraying these silent revolutions that will far outshine Karaka's indifferent, though imaginative, story in literary quality and human appeal. He would have rendered a far greater service to Indian literature by translating one of these works into English than by attempting something beyond his capacity as he has done in the present instance. Karaka has lost in depth what he has apparently gained in versatility. The present story shows how unreal is the world in which he lives, since he does not seem to know that the tempo of political agitation in Indian villages to-day is infinitely quicker than he would have us believe through the present narrative. If Karaka is really keen to interpret Indian life through novels, he should either translate the best vernacular stories or start writing in vernacular, provided he knows one.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

DUTCH ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST : *By Frederick Charles Danvers. Edited with an introduction by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy. Published by The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/1, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

The book under review throws some new light on a chapter of recent Indian History which is still obscure. In the struggle for dominance in the East that broke out amongst the European powers during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Dutch power played a very important part. We cannot have a clear perception of the factors that led to the establishment in India of British rule if we do not take note of the activities in the East of their great rival, the Dutch.

Unfortunately for us, works in English language covering this period are few and the information contained in them is very meagre. Dr. Roy has done a distinct service by editing the hitherto unpublished manuscript of the note on this almost untrodden field. The manuscript published in this book is a short report of the Dutch activities in the East covering the whole of the seventeenth century, carefully culled by Danvers from the State archives in the Hague. It was evidently compiled by him for submission to the India Office, which body deputed him to that place to secure transcripts of Dutch records.

For some reason or other, the report was not submitted, nor was it independently published. Maybe, it being a very sketchy preliminary note, he wanted to develop it more fully. Danvers was by that time a reputed historian having established himself as a painstaking historian and careful research-student known for his brilliantly written *History of the Portuguese in India*. This short note just published under the careful editorship of Dr. Roy contains some useful information which was not available to the English-knowing world. In the well-written introduction the Editor has tried to clear the mystery of the MS. fiding its way to a small village library and has succeeded in clinching the authorship to late Mr. F. C. Danvers of the India Office, though neither the present superintendent of the records there nor a keen student of the European period of Indian history like Sir William Foster could even trace anything about Mr. Danvers ever submitting any report on his researches in the Dutch archives.

The Baidyabati MS. is not the original one but a carbon copy. A careful examination of the faint violent typography would have revealed this fact to Dr. Roy. In 1921, I saw the original typed copy which also contained some handwritten marginal notes in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. How it came to the possession of that library I failed to ascertain.

Dr. Roy has kindly referred to my futile attempt to edit the Baidyabati MS. I had to give up the task because I found that it would not be worth while to edit it if the meagre information given in this brief report is not supplemented. As the English source lacks

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fuller details, a knowledge of Dutch seemed to me absolutely essential for the purpose. As I am not equipped with even a working knowledge of that language, I had to leave it for men better qualified for the task. Dr. Roy deserves the thanks of all students of Indian history of the European period for carefully editing and presenting this useful adjunct to Indian history.

P. C. GANGULY

HINDUISM OUTSIDE INDIA: *Swami Jagadiswarananda. Shri Ramakrishna Ashram, Rajkot, Kathiwar. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a collection of fourteen interesting and informative papers—eleven from the pen of Swami Jagadiswarananda and the remaining three contributed by Swami Gambhirananda, Dr. D. N. Roy and Dr. S. K. Chatterji. These papers, some of which have already been published in different Indian periodicals, deal with the story of the spreading of Hindu religion and culture outside India, in the east as well as in the west. Thus we have here accounts of old traces of Hinduism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Indo-China, the Philippines, Java, Bali, Malaya and the two Americas, and a reference to the present-day propaganda in the countries of the modern west. It is true, different aspects of this fascinating subject have already received attention at the hands of various scholars in different parts of the world. But a popular survey of the entire field in a single volume was a desideratum. The present work will thus remove a long-felt want and be welcome to every cultured Hindu, nay every cultured Indian. The book will arouse the curiosity of every reader who will be eagerly waiting for the promised second edition in a more comprehensive form.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INDIAN ECONOMICS: *By Rabindranath Chatterjee. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 19 Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5-8.*

In this book an attempt has been made to present a general account of our economic life. The book is up-to-date and has been written with the background of the war that has just come to an end. The chapters on industries, transport, finance and banking will be useful to every student of economics. The inclusion of the summaries of Bowley-Robertson Report and the proposed Banking Act has added to the value of the book. The author has given an able and dispassionate although short criticism of the proposed Death Duty. In the chapter of post-war reconstruction, the government post-war plan and the Bombay Plan have only been taken into account. The inclusion of the Cogress Plan and the Gandhian Plan would have made the chapter complete.

D. BURMAN

THE ROMANCE OF SCIENTIFIC BEE-KEEPING: *By Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta. Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. xvii + 464. Ninety illustrations. Price Rs. 7.*

This exhaustive treatise on the art and science of bee-keeping will, we are sure, be welcomed by the reading public in these days of acute food-shortage and general economic distress. It not only gives a detailed account of all that a reader may want to know of the biology and habits of different types of bees, but also gives full practical instructions for the management of colonies, the extraction of honey, utilisation and sale of both honey and beeswax and so forth. The descriptions are written in clear style, and the illustrations are instructive and full. Bee-keeping, being of the nature of a subsidiary industry, which can be taken up almost anywhere in India by the common householder we hope that the book will gain the popularity which is its due.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: *By Tarlok Singh, I.C.S. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 200. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author's is a study of Indian rural poverty and suggestion of reconstruction keeping in view agelong traditions of the race. He recognises the benefits of revolutionary changes in agriculture as have been adopted in Soviet Russia but does not rceognise such benefits for his own country. Mr. Singh would attack poverty at the very source, *i.e.*, he would begin to reconstruct and reorganise village agriculture and cottage industries on the basis of what he calls 'joint management'. It is distinct both from 'co-operative' and 'collective' production. He believes that to try anything revolutionary will be against Indian genius and tradition and sentiments. He will not abolish private property or ownership in land but will introduce 'joint management' in agriculture so that uneconomic cultivation may cease. He is willing to tolerate even absolute landlordism to a limited extent. The author himself studied the problems first-hand in villages and has prepared his thesis based on latest statistical figures available. The idealism expressed in this book is commendable and the author's moderation even in methods sufficiently revolutionary may be tried only by a National Government of the people, by the people and for the people. India of today is a body without soul and as such no self-determination in economic sphere is practicable. The author being a member of the Indian Civil Service has kept clear of politics but Indian Economics is too much blended with politics of the day. The question of emancipation of the teeming millions of India economic and otherwise is as much a socio-economic question as it is a political question of self-determination or National Independence. Without meaning any revolution the author advocates changes which will ultimately lead to revolutions—social and economic and such changes cannot be worked up or allowed to be worked up by an alien government for a subject race whose uplift is sure to affect adversely the interest of the ruling race. The question of rural reconstruction is so much linked up with national and international questions of tariff, taxation, planning, currency and exchange, etc. that no action can be taken at one end without a reaction at the other. So the questions of National Independence come in the forefront as a matter of course. The author's attempt to solve Indian poverty by the system of 'joint management' deserves serious consideration in the hands of those who are already in the field of work. But there can not be plenty for the people unless the exploitation of the British Imperialist is stopped once for all.

A. B. DUTTA

IN ENGLISH FIELDS: *By John Gasworth, Published by Susil Gupta, 1, Wellesley St., Calcutta. Pp. 64. Price Rs. 3.*

In the core of Mr. Gasworth's poems, there is tranquillity, a balanced equipoise of vision and emotion which bespeak of a classic frame of aesthetic organisation. To this, has rightly been added that sleepless sense of poetic fitness which is so much of the essence in aesthetic communication. But do the modern poets communicate? Some critics would like to think they do. But more often they don't. How can they communicate an incommunicable and intensely personal experience except in a way which must necessarily be the most difficult and different medium, unless they have attained a reasonable amount of objectivity. Mr. Gasworth has it to a considerable degree. He is tethered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the English poets who were able to fuse rare intuitions of beauty into beautiful forms, and while English poetry is in the confused throes of an impossible communication, Mr. Gasworth speaks with the resurrected voice of his dead compeers, rendered more tuneful by his own melodic echoes. In a world of storm-tossed agony, he stands in his secluded Goshen where the old world reappears, scene after scene, tinged with deep but tranquil passion, saturated with the colour and melody of a glowing perception. His style has the fulness of Keats's autumn. It is free from the academic taint of Bridges' poetry and is enlivened by fresh touches from Nature and passion.

The present volume is a collection of lyrics written between 1931-1941, many of which have Nature as their theme. Though written in early youth they represent a great mastery of "an exacting art."

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

TELUGU LITERATURE (Andhra Literature) : The P.E.N. Books (The Indian Literatures—No. XV) : *By Prof. P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D., Sastri. Edited by Sophia Wadia for the P. E. N. All-India Centre. Published by the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 154. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This brochure is one of a series designed to promote familiarity with the main literary trends of the major Indian languages.

Dr. Raju brings out in this volume a comprehensive survey of a language acclaimed to be one of the most musical in India. Set against the background of general Andhra culture and history, the book unfolds some of the magnificent contributions made by Andhras in the literary field.

The Anthology which has been appended as Part III deserves special mention. It contains specimen translations from some of the well-known works, both ancient and modern. Foreigners will find it very helpful in appreciating some of the outstanding features of the literature.

In spite of the voluminous present-day output it is feared that for the best in Telugu, one must invariably refer to the ancient literature. This characteristic drawback can partly be explained in the Editor's own words :

"India is no exception in a world swayed by politics in an extraordinary measure. Her ruling passion is for freedom from foreign domination ; in other countries politics revolves round other ideas and ideals, other hopes and aspirations. India has greater justification for being preoccupied with politics, for her servitude affects her indigenous culture on every plane."

It is, however, encouraging to find that contemporary figures like Viswanatha Satyanarayana and others herald a future full of promise.

While congratulating Dr. Raju for his commendable work, we fervently hope that all literary-minded people, specially of the other Indian Provinces would enthusiastically welcome this volume.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

BENGALI

MOUCHAKE DHIL : *By Pramatha Nath Bishi. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Dhurrumtola St., Calcutta. Second Edition. 1352 B.S. 158 + 35 + 7.*

This is a satire on the true Shavian pattern with its long ponderous Preface and unusual dramatic situations. Pramatha Babu is a well-read man with a highly cultivated aesthetic sense, and can distinguish between the genuine work of art and all the chaff that passes for it. Essentially this book is a political satire of the type that Shaw and Barker popularised in England during the early twenties of this century, and as Proust and Pirandello enlarged the scope of the Shavian technique by writing psychological and metaphysical satires. The wave of this satirical technique has reached the shores of Bengali literature somewhat late, but nonetheless it is a healthy current. The author has exposed in terms charged with ruthless sarcasm and sharp banter the hypocrisies of our political life, the vulgarities of our social conduct and the pretensions of our artistic creativities. He attacks the sham show that is our democracy, the muddle that is our press, the atrocity that is our Stage and the sacrilege that is our Cinema. If his satire goes home, it will still do a lot of good to our public conduct and professional taste. The author has been unduly bitter about a few other things, but his comments are well-intentioned. Like Shavian plays, the Preface of *Mouchake Dhil* is more important than its dramatic content. The sequence of scenes is also a little cumbrous. That, perhaps, explains the failure of this story as a film. As the author himself has claimed, it is essentially a drama, and its art and technique are entirely different from those of the motion picture. It is to be hoped that Pramatha Babu will continue to write such satirical dramas challenging the slumbering complacency of our national leaders in the realm of social and artistic creativities.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE (Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala—52) : *By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243/1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Illustrated. Pp. 148. Price twelve annas.*

In this short treatise the author has given an authentic account of the life and works of Saratchandra Chatterjee. Saratchandra is a household word in Bengal. His novels, being the true pictures of our Bengali life, have a charm of their own. The lucid style of Saratchandra's writings and the graphic presentation of his characters are not only unique in themselves but also have added lustre to the Bengali literature. His letters, not a few in number, have been mostly collected in this book. They throw much light on the inner workings of the author's mind. Saratchandra had another phase of his life, which has received very little publicity, but nonethe-less very important. Saratchandra joined the freedom movement of the Congress for some time. His thoughts on the current problems as well as his views on men and things as expressed in his occasional speeches and writings, were very important, and even today our political leaders will find in them much light for their guidance. The author has done a distinct service to his countrymen by getting them together in this neat little volume. We congratulate the Parishat on bringing out such a handy volume at such a low price.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

KHUN KE DHABBE : *By Mohan Singh Sengar. Published by Pradip Press, Moradabad. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of eleven short stories, converging round the truth, so much needed in modern times, that Fascism is a delirious fever which is a positive danger to the health of humanity and which, therefore, must be resisted at all costs with one's very life. The scene is mostly laid in the war-mongering and man-insulting-and-oppressing countries of Europe. It is, indeed, remarkable how the author who has never been to that Continent, has been able to create, with such vivid imagination, the *milieu* of the people and plots around which the stories move with dramatic effect. The passion for freedom is a part of man's soul ; as such, it shares in his immortality and so the urge for freedom of this urge, even though that may mean shedding of one's own blood (though not neces-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sarily spilling of another's) can never be killed under the hobnailed heels of a Dictator's (be that Dictator a person or a party) jack-boots. The warriors of freedom, sketched in the stories, are all humble folks of the rank and file but the courage they show in resisting the terrors of Fascism, has about it the aroma of the heroes of the epics. There is more of the art of life in the stories—and that is the greatest of all arts !—than of "art-for-art's-sake" art, and so they have a verisimilitude of veracity.

The get-up and printing are of a high order.

SHEKHAR : EK JEEVANI (Second Part) : *By "Agneya". Saraswati Press, Benares. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 5.*

This is the second part of an autobiography which, when the first part appeared some years ago, created a sensation in modern Hindi literature. Of course, it provoked criticism but it also evoked encomiums, and brought out in bold relief the contrast (it need not be described by that discordant word, 'clash') between the reactions of the old and the orthodox to their environments,—physical, intellectual, social and religious—and those of the young and the ever-yearning for something new and novel in the landscape of life. In the volume, under review, however, this contrast is deepened and made more dynamic, inasmuch as both the onlookers are helped in viewing the world, its views and ways from an angle, which is a little higher and so more all-embracing than the one from which they surveyed the scene before. The stay-at-home-ness and sense of security of the aged or the elder are shaken to let in the breeze blowing from the bigger world, while the spirit of adventure of the growing generation is chastened into including the nest also, in addition to the sky. *Shekhar* is a tonic with a lot of *iron* in it.

G. M.

ANTARASHTRIYA GYANKOSH : *By Ram Narayan 'Yadvendu,' B.A., LL.B. Published by Educational Publishing Co. Ltd., Cherbagh, Lucknow. Pp. 445. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book under review is a sort of encyclopaedia containing a comprehensive summary of important personalities, -isms, events, places, poets and treaties and popular current terminology in politics, art, science, history, philosophy, religions, etc., arranged in alphabetical order. The book is much useful for general reference purposes for the general reader. In future editions, we hope, an attempt will be made to make it more comprehensive and all-embracing.

M. S. Sengar

MARATHI

SUVARNATULA : *By Shrikrishna Keshav Kshirasagar. Published by Padma Publications, Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay 1. Price Rs. 3.*

A critic of high literary repute, Mr. Kshirasagar has given an appropriate title to this collection of essays on Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Jawaharlal Nehru, Radhakrishnan and M. N. Roy. He has really weighed gold and with the care, caution and exactitude that gold is weighed. His estimate of each of the great personages discussed is altogether objective and candid, neither prejudiced nor pre-possessed.

Summing up the secret of the Gandhian way, Mr. Kshirasagar says, "Just as a householder does not feel elated by compelling members of his family to follow his wishes but feels delighted to win them over by love and persuasion and thus convince them of the desirability of doing so, the Gandhian way adopts the same line in social and international affairs. Gandhism looks upon the whole world as a family and love as the only law that should govern the inter-relations of this family. The concept of revenge is altogether ruled out in the governance of this family." His estimate of Dr. Radhakrishnan is that he is the most accomplished interpreter of ancient Hindu lore in excellent English. He looks upon Jawaharlal Nehru as the epitome of modern young India with all its good points and blemishes. Of Ranade he says that the title of a saint in politics and social life would fit him more than even Gandhiji. The estimates of Rabindranath Tagore and M. N. Roy leave one with the impression that the author believes in their greatness but is at pains to prove it even to his own satisfaction. Naturally he cannot lead his readers to share his belief on the strength of what he has said of them.

T. V. Parvate

GUJARATI

RUPLALSA : *By Rajhans Lathi, Kathiawad. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1943. Khadi cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 3.*

Rajendra and Sobhan, two young men, and Sharda and Lala, two young women, are involved in this story which is an attempt to present a picture of the life lived by young educated girls of the present times from amongst whom it is difficult to find *Satis*, even potential *Satis*. Why is it so ? The author answers the question by saying, "Standard of Morality differs everywhere." The ideal of marriage as cultivated amongst orthodox Hindus, is partly abandoned here. Divorce was contemplated when the husband died as a result of a fire and left his widow free to remarry her lover and outrager of her wifely modesty. The story in short is this :

Shobhan and Sharda are college friends and as such they marry each other. Soon after marriage they have to live away from each other. Rajendra, a widower and libertine takes possession of Sharda's body and physical self. Lala who loves Rajendra is discarded in favour of Sharda, and Lala resigns in her favour provided it makes Rajendra happy. His morals improve and he sticks to Sharda, and Lala vows to remain a spinster and become a nurse. The picture, however, is unreal. Hindus even now would rarely be found living such artificial lives. The language is consonant with the theme and the whole book is interspersed with Sutra-like, *i.e.*, terse sayings. The writer has maintained a high level throughout.

GUJARATI SAHITYANI RUPREKHA : *By Prof. Vijayarai K. Vaidya of M. T. B. College, Surat. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1943. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 381. Price Re. 1-12.*

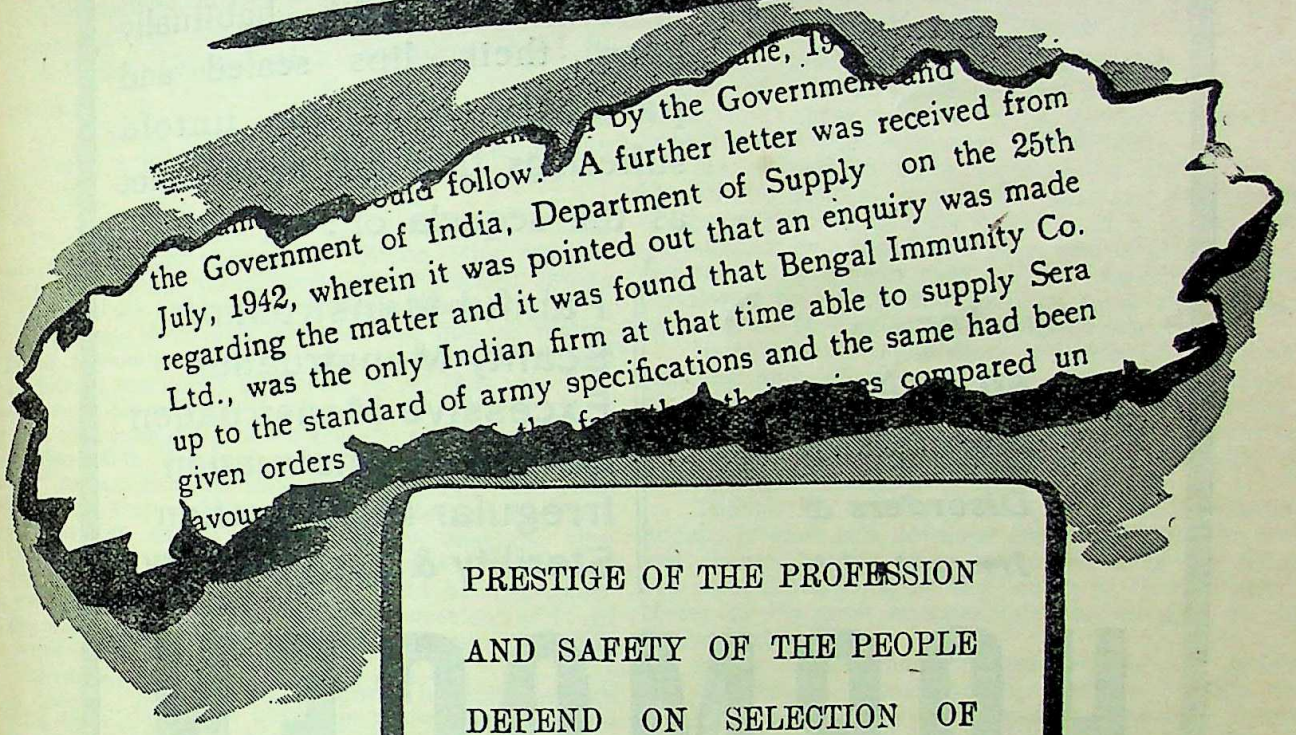
This book is published as one belonging to the Sayaji Sahitya Mata, Baroda, and is meant to give an outline of the literature of Gujarat from about 900 A.D. to present times. The field is very vast and in the space of about 350 pages, the writer can but merely touch the fringe of it. He is conscious of the limitation and admits that the restrictions thus imposed on his work have made him skip over or very lightly touch all but very important and outstanding authors and their work. Even then he has been able to paint a very representative picture of the different stages and periods through which medieval Gujarati literature has passed on its way to modern and recent times. Prof. Vaidya has studied and digested his literary material very well and has reproduced it in a style, which will appeal to cultured readers. His critical examination and evolution of the work of each author created by him maintains a very high level, and is conceived in a vein which even with our present standard of education, is difficult to fully satisfy. He is cramped for space otherwise he would have done better ; and he knows it. However the same, another valuable and reliable book on this subject.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RECOGNISED AS *India's Best...*



PRESTIGE OF THE PROFESSION
AND SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE
DEPEND ON SELECTION OF
DEPENDABLE BRANDS ONLY.

INDIA PRODUCES HER *OWN AND ALSO EXPORTS*

SERUM & VACCINE

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO., LTD., CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SILENT SUFFERING ... —THEIR BADGE !!!

Women in India habitually keep their lips sealed and patiently bear the untold sufferings that fall to their lot as the sequela of :—

For All such Menstrual Disorders & Irregularities

Painful Menstruation
Scanty Menstruation
Excessive Menstruation
Delayed Menstruation
Irregular Menstruation
Sterility & early Senility

HORMOGEN

is the remedy of choice

HORMOGEN, containing the active principles of Thyroids, Pituitary, Suprarenal and Gonads in a harmonious combination, is a highly effective Therapeutic Gland product.

AVAILABLE IN BOTH LIQUID & TABLET FORMS.

If your Chemists fail to supply please refer to :—

BENGAL IMMUNITY Co., Ltd., Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tagore's Message of Freedom

The following is the text of an address (as published in *The Hindustan Review*) delivered by Sir Stafford Cripps at a meeting held in London :

We express our gratitude for the life of Rabindranath Tagore, in the cultural sphere the greatest Indian of our times and one of the outstanding figures of all time.

His influence extended far beyond his own country and expressed, more particularly during the opening years of this century, the influence of the ancient Indian culture upon the problems of modern times.

Tagore was descended from a long line of distinguished ancestors and there seemed to be distilled into his mind and character the essence of all that was best and finest in his race.

As the youngest of the eight remarkable children of Debendranath Tagore, himself a foremost leader of Indian culture, Rabindranath, who was born in 1861, was sent to school in Calcutta and, later, in England, but he was not one of those ordinary mortals who could be tamed by the formal educational methods of the time. His spirit was too free so that he eventually became the product largely of self-education and of those beneficent influences that surrounded him amongst his family and friends.

He started early in life to express himself through the medium of literature, using his native Bengali, and in the course of his life, he did much to develop the literary and poetic qualities of that language.

The volume of his writings was very large, but unfortunately many of them still remain inaccessible to the English-speaking world. I hope that before long a complete translation of all his works will appear in this country, as a most fitting tribute to his memory and to the great advantage of our civilisation.

The first period of his life was crowned by the great public reception accorded to him in the Town Hall of Calcutta by all the people of Bengal on his fiftieth birthday, when he was already acknowledged as the supreme genius of his own country.

It was shortly after this that he broke like a shining comet into the sphere of Western European culture. The publication in England of *Gitanjali* in 1913 awoke through Western lands a lively appreciation of the greatness of this rumoured genius of the East.

Almost immediately after he was accorded the Nobel Prize for Literature, which established his European fame.

For some time, after the first World War, Tagore, through his writings, letters and statements exercised a growing influence throughout the world, and not least in Germany, as the prophet of reconciliation between the peoples. This period of influence in the sphere of international politics lasted so long as the world was thinking in terms of unity and reconciliation, but when the hard and vicious forces of aggression swept into the scene, Tagore's influence gradually faded, until he became almost a forgotten power. He could have no community of interest with the forces of war or of oppression.

Even to the very last days of his life, in August, 1941, he kept up his interest in and his encouragement to his fellowmen all over the world whatever their nation, race or creed, always looking forward with hope to a new and better world.

Visit to Tagore

I was privileged, when I visited India in the late autumn of 1939, to spend an hour with him in his bedroom, and never have I felt a greater inspiration of hope from contact with any human heart.

He seemed to have accumulated during his long life all the wisdom, human kindness and understanding of the world and to have transmuted it in the passage through his own mind into hope and inspiration for the future of the human race. I felt myself profoundly privileged to be allowed to draw upon that fount of inspiration. It was an unforgettable experience.

In the last twelve years of his life he took to painting and found in it some measure of release for his subconscious mind. He never made any claims for himself as an artist, but loved to try his pictures upon the professional art world to see what fantastic comments would emerge.

Though his mind revolved in the wide spheres of human interest and development throughout the world, and though he was truly international in his outlook, yet at the beginning of the century, particularly, he threw all his great energies into the struggle of rising Indian nationalism.

Many of his finest poems and of his political essays were the outcome of his intense feelings upon Indian Freedom, and these writings not only inspired his own countrymen in their battle for freedom, but helped to open the eyes of many outside his own country to the problems and sufferings of India.

Torch of Liberation

I would like to quote you some lines from his poem "The Torch of Liberation", which express so vividly his passionate love and sympathy for the oppressed :

"Arise One and all ! behold ! yonder rages a great conflagration.

The Conch-shell has sounded to rouse the world.



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878

Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The firmament resounds with myriad human wails.
Listen to the helpless, in fetters bound, crying for liberty from the death-enveloped prison house.
And look hydra-headed flaming rapacity sucks the life blood of the mute millions.
Injustice, the outgrowth of arrogant selfishness, mocks at all suffering and pain while the timid and cowardly slaves shelter in disguise.
The People stand dumb, bowed and bent ; on their death-pale countenances written the story of agony of centuries.

* * * *

Face your tyrants ; like frightened curs they shall vanish.
The gods are against them, friendless they are, and with all their vaunts and boasts they know their own wretched meanness.
Yours, O muse of life, is the task of awakening, inspiring and emancipating this dismal world steeped as it is in darkness, sorrow and pain, in poverty, emptiness and insignificance.
The Cry of our Land is the cry for Bread, for Life, for Light and Freedom, for Strengthened Health and Joyousness and Open-hearted Courage.
Amidst this gloom of our misery and distress bring us, O heavenly Muse, for once the torch of faith and confidence."

But his influence and his sympathies were not limited to the sufferings of his own people. When War engulfed the whole of civilisation in its tragedy he was deeply moved.

A Poet's Protest

When, at the age of nearly 80, in the midst of the second World War, he was honoured by the conferring on him of the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa* by the University of Oxford, he spoke these words in his acknowledgment.

"In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and continents, with savagery let loose and brutal thirst for possession augmented by science, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But a time of violence, however immediately threatening, is circumscribed and we who live beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of time, must renew our faith in the permanent growth of civilisation toward an ultimate purpose."

Even in these most tragic hours he could preserve the calm philosophy of hope, coloured by his great faith in the simple humanity of the world.

Far from being an impractical dreamer that some mystics would like to think him, he was essentially a practical longsighted statesman, though in his later years he grew to dislike and be suspicious of politics and politicians. He had no doubt in his mind that science, economics and psychology were three new solvents which must be applied to all the problems of India.

Critical of British Rule

He was devoted to his British friends and the memories of his kindly treatment and friendships during his early life in England never left him. But he was severely critical of the negative outlook of the British Government towards India. He always drew a sharp distinction between the character of the individual Englishman and the mass actions of the English people as represented by their Government.

He was, of course, particularly interested in the fate of those countries and peoples who were closely associated by geography or culture with his own country. In the course of his wide travels, which took him into every continent, he visited China, Japan and Soviet Russia.

One who knew him intimately and shared some of his travels writes of him : "Never was there a more lively witty or stimulating fellow-traveller and to see a new country with him was a perpetual delight."

To use his own words once again—"When I went to China, I felt a touch of that great stream of life that sprang from the heart of India and overflowed across the mountains and desert into that distant land fertilising the heart of its people."

Impressed by Russia

He was profoundly impressed by the Soviet regime in Russia as is shown by the letters he wrote from Moscow. Here is an extract from one of them :

"Man cannot do good to those he does not respect. No sooner is one's self-interest at stake than a clash arises. A radical solution of the problem is being sought in Russia.

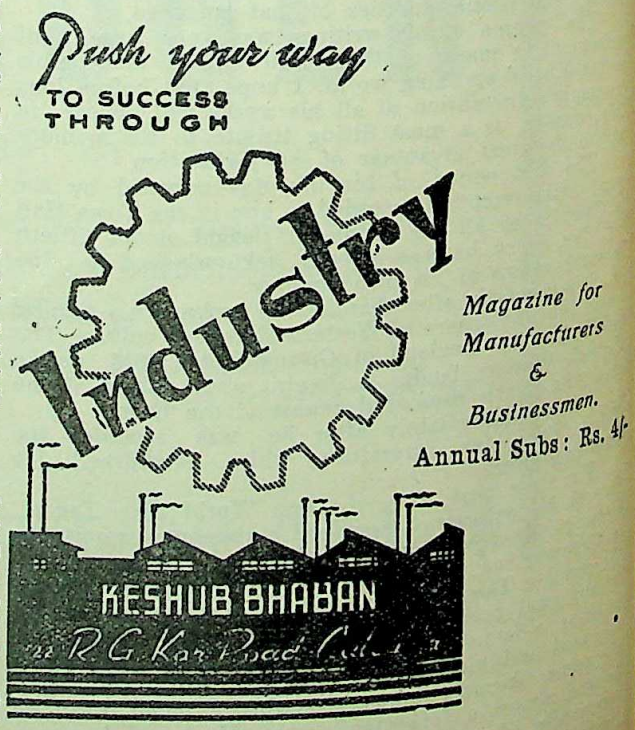
"Not in European Russia alone, but also among the semi-civilised races of Central Asia they have opened the flood-gates of education."

Reply to Noguchi

When, during the War, Noguchi, the Japanese writer, sought to persuade Tagore to the mission of Japan as the leader of Asia, his reply left no doubt as to his views of Japanese methods.

"It is sad to think that the passion of collective militarism may on occasion helplessly overwhelm even the creative artists ; that genuine intellectual power should be led to offer its dignity and truth to be sacrificed at the shrine of the dark gods of war.

"You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of shells. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds that brought exultation to the heart of Tamerlane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
	MARCH 1942 —	15%	
Bengal Cotton Estate	„ 1943 —	10%	SONARPUR
	„ 1944 —	10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
Tripura	„ 1945 —	10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For one	year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„ two	years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„ three	„	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb. Phone:—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The doctrine of 'Asia for Asia' which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions."

Shantiniketan

But he did not content himself with mere negation, a large part of his life was spent in constructive works to build up that wide humanism which he looked upon as the hope of the future.

At Shantiniketan in Bengal, where he founded his school in the year 1901, he sought to establish, first, a pattern for Indian education based upon freedom and harmony with nature, and, second, to surmount the prejudices of nationalism wherever they might be found.

At his school he faced boldly the most difficult problems, such as the segregation of the sexes and the practice of child marriage, and was prepared to adopt the most revolutionary steps for their solution.

His determination to face and understand the problems of the breakdown of the economy and the social system of the villages immediately around his school led him to start his Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

The gradual broadening out of the basis of Shantiniketan was to make it a meeting place of peoples and cultures which would serve to disperse the misunderstandings and frictions engendered by a narrow nationalism.

When opening the Chinese Hall at Shantiniketan in 1940 he gave this expression to his desires :

"I do not know whether you have heard of this institution that I have established in my land. Its one object is to let India welcome the world to its heart. Let what seems a barrier become a path, and let us unite not in spite of our differences but through them. For differences can never be wiped away and life would be so much the poorer without them. Let all human races keep their own personalities, and yet come together, not in a uniformity that is dead but in a unity that is living."

The Heaven of Freedom

This unity that is living was the unity of freedom, the deepest passion of Tagore's heart. In one of his poems of freedom occur these lines :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;

Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls :
Where words come out from the depth of Truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action ;
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

Contribution to World

It would be difficult to sum up Tagore's contribution to the world in better words than those which were used when the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature of Oxford University was conferred upon him :

"Here before you is the myriad-minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved in both word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind.

It is that great citizen of the world whose work and labours in the cause of freedom, honour and progress we commemorate. His is a great example, perfect beyond the possibility of following for all of us, but none the less a spur that may urge us on towards the very goals which he set before himself and his people.

Never has the world been more in need of such leadership and inspiration—of the practical application to our crushing burden of difficulties of the clear-sighted and single-minded solutions which he taught.

It is for us who remain and who have had the privilege of living in his times and within the sphere of his influence to do our utmost to carry on the message of hope and courage which was instinct in his life and works.

Let me conclude with almost the last words that Tagore wrote on the eightieth anniversary of his birth.

"To-day my one last hope is that the deliverer will be born in this poverty-stricken country, and from the East the divine message will go forth to the world at large and fill the heart of man with boundless hope. As I proceed onward I look behind to see the crushing ruins of civilisation, strewn like a vast dunghead of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over, and the atmosphere rendered clear with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Another day will come when the unvanquished Man will retrace his path of glory, despite all barriers to win back his lost human heritage."

Dare we hope that we have lived to see the dawn of that other day and that it has been given to us to overcome those barriers and win back man's lost heritage ?

"When death comes and whispers to me 'Thy days are ended.'
Let me say to him 'I have lived in love and not in mere time.'
He will ask 'Will thy songs remain ?'
I shall say 'I know not, but this I know that often when I sang I found my eternity.'



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nai Talim

Basic Education

The Wardha Scheme of Education is a revolutionary departure from the traditional methods of education. In the concluding portion of his article on Nai Talim in *The Calcutta Review*, G. Ramchandran observes :

Material results we do want from work. When we ply the charkha and let the shuttle fly on our looms we produce yarn and cloth. And we need all the yarn and the cloth we can produce by work. When we drive the plough and work with all the other fascinating instruments in a farm we produce grains, fruits and vegetables and a variety of crops. And all these we need as much as we can produce by our work. But if we are to inculcate the real love of all such work then it will not do to teach these to our children in a merely mechanical way. The charkha, the loom, and the plough are not only machines. Each of them is truly a piece of history. Each of them is a living and growing thing. They have all lived and grown and changed with us. How much history, how much science they work with them, we should reveal to them all that history and all that science. We shall then have to further reveal how this history and this science embedded in them are entwinced with many other pieces of history and science in the environment. History and science will then no longer be "bookish" but living and glowing realities. The charkha, the loom, and the plough will link themselves almost interminably with ever-widening circles of facts and works. They will not be merely certain instruments for producing certain material results. They will become educators. And what we learn from them in this manner will make us produce better and more efficiently what they produced before. The charkha, the loom, and the plough are only illustrations. These illustrations can be easily multiplied. But the truth of truths in regard to this matter is that our world is enriched both materially and spiritually when we spin and when we weave and when we plough and when we do all such other things in such a manner that we win from such work the knowledge we need to enrich our minds. The progeny of love is always better than the progeny of lust. This is most true of our approach to work. This then is the central fact upon which Nai Talim is founded and reared.

From the start children in Basic Schools are so trained as to develop love for work. There is no more ridiculous conception than that work in Basic Schools is a kind of sweated labour. It would be so if such work is mechanical. And yet so much mechanical work in ordinary schools escapes the calumny that it is sweated labour because a wall of books and note-books hide the fact. It is on the other hand exactly the contrary in Basic Education. Children are guided to do work as they can in such a manner that they discover "learning" in it. Doing and learning become one joint process and thus "doing" ceases to be a drudgery and "learning" is no longer unreal or "frustrating."

As children learn to love work, they will learn to derive "learning" from work and thus do work better and better.

They will thus receive from work all the spiritual and material gifts it can so richly give. This is Basic Education—education through work, education by and by the love of work. Such education will enter into the very blood and love of the boy and the girl, making them live vitally, fully and consciously for themselves and for society. Since all real work has necessarily to be environmental, education through such work becomes a luminous bond between boys and girls on the one hand and all the realities in their environment on the other. Our boys and girls will no longer become aliens in their environment as they so much tend to do under the present system of education. On the contrary, under Basic Education they will fix their roots well into their soil, and being capable of drawing up all the mourishment in that soil, they will in turn enrich the life of their country beyond anything we can dream of today.

Basic Education is intended for the seven years between the ages of seven and fourteen. When it puts down roots into the lives of younger children from two and a half to seven years of age it becomes Pre-Basic Education. When it throws up branches into the lives of those above fourteen years of age it becomes Post-Basic and Adult Education. But throughout from "the cradle to the grave" education is primarily through activity and work. The whole of such education is what has today become Nai Talim.

In Nai Talim therefore we thus stand on the threshold of a new era in education and therefore inevitably in our national life. In Nai Talim we have the vision of a whole people, from children to adults, creating a new social order in which all must work for all. That means a non-violent social order in which co-operation will replace competition, peace will take the place of conflict and a healthy general level of well-being will appear where we have today overplenty at one end and bitter penury at the other. What a revolution that will be.

—

BE TALLER



In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19½	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen — REGD.

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

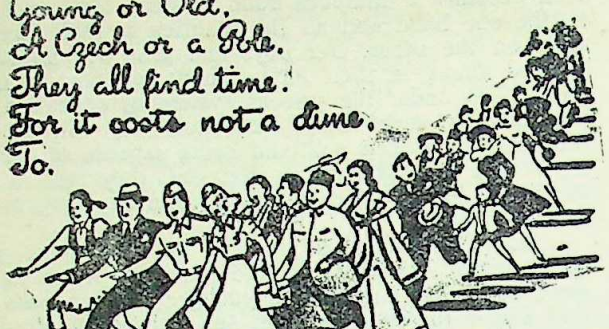
(Copyright)

Other Products :—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs. 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CONSULT
HERING & KENT
for
FREE MEDICAL ADVICE

We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

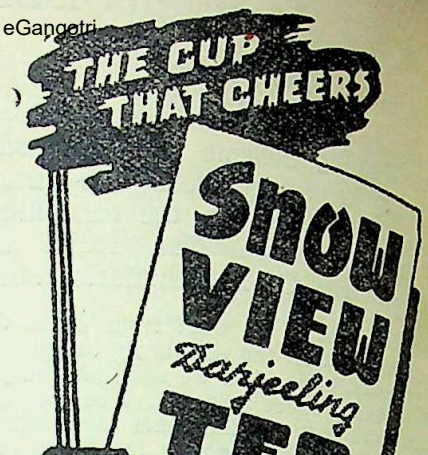
Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc.. etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,

261-263, Hornby Road,

Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Education in Ancient India

As Mirrored In Sanskrit Folk-tales

M. A. Mehendale shows in an article in *The Aryan Path* how much light the Sanskrit folk-tales—and especially the collection known as the *Kathasaritsagara*—can shed on education in the India of a thousand years and more ago:

Much has already been written on education in ancient India. The Sanskrit folk-tales, collected in works like the *Kathasaritsagara,* give us data which agree in general with the information obtained from other sources. But they also preserve certain interesting customs which help us in getting a profile of society in those days. The collections of Sanskrit folk-tales that we have today date mostly from the eleventh century A.D. onwards.

It is now well established that, from the Smriti period onwards, the Brahmins were the chief custodians of learning and hence we find in these folk-tales many students approaching a Brahmin preceptor for their education. It was not considered meet for a Brahmin boy to indulge in dainties, to wear rich garments and ornaments, and to give himself up to betel-chewing and sensual pleasures instead of devoting himself to his studies. For the sake of specialisation in a particular subject many students had to leave their homes and go to distant countries for further studies under expert guidance. It is significant that in the story literature we find many students proceeding to the Deccan for their studies. It seems that the period required to cover all the higher studies was a very long one, though it is very difficult to dogmatise on the point.

Some students, we find, underwent severe penances in order to get their education.

Perhaps education, like wealth, was regarded as a special boon conferred by the deity on his devotee. It was the deity Karttikeya who was generally resorted to for this purpose. Yet it seems that a section of public opinion looked with disfavour on this method of acquiring learning. Thus, when a certain Brahmin went to the Ganges to acquire learning by austerities, Indra appeared before him in the form of a Branmin and reproved him for having adopted such a method of educating himself. In very clear terms Indra told him that it was impossible to educate oneself without reading and listening to the discourse of a teacher. (*Kathasaritsagara,* 7.6.15 ff.)

We learn from Alberuni that long before the tenth century Vaisyas had left off Vedic studies and that in his own time only a few Kshatriyas followed them. In the folk-tales, however, we find Kshatriya princes engaging themselves in the pursuit of knowledge and the acquirement of varied accomplishments. For instance, the son of King Merudhvaja is in his eighth year invested with the sacred thread by a hermit who constructs him during the following eight years in different sciences, accomplishments and the use of mighty weapons. (*Ibid.,* 17.5.46-47) Nor were such intellectual pursuits the monopoly of royal families. On certain occasions Kshatriya and Brahmin lads are shown receiving their lessons together. (*Ibid.,* 13.1.25)

Our knowledge about the spread of education among the merchant and the servant classes is rather scanty. Yet it may be gathered from the few references that we have, that the members of the Vaisya class were not altogether illiterate. The mother of a Vaisya boy is seen persuading a teacher to teach her son writing and ciphering. And when he has learnt these elementary things she says to him, "You are the son of a merchant, so you must engage in trade." (*Ibid.,* 1.6.32 ff) The lower classes, however, seem to have been completely illiterate; a certain porter, for example, could not read the letters of the king's name engraved on a bracelet which he had found. (*Ibid.,* 10.1.15.19)

It was a bright aspect of ancient Indian education that the students were not required to pay regular fees to their teachers.

The teacher gave them instruction in return for the personal services he got from them and at the most in expectation of some lump sum at the end of the studies. Thus the Brahmin Visnusarman, in the *Panchatantra,* declined to sell his knowledge for any fixed sum. The relations between the teacher and his pupils, who used to stay with him, were usually very cordial. In the case of a clash, however, the student left the house of his preceptor, leaving behind him his stick and water-vessel. (*Ibid.,* 12.30.24-30)

In the ancient history of India kings have all along shown a benevolent attitude towards the cause of education by extending patronage to learned scholars. I-tsing observes that many scholars, after finishing their studies at the universities, repaired to the royal courts to get suitable appointments in the State service. It was a fashion in those days, with learned scholars and artists, to carry on discussions in the learned assemblies and to exhibit their art in royal courts. Those who came out victorious in such assemblies or were able to make their mark by proficiency in a particular art were richly rewarded by the king. (*Ibid.,* 10.10.566)

In early days caste distinctions did not determine the occupations of youths; to this fact even the Chinese traveller Yuan-chwang, who visited India in the seventh century, bears testimony. In the story literature we come across many Brahmin youths who were adept in the use of weapons and hand-to-hand fighting. Not only this, the Brahmin and Kshatriya youths are occasionally shown to have acquired remarkable skill in such fine arts as music and dancing. Gunasarman, a Brahmin friend of King Mahasena of Ujjayini, was versed in the Vedas and in the use of weapons and this over and above other accomplishments. Once he was requested by the king and his queen to exhibit his skill in dancing. He, however, thought it improper to dance in a court and especially before the king with his queen. The king then assured his friend that his performance would not be looked upon as a stage exhibition but merely as a private display of skill in the company of friends. Thereupon the Brahmin acceded to their request and danced with great skill. (*Ibid.,* 8.6.8 ff.; 8.6.162-164) This incident also shows that such arts were pursued by the members of the higher castes only as a matter of personal accomplishment and not for exhibition in public.

—

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Role of Women in the Domain of Science

Women have been outstandingly successful in scientific pursuits, thus disproving the oft-quoted proverb that 'woman is a lesser man.' Dr. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Women are the creatures of finer but not of weaker vessels as men think of them. We have orators, writers, poets, artists and journalists among women. We have also scientists of the highest intellectual order that the world has ever seen.

The first and foremost picture of the brilliant women scientists that flashes in one's mind is that of Madame Curie. She was a poor Polish girl and belonged to an oppressed nation but her disposition was calm, sweet and amiable.

A powerful vocation summoned her from her motherland Poland to study science in Paris where she lived through years of poverty and solitude. There she met M. Pierre Curie whom she married. Under the guidance of M. Curie, Mme. Curie started her scientific investigations on the mineral pitchblende. On tons after tons of pitchblende—a uranium mineral—she kept on working day and night which she was enabled to do through the generosity of the Austrian Government and some French societies and companies. She noticed an unnaturally high activity in pitchblende. This abnormally high activity led her to announce the probable existence of a new element hitherto undiscovtred endowed with powerful radioactivity in a communication to the Academy. This paper was published in the proceedings of the Academy on the 12th April, 1898. This was the first stage of the discovery of radium. Mme. Curie continued her laborious researches with pitchblende day and night in the damp little workrooms in the Rue L. Homond. By July, 1898 Mme. Curie in collaboration with her husband announced the discovery of a new element which she called polonium in honour to her motherland Poland, the results being published in the proceedings of the Academy.

On the 26th December, 1898, Marie and Pierre Curie declared the discovery of radium —a sensational discovery in the world of science.

Radium gives out penetrating rays under all conditions and it is always 2°C warmer than its surroundings. It gives out energy at a tremendous rate. A piece of radium will cause more than its weight of water to boil in an hour. This fact is not so impressive as the fact that the same piece of radium would go on boiling water for thousands of years. Radium not only evolves energy but shoots out radiations which are known as the α the β and the γ rays. The discovery of radium has brought a revolutionary idea in science, changing the fundamental conceptions of chemistry, because so far it was known to the scientists that transmutation of elements was impossible but radium shows that with the emission of radiations radium undergoes disintegration, giving rise to new elements and ultimately it produces an entirely different element—lead. The X-rays that are emitted from the radium are now being used for studying further transmutation by bombardment with atoms of other elements—the special apparatus Cyclotron and Betatron respectively being devised for this purpose. Next. Mme. Curie started therapeutic researches with radium and it was taken under the direction of Andre Debierne at the Central Chemical Products Company. The action of radium on cancerous cells proved efficacious and now-a-days radium therapy is the only treatment for cancer which was regarded so far as an incurable disease—thus radium acquiring a commercial aspect. Mme. Curie has made a notable and outstanding contribution not only in the realm of chemistry but also in the science of medicine.

Mme. Curie won the Nobel prize twice, first in 1903 and then in 1911. She received the Gagner prize, the Doctorate degree and a large number of honorary titles, prizes and medals.

She was the first woman who has ever been admitted to the sessions of the Royal Institution.

Every morning she entered the narrow rooms of the school in the Rue Cuvier, took a coarse linen smock gown from its peg to cover her black dress and set to work. As days passed on she won more and more wreaths of honour and fame. As professor, research worker and laboratory director, Mme. Curie worked with the same incomparable intensity. At the Sorbonne in Paris she was promoted to the titular Professorship in 1908. In 1910 she published a masterly treatise on radioactivity. The number of Mme. Curie's students increased in number every day, some of them being the world-renowned scientists of to-day. With the earnest attempts of Dr. Roux and Vice-Rector Liard 800,000 francs was donated by the University of Paris and the Pasteur Institute to build up the Institute of Radium a laboratory for researches on radioactivity for Mme. Curie. She was appointed Director of this Radium Institute in Paris. When the War broke out in 1914 she personally entered the theatre of war, nursing the soldiers and treating and curing their wounds with radium. She also built a factory at Arneueil for the treatment of ores in mass by radium therapy. Due to incessant work and no rest Mme. Curie grew weaker day by day and she became bedridden at last suffering from an aplastic pernicious anaemia. On Friday, the 4th July, 1934, she died peacefully leaving inspirations to the women scientists of the future generations. Einstein, one of the greatest scintists of to-day, has said 'Marie Curie is, of all celebrated beings, the only one whom fame has not corrupted.'

Irene Curie, daughter of M. and Mme. Curie, won the Nobel prize in 1935 jointly with her husband Jolliot for the researches on the artificial transmutation of elements.

The creation of the atom bomb which has suddenly brought unexpected changes in the world, is due to the Jewish woman scientist—Dr. Mayitner, the Principal of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. She announced in 1938 that tremendous energy which is stored in an atom has the possibility of its practical application. She continued her investigations—'How this energy can be utilised.' For a number of years she worked with Dr. Niels Bohr. The problem was further worked up by Dr. Yermi.

In Russia, the director of the Baku petrol mine is a woman sceintist—Sakina Kulieva. The captain of the naval department is a lady—Anna Schetinina. The Superintendent of the Moscow Railway traffic is a woman—Zineinaida Troitskaya. In Protein Chemistry the leading scientist is a woman—Jordan Lloyd. She is now the authority on this subject.

The Royal Society of London made regulations placing a ban on women, so that they could not be Fellows of their Society. Since 1944 the authorities of the Society have been forced to remove this ban and two women have so far been admitted as Fellows of the Society. One is Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale—the Physicist Royal Institute. She is distinguished for outstanding contributions to the investigation of the crystalline structure of organic compounds by means of X-ray analysis. The other is Marjory Stephenson—a member of the Medical Research Council staff of the Biochemical Department. She is distinguished for her bio-chemical researches upon the metabolism of bacteria during 25 years.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says** :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court says** :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son, I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(*The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East*).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, " Basanta Nivas " (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Premier Stalin's Election Speech

The text of Premier Stalin's talk as recorded by the Soviet monitor from a Moscow radio broadcast (published in *The New York Times* Sunday, February 10, 1946) is reproduced below :

Comrades, eight years have elapsed since the last elections. This is a period rich in events of a decisive character. The first four years passed in strenuous work of the Soviet people in the fulfilment of the Third Five-year Plan.

During the past four years the events of the struggle against the German and Japanese aggressors developed —the events of the Second World War. Doubtless the war was the main event of that period.

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as the result of the fault of some of the statesmen. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

Our Marxists declare that the capitalist system of world economy conceals elements of crisis and war, that the development of world capitalism does not follow a steady and even course forward, but proceeds through crises and catastrophes. The uneven development of the capitalist countries leads in time to sharp disturbances in their relations, and the group of countries which consider themselves inadequately provided with raw materials and export markets try usually to change this situation and to change the position in their favor by means of armed force.

As a result of these factors, the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps and war follows.

Perhaps the catastrophe of war could have been avoided if the possibility of periodic redistribution of raw materials and markets between the countries existed in accordance with their economic needs, in the way of co-ordinated and peaceful decisions. But this is impossible under the present capitalist development of world economy.

Causes of Two World Wars

Thus, as a result of the first crisis in the development of the capitalist world economy, the First World War arose. The Second World War arose as a result of the second crisis.

This does not mean, of course, that the Second World War was a copy of the first. On the contrary, the Second World War is radically different from the first in its character. It must be kept in mind that the main Fascist States—Germany, Japan and Italy—before attacking the Allied countries had abolished at home the last remnants of the bourgeois democratic liberties, had established a cruel terrorist regime, had trampled under foot the principles of sovereignty and freedom of the small nations, declared the policy of seizure of other peoples' lands as their own policy, declared for the whole world to hear that they strove for world domination and spread of the Fascist regime throughout the world.

. . . . . .

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis powers could only strengthen and did strengthen the anti-Fascist and liberating character of the Second World War. On this basis was established the anti-Fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving countries, which subsequently played a decisive part in the rout of the armed forces of the Axis powers.

Origin of World War II

What about the origin and character of the Second World War ? In my opinion, everybody now recognizes that the war against fascism was not, nor could it be, an accident in the life of the peoples ; that the war turned into a war of the peoples for their existence ; that precisely for this reason it could not be a speedy war, a "lightning war."

. . . . . .

For us this was an excellent school of experience, heroism, honesty and devotion. This war has shown many of our Soviet people in their real light and thus helped to judge them as they deserve.

Now victory means, first of all, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and has proved its complete vitality.

As is well known the assertion often has been made in the foreign press that the Soviet social system is a risky experiment, doomed to failure, that the Soviet system is a house of cards, without roots in real life, and imposed on the people by the organs of the Cheka (secret police) and that it would be sufficient (two words inaudible) for this whole house of cards to smash.

Now we can say that the war has refuted all the assertions of the foreign press as without foundation. The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, issued from the depths of the people and enjoying its mighty support. The Soviet social system is a form of the organization of society that is fully capable of life and stable. Moreover, the point now is not whether the Soviet social system is or is not capable of life (some words inaudible) none of the skeptics any longer dares to come out with doubts as to whether the Soviet social system is capable of life or not.

Hails Soviet Social System

The point is that the Soviet social system has proved to be more capable of life and more stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system.

The assertion has been made in the foreign press that the multi-national state represents an artificial structure, and in the case of any complications that disintegration of the Soviet Union is inevitable, that the Soviet Union would meet the fate of Austro-Hungary. Now we can say that the war has proved these statements of the foreign press false and devoid of any foundation.

The war has shown that the Soviet multi-national state system has successfully stood the test, has grown still stronger during the war and has proved a completely vital state system. Now we can say that the analogy with Austro-Hungary cannot be substantiated since our multi-national state has grown up, not on a bourgeois foundation, which fosters feelings of national mistrust and national animosity, but on a Soviet foundation, which, on the contrary, promotes the feeling of friendship and fraternal collaboration between the peoples of our state.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Third, our victory implies that it was the Soviet armed forces that won. Our Red Army had won. The Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of the war, routed completely the armies of our enemies and emerged victoriously from the war.

The Red Army

One should not forget that the Red Army is that same army which routed completely the German Army—the terror of all the armies of peace-loving states. It should be noted that there are fewer and fewer critics of the Red Army. And in addition the foreign press begins to publish more and more frequently statements about the high qualities of the Red Army and the skill of its soldiers and commanders.

This is understandable after the victories at Moscow and Stalingrad, and of course Kursk and Belgorod, Kiev and Kirovograd, Minsk and Bobruisk, Leningrad and Tallin on the Vistula and Niemen, the Danube and the Oder, at Vienna and Berlin. After all this it is impossible not to recognize that the Red Army is a first-class army, which could teach others quite a lot.

To be able to meet the blow from such an enemy, to counter it and later to inflict on him a crushing defeat, it was necessary to have, in addition to the unprecedented bravery of our troops completely modern armament in sufficient quantities and well-organized supplies, also in sufficient quantities. But this in turn demands the possession in sufficient quantities of such things as metals, equipment and tools for enterprises, fuel for the work of the enterprises, transport, clothing, etc.

Can it be said that, before its entry into the Second World War, our country already possessed the minimum supplies necessary for satisfying in the main all these requirements? I think we can give an affirmative answer. The preparation of this enormous task involved the carrying out of three Five-Year Plans of national economic development. It is precisely these three Five-Year Plans that helped to create these material positions.

Recalls Defense Preparations

In this respect our country before the Second World War, say in 1940, was several times better off than in 1913 before the First World War. What material possibilities were at the disposal of our country on the eve of the Second World War? In order better to understand this, I will give you a brief report on the activity of the Communist party in the preparation of our country for active defense.

If we take the data available for 1940 and compare them with those of 1913, the eve of the First World War, we see the following picture:

In 1913 our country produced 4,220,000 tons of pig iron, 4,230,000 tons of steel, 29,000,000 tons of coal, 9,000,000 tons of oil, 21,600,000 tons of marketed grain, 740,000 tons of raw cotton—such were the material resources of our country with which it entered the First World War.

This was the economic base of old Russia, the basis which it could use to conduct the war. As for the year 1940, in that year our country produced 15,000,000 tons of pig iron, almost four times as much as in 1913; 18,200,000 tons of steel, four and one-half times more than in 1913; 166,000,000 tons of coal, five and one-half times more than in 1913; 31,000,000 tons of oil, three and one-half times more than in 1913; 38,000,000 tons of marketed grain, 17,000,000 tons more than in 1913; 2,709,000 tons of raw cotton, three and one-half times more than in 1913.

Such were the material resources with which our country entered the second World War.

This was the economic base of the Soviet Union, the base which it could use to conduct the war. As you see, the difference is colossal. Such an unprecedented development in production cannot be considered the simple and ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress. It was a leap into an advanced country, from an agrarian country into an industrial one.

These historic transformations were achieved in the period of the three Five-Year Plans, starting from 1928—the first year of the first Five-Year Plan. Before that, we had to occupy ourselves with the restoration of industry that had been destroyed and with healing the wounds of the first World War and the civil war.

If we take into consideration the fact that the first Five-Year Plan was completed in four years, and that the execution of the third Five-Year Plan was interrupted by the war in its fourth year, it appears that the transformation of our country from an agrarian into an industrial country required only thirteen years.

Thirteen years is an incredibly short period for the realization of such a gigantic task. This, indeed, explains the fact that the publication of these figures aroused disputes in the foreign press. Friends decided that a miracle had taken place. Foes declared that the Five-Year Plans were Bolshevik propaganda and inventions of the Cheka. But since miracles do not exist in this world, and our Cheka is not so powerful that it could abolish the laws of social development, public opinion in Europe had to reconcile itself to the fact.

The point one is: What was the policy by the aid of which the Communist party succeeded in securing these material resources in our country in such a short period?

First of all, it was by the aid of the Soviet policy of industrialization of the country. The Soviet method radically differs from the capitalist method of industrialization. In capitalist countries industrialization usually starts with light industry, since light industry requires smaller investments and the turnover of capital is quicker, and it is easier to obtain profits than in heavy industry.

ONWARD MARCH
ONE STEP FORWARD
NEW BUSINESS COMPLETED
IN 1944 IN 1945
over Rs. 1,67,00,000 over Rs. 1,86,00,000
INCREASE OF OVER 19 LAKHS
This is clear proof of the growing faith of the public
IN COY'S INTEGRITY.
BEST COMPANY
TO INSURE WITH OR TO REPRESENT
Western India Life
Insurance Company Limited,
Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lengthy Process Involved

Only after a considerable time has elapsed, in which light industry accumulates profits and concentrates them in banks, only then comes the turn of heavy industry, and a gradual transfer of accumulated capital into heavy industry starts creating the conditions for its development.

But this is a lengthy process, requiring a long period of time, several decades, during which one has to wait for the development of the light industry (some words inaudible).

It is clear that the Communist party could not take this path. The party knew that war was approaching, that it was impossible to defend the country without heavy industry, that it was necessary to begin the development of heavy industry as quickly as possible, and that to be too late in this task meant to lose. The party remembered Lenin's word that without heavy industry it would be impossible to safeguard the independence of our country, that without it the Soviet system could perish.

Therefore, in our country the Communist party reversed the usual path of industrialization and began the industrialization of our country with the development of heavy industry. This was very hard but not impossible to achieve. A great help in this task for us was the nationalization of industry and banking, enabling us to transfer money speedily into heavy industry.

It would have been impossible to achieve, without this, the transformation of our country into an industrial country in so short a period of time.

Second, a factor in carrying out our policy was the collectivization of the rural economy. Here our aim was to give to the country more bread, more cotton. And it was necessary to change from small-scale peasant economy to large-scale agricultural economy, for only the large-scale farm is in a position to apply new, modern technique and to use all its achievements to increase production.

It was necessary to make large-scale agricultural economy a collectivist one. The Communist party could not adopt the capitalist method of developing the rural economy, not only because of reasons implicit in our principles but also because the capitalist type represents a slow development and implies a ruination of the peasants.

That is why the Communist party embarked on the road of the collectivization of the rural economy through uniting individual peasant properties into a new form—a "kolkhoz." This collectivization proved itself a beneficial experience, not only because it did not involve the ruination of peasants but also, and in particular, because it gave the chance of covering the whole country—within a few years—with a net of large-scale collective farms.

Without collectivization we would not have been able to eliminate the age-old backwardness of our agriculture in so short a period of time. It cannot be said that the party's policy did not meet with resistance in this respect. Not only backward people, who always resist everything new, but also many others of the party systematically held back the party and tried in all sorts of ways to drag it on to the usual, capitalist line of development.

These were machinations of Trotskyites and Rightists, participating in the sabotage of the measures of our government.

Party Always in the Lead

The question now arises, was the Communist party able to utilize correctly all these material conditions to increase war production and to supply the Red Army with the necessary equipment. I think that it was able to do so, and to do so with the maximum success.

. . . . . .



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WONDERFUL REMEDIES!

ASTOUNDING POTENTIALITIES of MEDICINES PREPARED from HERBS!

(Penalty of Rs. 100 if proved fallible)

"PILES CURE"

Cures internal, external, bloody and blind piles whether acute or chronic quickly. Price Rs. 2-0-0 for internal use and Re. 1-0-0 for ointment.

"DEAFNESS CURE"

Unique for every kind of ear disorder, deafness and rumbling sound in the ear. Stops pus from the ear and aching, etc. Improves the tone of the ear and cures deafness completely. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

"PARIKSHIT GARBHA KARK YOGYA"

(The Panacea for the removal of Sterility)

Removes life-long sterility and gives children to the disappointed women. Also removes all sorts of female disorder and particularly the curse of having still-born children and grants long life to issues. People wishing to order the medicine are requested to intimate particulars of the disease. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

WHITE LEPROSY AND LEUCODERMA

A few days' application of this medicine cures White Leprosy and Leucoderma radically. Get rid of these horrible diseases by application of this medicine, in spite of failure by hundreds of Hakims, Doctors, Kavirajs and advertisers. Price Rs. 2-8-0 for 15 days.

GREY HAIR

Don't use dyes. Use our Ayurvedic scented oil and let your grey hairs turn black lasting up to 60 years. Your eye-sight will be improved and headache cured. If a few hairs have turned grey, then buy a phial for Rs. 2-8-0, if more, then buy a phial for Rs. 3-8-0, if almost all, then purchase one phial for Rs. 5-0-0. Double price be returned in case of failure.

"MIRACULOUS HERB"

The mere sight of it cures, at once, serious scorpion-bites, of hornets and bees also. It cures lakhs of sufferers, keep it for hundreds of years and its efficacy is unaffected. Price Re. 1-0-0 per root, 3 for Rs. 2-8-0 only.

BABU BRIJNANDAN SUHAI, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Patna High Court:—I have tried "Scorpion-Bite Cure" herb and have found it very efficacious. One small root can be used for curing hundreds. It is a useful and innocent herb and deserves public patronage.

VAIDRAJ AKHIL KISHORE RAM,

AYURVED BISHARAD BHISHAK-RATNA

No. 36, P. O. KATRISARAI (Gaya)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 25, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

Our tank industry in the last three years at least produced on the average over 30,000 tanks, self-propelled guns and armoured cars per year. It is also known that our aircraft industry produced in the same period about 40,000 planes per year. It is also known that our artillery industry produced annually in the same period about 120,000 guns of all calibres, about 450,000 light and heavy machine guns, over 3,000,000 rifles and about 2,000,000 automatic rifles.

Huge Munitions Production

It is also known that our mortar industry in the period 1942-1944 produced on the average about 100,000 mortars per year. It is obvious that in the same time a corresponding quantity of artillery shells, various kinds of mines, air bombs, and rifle and machine-gun ammunition was also produced.

It is known that in 1944 alone more than 240,000,000 shells, bombs and mines were produced and more than 7,400,000,000 cartridges.

Such is the general picture of the supplies for the Red Army in regard to equipment and ammunition. As you see, it does not resemble the picture which the supplies of our armies presented during the First World War, when the front experienced a chronic shortage of artillery and shells, when the Army fought without tanks, and when one rifle was issued for every three soldiers.

Regarding supplying the Red Army with food and uniforms, it is generally known that the front not only did experience no shortage in this respect, but even had the necessary reserves.

Party's Immediate Plans

Now a few words on the plans for the work of the Communist party in the near future. As is known, these plans are confirmed in the very near future. The fundamental task of the new Five-Year Plan consists in restoring the areas of the country which have suffered, restoring the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, and then exceeding this level by more or less considerable amounts.

Apart from the fact that in the very near future the rationing system will be abolished, special attention will be focused on expanding the production of goods for mass consumption, on raising the standard of life of the working people by consistent and systematic reduction of the cost of all goods, and on wide scale construction of all kinds of scientific research institutes to enable science to develop its forces.

I have no doubt that if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake but also in the very near future to surpass the achievements of science outside the boundaries of our country. As far as plans for a longer period are concerned, the party intends to organize a new mighty upsurge of national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production, for instance, threefold as compared with the pre-war level.

To achieve this we must endeavour to see that our industry produces 50,000,000 tons of pig iron per year, 60,000,000 tons of steel, 500,000,000 tons of coal and 60,000,000 tons of oil.

Only under such conditions will our country be insured against any eventuality. Perhaps three new Five-Year Plans will be required to achieve this, if not more. But it can be done and we must do it.

. . . . . .

Some say that victors should not be judged, that they should not be criticized or checked. This is not correct. Victors can and must be judged, they can and must be criticized and checked.

This is good, not only for the cause but also for the victors themselves. Why? Because there will be less conceit and more modesty. I consider that the election campaign is the judgment of the electors on the Communist party as being the party of the rulers. The results of the election will signify the verdict of the electors. Our party would not be worth much if it were afraid to face this verdict. The Communist party is not afraid to receive the verdict of the electors.

New Unity is Stressed

In the election struggle, the Communist party does not come forward alone ; it enters the elections together with the non-party people. In former days Communists had an attitude of a certain mistrust towards non-party persons. This is explained by the fact that the "non-party" banner frequently masked certain bourgeois groupings, who did not find it advantageous to present themselves to the electors without a mask. Such groupings existed. There was such a state of affairs in the past but now times have changed.

Non-party people are now separated from the bourgeoisie by barrier which is called the Soviet social system. This very same barrier unites the non-party people with the Communists into one common collective of Soviet peoples.

Living in one common collective, they fought together for the strengthening of the might of our country. Together they fought and shed their blood at the fronts for the sake of the freedom and greatness of our motherland. Together they forged and created the victories over the enemies of our countries. The sole difference between them is that some of them are members of the party and others are not. But this difference is only a formal one.

What is important is that both Communists and non-party people are fulfiling one common task. Therefore, the block of Communists and non-party persons is in my view a natural and common cause.

In conclusion, permit me to express my gratitude for the confidence which you have shown me in nominating me as candidate for Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. I will try to justify this confidence.

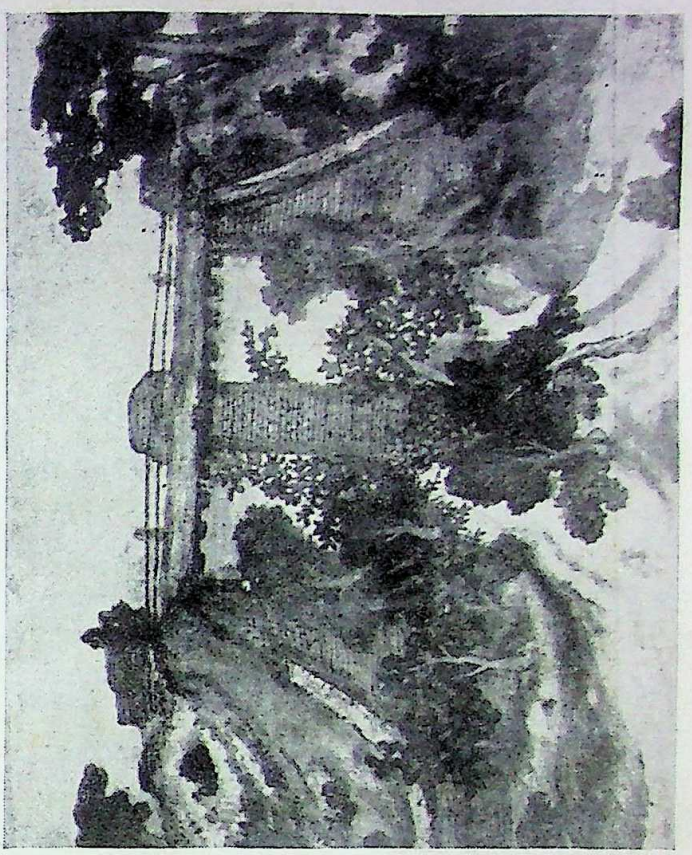
LANDSCAPE PAINTING
By Bonode Behari Mukherji

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Top : Landscape with horizon (Tempera on cloth)
Bottom : The Bridge (Tempera on cloth)

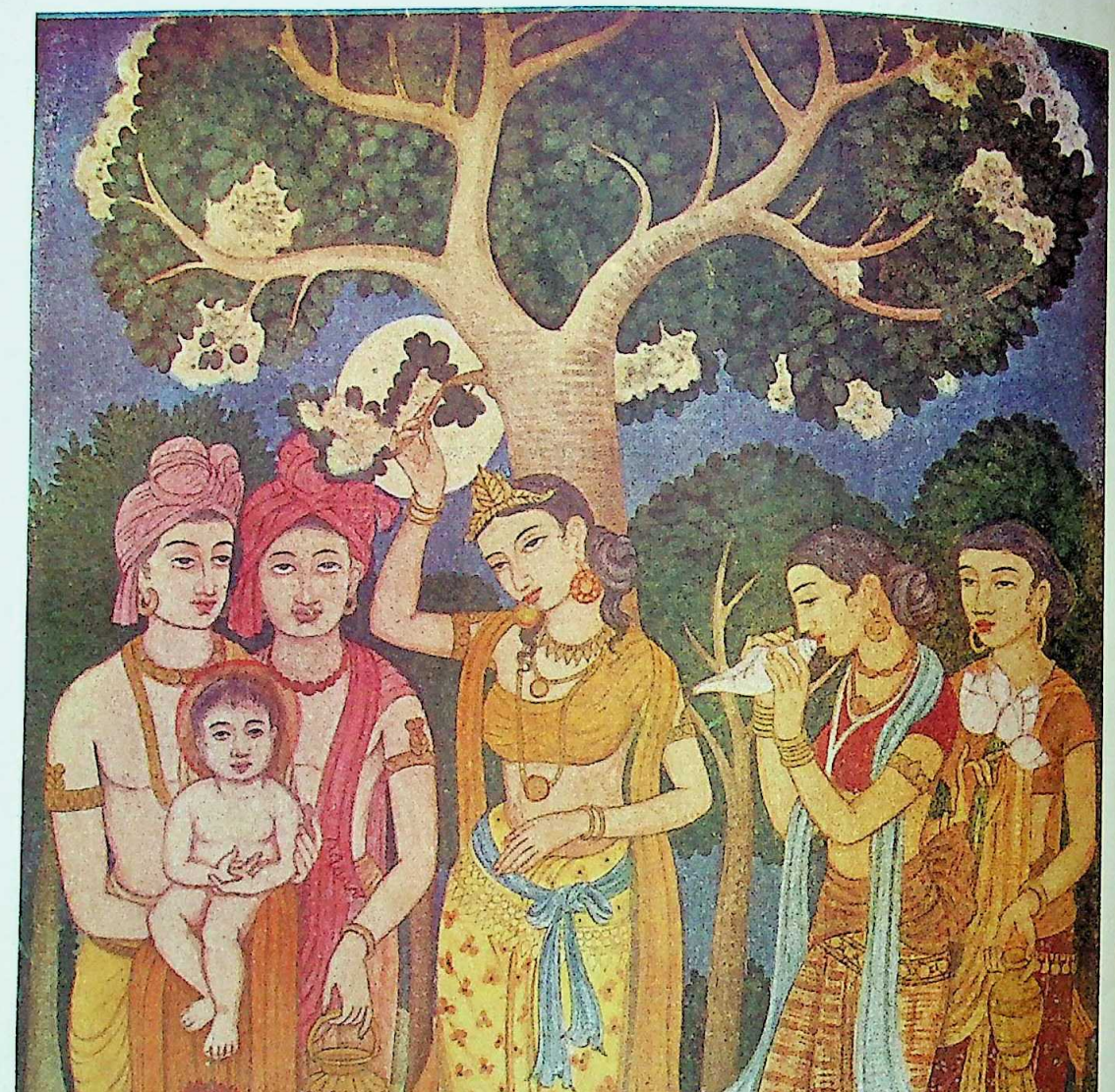


LANDSCAPE PAINTING
By Benode Behari Mukherji

Kalabhavan Museum
(Tempera on wood)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



NATIVITY OF LORD BUDDHA
By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1946

VOL. LXXIX, No. 5 WHOLE No. 473

NOTES

The Negotiations

History has seldom provided such a curious spectacle as we are witnessing to-day at Delhi. There the Cabinet Mission is engaged in negotiations with two radically opposed parties for the handing over of the reins of the country to which both the above parties belong. One of the parties, the Congress, has by far and wide the greatest following in India, comprising hundreds of millions of all castes and creeds and religions, and has the sole right to be called the true representative of all the forces of independence and democracy in the country by virtue of its sustained struggle through six decades, involving gigantic sacrifices and limitless suffering. The other, the Moslem League, is beyond all doubt a creation of British Imperialism, fed, nurtured and helped along by largesse, by grant of unjust privileges on a vast scale and strengthened by malicious counsel and false propaganda, all at the cost of nationalist India and all for the sake of creating a subservient faction composed of reactionaries, armed with the might of Foreign Imperialism and enriched with treasure looted from the suffering fighters for liberty. There is no record of a fight against foreign domination nor of any sacrifice—not even for their own gaped following—nor an iota of any logical or historical justification for the granting of any privileges. If any payment is due to this party it is from the coffers of the British Imperialist.

The irony of fate lies in the fact that the Congress, after all its fight and struggle and sacrifice, is now called upon to bargain—as if for the spoils of war—with a party that has impeded the liberation of India and its peoples, has impeded progress at every step through its reactionary methods and has dragged the country back to the days of corrupt medieval tyrants. It is not even entitled to the "conqueror's guerdon," out of date as that relic of medievalism is, despite all bombastic false propaganda by its spokesmen. In order to dispel any ideas generated in the minds of neutrals by the lying propaganda of British Imperialism, we give the following quotations from one of the most eminent of British historians of the Imperialistic era, who was above all "suspicion" of any sympathy for the yet unborn Indian Congress:

"The British won India, not from the Mughals but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. *Our final wars were neither with the Delhi king nor with his revolted governors, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marhattas and the Sikhs.* Our last Marhatta war dates as late as 1818 and the Sikh confederation was overcome only in 1848."*

"In 1765, the titular Emperor Shah Alam, *had sunk into a British pensioner* after his defeat at Baxar. In 1771 he made overtures to the Marhattas. *Holkar and Sindhia nominally restored him to his throne at Delhi,* but held him a virtual prisoner till 1803-4 when they were overthrown by our Second Marhatta War."†

Even in the Mutiny of 1857, the leader was a Marhatta, Nana Saheb, and his most active lieutenants were all Hindus. Strange to say the British were saved by the valour and staunchness of other Hindus, notably the Sikh, the Brahmin and the Gurkha mercenaries. It was a Brahmin regiment led by a Brahmin Subedar that fought to the last man in covering the retreat of Lawrence into the defences of the Residency at Lucknow, and it was the Sikh cavalry of Hodson's Horse that brought relief to Lucknow.

Be that as it may be, the question now is of the future history of India, not of the past. We have no desire to embarrass our leaders in their arduous task by raking up the past. Our sole intention is to lay emphasis on the point that there is no justification, legal, moral, historical or logical for keeping the League into a position of vantage into which they were placed by the Imperialist predecessors of the Labour Ministry, in accordance with the policy of *Divide et Impera.* The League has been loudly proclaiming that it would use force and violence as their sole "logical" argument, and it is true that right up to now it has had the strength of arms and that of corrupt politics and money on its side. The armed might of British Imperialism, placed at the service of reactionary and corrupt officialdom, has enabled the League to conduct a sort of Hitlerian election in the Moslem constituencies. All along the

* *The Indian Empire*, p. 258. By W. W. Hunter. Trubner, London, 1882.

† *Ibid*, p. 263.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bitter struggle of the past two decades, the League has been acting hand and glove with the might of Imperialistic forces, deriving great material benefit thereby and so it is no wonder that it should mistake the might of British arms as being its own. Needless to say, it can continue to enjoy that powerful support in the future only if the British Labour Party decides to carry on with the vile reactionary programme initiated by their predecessors in office.

The world abroad, specially those parts with a democratic label, is now becoming aware slowly of how the machinations of British vested interests, blind with greed and vainglorious with the faked records of Imperialism, led to the catastrophic holocausts of World War II. Of how the British reacted to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria by promptly clapping an embargo on arms for *China who had to import all her arms* and Japan, who was manufacturing all the arms she needed. Japan was allowed to buy all the raw materials for cash, of which she had enough, and the biggest suppliers, of course, were the British and the Americans. Of how Sir Samuel Hoare of the British Cabinet collaborated with Laval in the rape of Abyssinia by Mussolini and got a peerage, in the long run, for his anti-democratic activities—and later on how the "democratic" European powers staged a farce in the League of Nations, nominally condemning and virtually condoning Mussolini's act of brigandage. Of how the Cliveden set led by Mr. Baldwin spiked the guns of the French when Gamelin wanted to attack the German forces of Hitler when they were marching into the thirty kilometer neutral zone of the Rhine. Of how the treacherous policy of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war was forced upon the despairing and craven Blum of France by the Baldwin-Chamberlain-Halifax-Simon combination of the British ruling caste. Regarding this last-mentioned episode, the observations recorded in the contemporary memoirs of an American journalist are worthy of reproduction here. "While Madrid was making her heroic stand," he writes, "Englishmen of the ruling class were helping to put non-intervention across. Only one Frenchman might have stopped it. His name was Blum, and he failed to act, or rather he acted like a craven. It is all very well to say that he might have believed he was keeping France out of war. *War is bad, but it is better for self-respecting men to die while they still feel like men than to become cowards and hypocrites and the laughing stock of an unscrupulous enemy who will make them fight or enslave them after they are demoralized.*"

"The British leaders decided on an embargo against sending arms, planes, tanks, or ammunition to 'either side' in Spain, knowing that the republicans were represented by the legitimate goverment elected by popular will and that Italy and Germany, through Portugal, were supplying and would continue to supply the rebels with everything they needed, including fully equipped units of troops and technical advisers."

"The Spanish Government could get supplies only through France, even if they were sold to Spain by Russia. The British policy, in effect, was to permit Franco to obtain, *without putting up cash but by mortgaging future Spain, all the arms and soldiers and food he needed*, while the republicans were to be shut off from supplies and slaughtered. Not only did the British plan this chicanery, but they forced the French to take the initiative under pain of a double threat : (*a*) a refusal to guarantee the eastern frontier on the Rhine, (*b*) a devaluation of the franc, controlled by the London exchange."*

The further activities of the Cliveden set, highspotted by the Munich Pact of evil memory, need not be given in detail in these columns. Indeed, the British people have themselves partially condemned those criminals by giving their party a salutary defeat at the elections. What we want to impress upon the world that the same treacherous group had absolute power of life and death in a throttled India, where there was no Russia to intervene nor any sympathetic and independent American to report. Samual Hoare was Secretary of State for India before he betrayed Abyssinia, and Halifax, as Lord Irwin, was the Viceroy of India, before he aided Mussolini in the slaughter of republican Spaniards and sold Czecho-Slovaks into slavery. So, what is now coming out as the Indian picture was composed and drawn in the main by the self-same group and their predecessors and successors in Imperialism. The British Cabinet Mission has all the goodwill it needs in the bank as yet, mainly because they have thrown out the evil-doers. But they must clearly show that their thinking and planning is not in a line with that of their predecessors. A new orientation must be sought by them, for in this instance they must achieve a lasting success or else it would spell disaster for all democracy in the not-so-far-off future.

We must conclude with a note of caution for our leaders. We repeat that we have no intention of embarrassing them at this stage. But the veil of secrecy that has been drawn over their deliberations for such a long period has resulted into general uneasiness and a certain amount of confusion amongst the Congress and the Nationalist ranks. The meagre statements that the leaders have released to the press can be divided into three categories, cryptic, nebulous and flatly contradictory in a few instances. On the other hand, the *Orient Press* reported that Mr. Jinnah came out of a conference in a jubilant mood telling the reporters that he had secured the maximum that he could imagine the Congress to concede. And further we find a new tone in the statements of the League mouthpieces which goes to indicate as if now being assured of their basic demand for Pakistan over contiguous Moslem majority areas, they have to enlarge their demands in the customary fascist method for wider and still more unjust demands. For example, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was reported as follows in the daily press on the 13th of April :

> The question before the country now was of one Pakistan and one Hindustan. Once this was conceded, it would be for the Pakistan State to define the status of its constituent units, said Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, prospective Premier of Bengal, in an interview on Friday.
>
> The units, he added, should, as far as possible, be workable units and should conform to the conditions of linguistic and cultural affinities.
>
> "Bengal ought not to be dismembered *and I believe that my Hindu friends also would like Bengal to remain one entity*," he continued.
>
> Mr. Suhrawardy advocated a separate sovereign state under Adibasi control to be formed out of the

* *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, by Elliot Paul, Random House, Inc. New York.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

districts in which the Adibasis predominated, *e.g.*, Singhbhum, Manbhum and Hazaribagh. If, however, no such state was intended to be carved out, then the Bengalee-speaking sections might well be added to Pakistan.

It would be logical to add Purnea district to Bengal and Assam. The whole of Assam, which Mr. Suhrawardy claimed was a natural part of Bengal, should be included in Pakistan, because, he said, the Surma Valley was Muslim Bengalee, and the Assam Valley was becoming increasingly Bengalee. He thought the majority of non-Bengalees would also prefer to be linked to the powerful state of Pakistan than be isolated in the corner. Since the elections, he said, a strong feeling had grown among the Assam Valley people to form part of Pakistan.

What he intends doing with the Bengal he wants to control was amply shown during the years of hellish distress and corruption that Bengal went through during the Pakistan Regime under Governor Herbert and his League ministries. That the position will be still more acute in the future for the Hindu minority at least is shown by the following news in the daily press.

Ranaghat, April 26.—It is reported that under the order of the District Magistrate, Mr. Nasiruddin, the village of Charnawpara, Ranaghat Subdivision, *a purely Hindu area for a long time on the river Ganges*, is being evacuated.

The *Char* was previously the property of zamindars and has now passed on to Government and according to the order the right of the tenants have ceased and become void. It is further stated that, in spite of offer of *salami* and rents, new Muslim settlers from East Bengal are getting the lands at one-third the rate offered by the occupiers.

Recently the District Magistrate went to the *Char* for inspection and the Hindu cultivators requested him for reconsideration of their cases, but, it appears, he turned down their request.—*U.P.*

We do not know who the "Hindu friends" of Mr. Suhrawardy are. We cannot imagine that any Congress Hindu or Hindu Mahasabhaite would be so far advanced in senility or idiocy as to suggest that the whole of the Bengali Hindu race be sold into perpetual slavery for the benefit of Pakistan, if and when that materialises. If there be any detached Hindu, following in the footsteps of Umichand, then the public ought to be alert about the activities of such a depraved person. For if the abandoning of the Hindu and Moslem nationalists in Moslem majority areas be a counsel of despair and defeatism, that of ceding Hindu majority districts and towns to Pakistan is one of blackest treachery.

Aligarh and Muslim League Politics

The recent riots at Aligarh are the darkest blot on Muslim League politics. We are constrained to make this remark because we cannot view the happenings as isolated and sporadic incidents or mere specimens of youthful exuberance. Statements from League and non-League leaders and factual findings published in the press prove beyond doubt that these riots and incendiarism are part of the definite programme of League-minded Muslims with regard to non-Leaguers.

It is reported that the day before the events took place large posters were found pasted on the walls of the University inciting the students to violence. They were asked to rise up against the Government and the Congress who, it said, joined hands to deny the League's demand of Pakistan. The posters further stated that an underground organization had already planned to sabotage the movement and exhorted the students to collect arms and organize themselves into armed bands in readiness for Mr. Jinnah's call to action. Students were further told that the sabotage plan was aimed at the dislocation of transports and communicaion by destroying wireless sets in Thanas, tampering with the railway lines and the burning of Government buildings. They were also asked to enlist bands of *goondas* for this purpose.

The provocation produced its result in rioting, incendiarism and even casualties. Had the curtain been dropped on the scene after this, we could have found less reason to indict the League. But the attitude of the prominent Leaguers towards these unfortunate happenings not only proves that they are prepared to connive at them, but also confirms our apprehension that such hooliganism is actually sanctioned by Muslim League ethics. Commenting on the statement of Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in connection with the incidents, Chowdhuri Khaliquzaman, leader of the U.P. Assembly Muslim League Party, said :

> The Muslims will not tolerate any interference with the affairs of the Aligarh Muslim University by the Congress Government. I would advise my friends of the Congress to observe the motto : 'Hands off Aligarh'.

Another report says that Sir Ziauddin, Vice-Chancellor, saw Mr. Kidwai and pleaded for a lenient view of the affair.

Sir Ziauddin's unseemly solicitude for his unruly students is not above criticism. But Chowdhuri Khaliquzaman went to the length of threatening the Congress with dire consequences if they did not submit to these fascist atrocities. His statement is explicit enough to prove that the League is going hell-bent for a reign of terror in order to browbeat the nationalist elements in the country. Mr. Ansar Harvani, President of the All-India Youth League and a former student of the Aligarh University, has truly observed :

> *Mr. Jinnah has called Aligarh an arsenal to the Muslim League.* No doubt he has reduced a great university to that status. It is only at Aligarh that the dark days reminiscent of Nazidom in Germany still survive. The nationalist students are beaten and harassed while the Muslim Leaguers are subsidised and patronised.

As a matter of fact, these happenings are not unusual for the students of the Aligarh University, the entire body of which seems to be corrupt, reactionary and fanatical. In a press statement Shiva Mangal Singh, M.L.A., has called this university "a disgrace to a civilised country." He says :

> It is chronic complaint that the students are a menace to the travelling public in trains, to the railway staff, to the women in bazaars, and to shop-keepers in general.

And at the helm of the affairs of this University is Dr. Ziauddin who was forced to quit the University as the result of the recommendations of the Rahmatullah Committee appointed by the Viceroy in 1927.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But what is to be done? Mr. Kidwai has said that the shopkeepers complained that in spite of the presence of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police and other officers they were given no protection when the grain market was set on fire. It is also stated that Mr. Kidwai having expressed his inability to take a lenient view of the affair. Dr. Ziauddin has sought the Governor's intervention in the matter. The whole attitude of the League leaders is taking a purely fascist colour. But threats and even atrocities must not deflect the Congress Ministry from taking the proper course which is to apply very strict measures to root out these vandalistic practices. The evils cannot be remedied by pandering to the whims of the bully.

India in the International Field

The two centuries of British rule in India has not only worked out the political and economic ruin of the country but has also brought about utter humiliation for her in the sphere of international conferences and world organisations. India's place with reference to other countries has been humiliating and her representation in the world conferences unreal. In a recent article published in the *Forward,* Mr. Manu Subedar has discussed this problem with factual documents.

Indians have emigrated to different countries where they are treated often as indentured labourers and as political helots. The glaring instance of South African racial prejudice has already been commented upon. One may also cite the case of Australia where Indians are denied the rights of citizenship by a devise in the admission test for immigration, by which an immigrant is required to know any two European languages, named by the immigration authority.

But helots even if they are, Indians have been tied to the apron-strings of their British masters to represent India at international organizations. The representatives are, of course, the "handpicked nominees of a London-controlled Government of India." These stooges of the British authorities make India's case much worse by their inability to represent it with courage, tact and honesty. India was a member of the League of Nations and contributed from its birth, right up to the last year. "It was a curious place for a country, which had no responsible Government and which had a foreign Army of Occupation, to sit as the pariah at the table of an international body."

Although India has been made to contribute heavily to international funds, she has been scrupulously excluded from any executive role in the organisations. Little Holland and obscure Peru got a place on the Security Council of the U.N.O., but not India. It is again only the careerists who are sent abroad as representative figureheads and ornametal nonentities to international organisations, and they actually merely repeat "His Master's Voice."

Fortunately the proposed United Trade Organization, some of whose implications are entirely against Indian interests, has been postponed for a few months. But India has agreed to join the Bretton-Woods Fund and Bank which will involve an ultimate liability of Rs. 266 crores. England joined it because she wanted the American loan. India had to join because Britain wanted her vote. But what about India's Sterling Balances which now constitute 1,800 crores collected by Britain from India in a period of five years? It has been suggested that Britain cannot pay, notwithstanding the fact that England's resources in dollars and gold have increased from three million to four hundred and fifty million dollars. With the issue of Sterling Balances undecided, it is most unwise for India to join the Bretton-Woods Fund and Bank and incur the huge liability.

Then again there is India's vast contribution to U.N.R.R.A., another offshoot of the United Nations. The contribution of Rs. 8 crores has been spent in twelve months' time and an additional Rs. 2 crores have been sanctioned, but they did nothing to alleviate India's food situation.

Food in 1947

The problem of food is not a mere topical question in India which faces almost a permanent or recurring food-shortage. At the same time it is also true that if we can evolve a long-term food plan and implement it into practice India can not only be saved from the danger herself but can also offer her help to others in need. But we noted with regret how all expert recommendations on the food problem have ever been pigeonholed by the Government giving an opportunity to corrupt and inefficient people to work out in league with the vagaries of nature the doom of the country.

Our apathy will be glaring in contrast with the keen interest that other nations are already evincing to ensure adequate out-turn of food in the years to come. The present food problem of the world is purely one of international politics, of price levels and of transport. It is highly doubtful if farmers' efforts now can make any significant difference to the result of the 1946 harvest. In a very stimulating article in the *Spectator* Mr. H. D. Walston has discussed the problem of Food in 1947.

There is little prospect of European agriculture producing more food this year than it did last year. The chances are that considerably less food will be produced. But the food situation for the next eighteen months has passed out of the hands of the producers. It is only from the end of 1947 onwards that farmers can hope to make any significant contribution. The 1946 harvest will be affected by three major factors, *viz.,* the weather, the supply of seeds for spring-sowing and the supply of fertilisers; and over none of these the farmer has any control. Millions of acres will remain uncultivated on the continent this year because of shortage of seeds.

But the situation is not absolutely menacing. The wheat shortage, although great in actual quantity, is very small when expressed in terms of yield per acre. The estimated shortage is about 175 million bushels; the pre-war world wheat acreage (excluding the U.S.R.R.) was about 275 million acres. Therefore, an increase in average yield of two-thirds of a bushel per acre (or 4 per cent of the 1942 figure of 16·3 bushels) would entirely remove the deficiency, while an increase of 1 bushel, or 6 per cent, would convert it into an actual surplus. Since the present situation has been brought about to a large extent by a disastrous series of droughts in widely scattered parts of the world—Australia, the Argentine, North Africa and India—it is improbable that a similar series of disasters will be repeated in all the main wheat-producing countries this year. So in spite of the small European harvest of 1946 the world position will improve considerably, if not in 1946, surely in 1947.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Discussing the problems of continental agriculture he puts in a few suggestions. Continental agriculture as a whole does not suffer from lack of man-power. What is lacking is seed and fertiliser, and, in addition to this transport and machinery. The best of the produce of this year's harvest should be earmarked as seed for next year's harvest. As to fertiliser production, the main source of phosphates being North Africa, shipping must be provided. Potash is produced in Europe. Nitrogen, being also an explosive ingredient, offers a problem that can be decided by political and military authorities. And lastly, considerable attention should be paid to the probem of agricultural machinery and the over-riding problem of transport upon which depends the entire recovery of Europe, industrial, political and agricultural.

The Food Controversy

There has been throughout the last month a brisk exchange of statements and counter-statements by responsible persons regarding the world food crisis and the wheat allocation for India. The entertaining aspect of this plethoric publication of views, rejoinders and official announcements apart, there are many revealing points about the whole show ; and a careful study of these statements and reports will help us to understand the full significance of the issues involved.

The story begins with the presentation of India's case by the Indian Food Delegation before the Combined Food Board. Returning to India Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar stated that the Food Delegation had been able to secure an allocation of 1,400,000 tons of wheat for India.

In the meantime President Truman in a broadcast message told that the world food crisis would be tided over within ninety days. This optimism was also shared by the U.S. Secretary for Agriculture, Mr. Clinton P. Anderson, who was of the opinion that "the situation in India this year will not be nearly so bad as the Bengal famine was." Truman's view was contradicted by the recently retired Director-General of U.N.R.R.A., Mr. Herbert Lehman, who categorically stated that one million tons of monthly grain from the U.S.A. as a contribution to meet the combined need of some 500 million people in Europe and Asia simply was not enough. This directly referred to another broadcast message on April 19 made by President Truman that the U.S. Government was taking strong measures to export during the first half of this year 1,000,000 tons of wheat per month for the starving masses of Asia and Europe. The President had declared : "The time for talk has passed. Action is here." But Mr. Lehman considered the action to be inadequate, and said that instead of collecting facts and data regarding the food situation the Combined Food Board had better plunged into a vigorous plan of action.

Mr. C. P. Anderson's optimistic assertion about India was contradicted by Mr. Roy Hendrickson, U.N.R.R.A. Deputy Director-General. Mr. Hendrickson, returning from a tour of Far East, said in a press statement :

> Today's situation in India is even more tragic. Unless India can obtain four million tons of cereals, which it must have, from five million to fifteen million people will lose their lives in the months lying ahead. It is a mathematical certainty that without grain from the Western Hemisphere more people will perish in India in 1946 than died in the Bengal Famine.

President Truman's and Mr. Anderson's views about India's improved prospects evoked bitter criticism even from British official circles. An India Office official commented : "The statements from Washington are preposterous and almost laughable." Officials confirmed that little, if any, American wheat would be moved to India in the crucial months of May and June.

The most scathing criticism of the proposed relief measures was made by the Soviet journal *The New Times*. Writing in that paper Mr. A. Dyakov openly contradicted the view that the recurrence of famines in India was due to climatic conditions. Commenting on the proposed measures he said :

> There is considerable discussion in the British and Anglo-Indian press at the present time about the measures to be taken for the relief of India. But the measures that are suggested do not go beyond the bounds of mere philanthropy which can only be a drop in the ocean of human suffering and poverty—the life of the Indian peasants and urban poor.

At a Press Conference on April 18, President Truman admitted that the world food-crisis is "worse than it has been painted." In a telegram to Mr. Herbert Hoover who was in Cairo at that moment, he stated :

> An urgent need has developed in this country to bring forcibly and dramatically to public attention as a spur to food-for-famine-efforts, the facts about the conditions in Europe which your visit and inquiries have brought to light.

It was at least some relief to see that the President had come out of the groove of his absurd optimism, even if his statement only referred to the countries in Europe.

We have already referred to President Truman's broadcast of April 19, and Mr. Lehman's criticism thereof. President Truman at last had realized that the present crisis is history's *greatest threat of mass starvation.*

But what about India ? We had been complacently waiting for the 1,400,000 tons of wheat reported to have been allocated for India. But on April 18, Pearl Buck, Chairman of the India Famine Emergency Committee, came out with a disconcerting revelation. She stated :

> Press reports continue to refer to the allocation of 1,400,000 tons of wheat for India for the first six months this year, presumably by the Combined Food Board. This reported allocation is causing a certain amount of complacency about the Indian food situation. However, the India Famine Emergency Committee has received an official denial that any such allocation has been made.

After this came the devastating charge of Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, against the Indian Food Delegation. He said that after a personal enquiry he had come to the conclusion that there was no possibility whatsoever of 1,400,000 tons of wheat reaching India by July 1st. The maximum that India might get would be 800,000 by that date. He said :

> I also found that though in public statements the Food Delegation kept asking for 2,000,000 tons of wheat for the first half of the year, in private conversations they left the impression that the

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

delegation had asked for more than was actually required.

It was most deplorable that responsible members of the Delegation should have wrecked India's cause by their weak and irresponsible remarks. If they really held that view they were grossly mistaken and should not have been sent out to represent the case of India's dumb millions, or if it was due to careless gossip, their inefficiency was inexcusable. The bungling has produced its results which can be seen in the continued lack of attention to India's plight in the recent tatements from American quarters. Anyway, the members of the Delegation tried to put up some defence in the course of a few counter-statements. Contradicting Pearl Buck's statement Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, is reported to have said that there is no mistake in the figure quoted by the Indian Food Delegation, *viz.*, 1,400,000 tons ; and they were definitely given this figure by Sir Ben Smith, British Food Minister. Sir S. V. Ramamurthy, Member of the Indian Food Delegation, emphatically maintained in a statement that Sirdar J. J. Singh's information was absolutely mistaken and "Sirdar J. J. Singh could well have treated such statements with contempt and not given currency to them."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar issued a statement in connection with the charge and said :

> Mr. Singh does not disclose the source of his information, but, whatever the source may be, the information is a wicked lie.

To this remark Sirdar J. J. Singh replied caustically :

> Instead of attacking me Sir Ramaswami should be grateful for the information so that immediate and effective steps may be taken to correct this impression. All I am trying to do is to see that India's case is 'not lost in the shuffle.'

It is not fruitful to dilate any longer upon this controversy. Judged by its results the Food Delegation's mission has not been very successful. The Food Board has announced the wheat quota for India, which is 292,500 tons for April. We cannot make any comment before the total allocation is announced. But the prospects do not seem to be very bright at any rate. Mr. Herbert Hoover is making a tour of the distressed countries. But neither in his statements nor in President Truman's anxiety to get him back home do we see any concern for India's crisis. After surveying the Indian situation he has stated that India's case is not as menacing as that of European countries. "There is no present famine in India, but there will be if supplies give out." But the statistics to which we have access and to which we have often referred prove that there *is* famine present in India and India's situation is far worse than that of the European countries.

Nutrition in India and Abroad

President Truman and Mr. La Guardia, Director-General of the U.N.R.R.A. have shown great concern for the people of Europe and have directed almost all their efforts to the alleviation of suffering of the people of Europe. Mr. La Guardia has fought tooth and nail to get an increase in European allocations of wheat made by the Combined Food Board on the ground that the ration system of Europe *must* be maintained. In India, Mr. Hoover has seen that rationing in Bombay and Mysore is on the verge of precipice, but nobody has fought to rush supplies there to avoid the impending disaster.

A comparative study of European and Indian rationing will bring home the full implications of the difference. At the invitation of the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad, Sir Jack Drummond, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Food, Dr. Andrew Russell Ellis, Medical Director of the International Commission for War Refugees, Miss K. Marriott, Principal Assistant Organiser, Children's Care Work, London County Council, and Mr. Michael Hacking, Quarter Master of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, served as a committee for the purpose of compiling an up-to-date manual on nutrition in its relation to relief work. This report has recently been published. We give here some of their calculations on the dietary needs for different types of men in terms of their calorie value.

Energy requirements of man have been differentiated into two. One is that needed to keep the body "ticking over." When lying at rest, fully relaxed and with an empty stomach, the individual is steadily using up energy. The amount is related to body weight and is termed the *Basal Metabolism* or *Basal Energy Requirement*. An "all over" figure for adult men is about 70 calories per hour and for adult women about 60 calories per hour. Thus with no physical activity whatever the ordinary normal man and woman need about 1,700 and 1,500 calories a day respectively.

The slightest physical effort increases the calorie demand. The harder the physical work, the greater is the need for energy foods.

The calorie needs of an individual are as strictly determined by the amount of physical work as estimates of petrol are related to the distance to be travelled and the load to be carried. An idea of the order of magnitude of the demands can be obtained from the following figures :

Type of Activity	*Calories per hour of Activity*
Standing at Rest	15
Sedentary work (writing, typing)	20-45
Walking slowly	120
Walking moderately fast	180-200
Moderately active work (light metal work, carpentry)	90-140
Active work (stone mason, heavy metal work)	180-300
Very active (mining, lumbering)	320-380

From such figures can be calculated the daily needs of an active individual on a particular type of job. Here is a selection of the energy value of the daily food eaten by various types of workers, taken from wartime studies by the Ministry of Food :

	Men	*Women*
Light Engineering	2700	2300
Shipbuilding	3300	—
Steel Rollermen	4000	—
Coal miners	3500-4500	2400
Cotton spinners	—	3200
Railway goods loaders	—	4 pints of

Even during the years of war devastation in Europe these standards of energy value were maintained in almost all the countries of Europe except only a very few like Greece. Here are some examples of the calorie value of food consumed daily :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Pre-war	*1943/44*	
Germany	2750	2300	
Czechoslovakia	2450	2200	
Poland	2250	1400	
Greece	2250	2150	(1942/43)
Italy	2250	2750	
Bulgaria	2750	2050	
France	2850	1900	
Belgium	2800		

Here is a typical diet chart guaranteed under the ation system :

POLAND 1943/44

(*Kilograms per head per year*)	
Grain (Wheat and Rye)	143
Potatoes	300
Sugar	12
Meat	13·6
Milk (liquid whole)	67
Butter	3
Pig-fat (crude)	2·3
Oil (pure)	1
Eggs (number)	48

Total daily calorie value 2200.

This is for Europe. The pattern of dietary scales for the Eastern countries was prepared by Dr. B. S. Platt, Director of the Human Nutrition Research Unit of the Medical Research Council and Mrs. G. M. Culwick. They may be considered to be broadly applicable to India and have, in fact, been used by the Young Committee working on Far East Relief requirements for Burma. They cover three scales, emergency (1700 calories), moderate work of 8 hours per day at an expenditure of 100 calories per hour (2800 calories) and heavy work of 8 or 10 hours a day at an expenditure of 200 or 160 calories per hour respectively (3600 calories). These scales are averages for the year and take account of seasonal variations in energy expenditure and other variable factors. The following table sets out the basic requirements for each of the above three scales :

Type of food stuffs	*Daily Rations in Ounces per capita*		
	Emergency scale 1700 cal.	*Heavy work scale 3600 cal.*	*Moderate work scale 2800 cal.*
Rice	12	24	20
Pulses	3	6	3
Meat and fish	—	24/7	12/7
Food yeast	⅛	—	—
Fish meal	¼	—	—
Oil	½	1	1
Fresh vegetables or fruit	32/7	32/7	32/7
Salt	½	¾	½
Lime	¼ gm.	¼ gm.	¼ gm.
Sugar	½	1	1
Soya sauce	¾	3/2	3/2
Curry stuffs	¼	½	½

The types of foodstuff listed are not to be regarded as rigid, but one interchangeable with other foodstuffs of equivalent nutritional value. Thus, 1 lb. of fresh meat or fish may be replaced by ½ lb. of dried meat or dried fish or ¼ lb. of dried meat powder or fish meal or 4 pints of milk or 10 eggs.

The Health Bulletin on Rice prepared by the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, gives the "actual" diet of the Indian people which in fact is beyond the means of at least half the population of the country. This diet ensures only 1750 calories per day. The "actual" diet of the rice-eater and a well-balanced diet-chart, in ounces per adult person per day, is given below :

	"Actual" diet	*Well-balanced diet*
Rice	15-25	15
Pulses	·5-1·5	3
Milk	none or negligible	8
Leafy vegetables	·5-1	4
Non-leafy „	2-5	6
Fruit	negligible	2
Vegetable fats and oils	less than 1	2
Fish, meat, eggs	·5-1·5	3

But what is the present real position of Indian diet ?

The Coonoor Research Laboratories feel shy to claim more than 1750 calories where 2400 calories should be the minimum.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar thinks he would feel fortunate if he can ensure 1200 calories.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, after his Bombay visit found that people were getting barely 1200 calories and admitted that it was sub-normal.

Sir Manilal Nanavati declared in a recent statement that the people of India were getting 960 calories only.

Anti-Indian Bill in South Africa

The blow has been dealt ; protests and deputations have gone in vain. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill of the Union Government of South Africa passed the third reading by 78 votes to 50 in the Assembly on April 17, after debates lasting 16 days. A Nationalist amendment demanding a plebiscite to test feeling on the granting of communal franchise to Indians in Natal and Transvaal provinces was rejected by 80 votes to 49 as was a Dominion Party amendment stating that any bill that linked tenure restrictions with franchise rights was unacceptable. So, F. M. Smuts has had his own way even in the teeth of wide and intense opposition. Democratic pretensions were readily cast away for the perpetuation of a system of fascistic racialism.

But what is to be done after this ? Empty protests and deputations cannot persuade the reactionary Union Government. The only course left open at the moment is to take direct action. As to the methods of this direct action we have already suggested the application of economic sanctions. India herself cannot take any other measure now, although other measures will surely be adopted by a Free Indian Government. But in the meantime we may reasonably hope that the big powers of the world, professing to be champions of justice and democracy would take up the cause of oppressed Indians in South Africa.

Speaking in the Central Assembly, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar announced on April 16, that it had been suggested that the issue should be placed before the U.N.O. International intervention, we think, is absolutely justifiable at the moment ; and if the clauses in the U.N.O. Charter mean anything, action must be taken immediately and effectively.

So far as the Indians in South Africa are concerned, they should launch a direct struggle, in the form they consider best, against the anti-Indian measure. As Maulana Azad has said, India will support any well-thought-out struggle even if the support be moral.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Changes in Congress Constitution

Far-reaching changes in the Congress constitution have been proposed by the Congress Constitution Sub-Committee, which had been appointed at the Poona Session of the Working Committee last year. The Working Committee in its Delhi session has discussed this report which has not yet been published by the Congress High Command. A veil of secrecy has come to form a regular feature in respect of actions of a far-reaching nature taken or proposed to be taken by the supreme leaders of the Congress. The people are kept in the dark during the period of negotiation. Later, they are asked to accept a *fait accompli* and support the actions of the Leaders in the name of maintaining the prestige of the Congress. We are prepared to admit the occasional necessity of withholding the details of the negotiations from the public for a time, but the hush-hush policy in regard to the broad principles of the policy proposed to be pursued ought to be given out when the subject is under discussion. The people ought to be given an opportunity to express themselves *during* the stage of negotiations and not *after* it has been accepted by the leaders either expressly or tacitly. The people have unbounded confidence in the leaders, the press in general have extended unqualified support to them ; no misinterpretation or misrepresentation of the Congress viewpoint has been indulged in either on the platform or in the press except by a microscopic few. It is in the interest of the country and the Congress that the people should have authentic reports of the broad principles of negotiations or discussions with representatives of Great Britain or high British officials in India. The people's right to have a knowledge in broad outlines of any measure which is going to affect them must be admitted. It is regrettable that the Working Committee, like their other measures, have kept the public in the dark about the drastic changes in the Congress constitution. The *United Press of India* understands from a reliable source that the recommendations of the Constitution Sub-Committee are on the following lines :

(1) Every adult attaining the age of 18 will automatically be deemed as a primary member of the Congress without having to pay a fee of four annas provided he accepts the aims and objects of the Congress ;

(2) Every hundred adult members will elect two voters provided they pay an annual subscription of one rupee ;

(3) From amongst the "Voters" referred to above, a new class called "Workers" will emerge and they will constitute the field of candidates for holding executive officers ;

(4) Provincial Congress Committees will be recruited by members elected by "Voters" from amongst "Workers" at the rate of one member for every four hundred voters and for one lakh population ;

(5) The term of elected membership will be three years subject to payment of a subscription ;

(6) Election of the A.-I.C.C. will be by members of the Provincial Congress Committees not on the basis of proportionate representation but on the basis of distributive votes ; and

(7) The annual session of the Congress will no longer be a feature as in the past. A session may be convened on a requisition or on a necessity being felt for it on the initiative of the Working Committee.

Pending publication of the Working Committee's resolution on the proposals, we refrain from commenting on the first six clauses. But we consider it our duty to discuss the clause which seeks to do away with the holding of an annual session of the Congress.

Some may argue that when the Congress is going to accept full power and the electorate will be called upon to pronounce their verdict on its actions, there is no need of any more annual session of the Congress. But we differ. We believe that if ever there was any real need for an annual session of the Congress, it is now. The electorate will be called upon to give its verdict only once in five years. Once a set of Congress leaders are in office, they would have safe walk-over for this period. Judging from the manner in which some Congress leaders have functioned in office in the past and the reputation and past activities of some persons who have succeeded in entering the Legislatures on Congress ticket, people may legitimately feel nervous about them if they get a free hand in office for a period of five years. Only an annual session of the Congress can keep them in check.

An example has just been provided from Assam. The Premier, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, has been defeated in the election of delegates to the next session of the Congress. He has threatened to resign, and the Congress High Command have asked to stay on because he is useful. The real cause of this defeat will be clear from the following editorial comment in the *Sylhet Chronicle*, a supporter of the Congress Ministry in its issue, dated April 16 :

> We have to note with much regret that bungling is still going on in the procurement and distribution of foodstuff and cloth. The country is tired of crying against malpractices over and over again. People expect some speedy relief. Is it too much to be expected of a popular Ministry ? We are afraid the Government is taking much longer time to set matters right than the people can afford to allow. Members of the Cabinet have had enough of complaints from all quarters regarding mismanagement and bungling in various directions. The country is soon going to face the worst famine and even now reports are coming to the effect that rice and paddy stocked in godowns are being allowed to rot. Black market is as alive as ever ; allegations against responsible officers are still coming. We wonder if these officers will ever be brought to book ! Villages have their innumerable complaints about scarcity of cloth, yarn, sugar, kerosene and every other article of necessity.
>
> We do pray that the Hon'ble Ministers come to quick decisions and get rid of the red tape method of doing things too late. If the Congress election manifesto aroused hopes in the minds of the people, the Hon'ble Ministers have a moral obligation to fulfil those expectations without unnecessary delay.

This comment clearly indicates the extreme need of an annual session of the Congress which will prevent the leaders from becoming easy office-goers and remain buried in the files. Neither the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. nor the Labour Party of Great Britain have done away with their annual sessions of Party Congresses after their acceptance of supreme power.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Four Urgent Reasons Why India Must Have Freedom

Mr. H. V. Hodson, formerly Reforms Commissioner of the Government of India, in a B.B.C. talk, discussed what he considered four urgent reasons why India must have freedom. They are, first, the acute political situation in India; secondly, the state of affairs in part of the Indian armed forces; thirdly, the threat of terrible famine, and fourthly, the possible breakdown of the whole administrative machine in India under present conditions. Pointing out Britain's ultimate responsibility, Hodson says:

> We, in Britain, are still responsible in the last resort in India, and, while this remains so, the constitutional baby is always handed back to us. In order to get rid of it, as we have promised to do, we must first make Indians responsible in practice for government. How can we get Indian responsibility, before we have got an Indian-made constitution?—that is the riddle which must be answered, for a new constitution will not appear out of the air. It can be framed and agreed only by a long process *under the guidance of an Indian government*.

Meanwhile, there are ominous signs of political ferment in some of the Indian armed forces. Besides demanding improvements in their service conditions, they have been shouting slogans like 'Quit India,' and hoisting the Congress flag. I do not know that we should be too much surprised at these happenings, though we may well be distressed.

When the tension and action of war are relaxed, men in the forces of every country—our own included—tend to be restive and discontented and open to political propaganda. Nor should we forget that Indian sailors, soldiers and airmen come from the same areas and communities and homes as do the civilians who support the Indian political parties.

We ought not to expect their political feelings or their national ambitions to be very different from those of their fellow-countrymen. In the war, they have been the bravest and most loyal of fighters, deserving everything that we can do for them; but obviously we cannot assume that in the long run their bravery and loyalty will not be devoted to India's national aspirations.

I am afraid that the agitation over the trials of certain of the men who joined with the Japanese in the so-called 'Indian National Army' has done something to undermine the morale of the Indian armed forces.

The temper of the Indian armed forces is another reason for urgency in completing India's self-government, so that there need be no conflict between the loyalty of the Indian soldier as a soldier and his loyalty as an Indian.

Indianisation of the Army

Speaking in the Council of State, Sir Claude Auchinleck has given his considered opinion on the Indianisation of the Army within the shortest possible time. Before proceeding to examine the significance and the limitations of the Commander-in-Chief's announcement, it will be worthwhile to study in retrospect the history of the Indian Army and particularly the phases in the process of Indianisation.

The necessity of maintaining British forces in India sprang from the rivalry of European traders in India, but no Indian sepoys were employed by the East India Company till the battle of Tellicherri on the West Coast. But after this battle Indian sepoys began to be increasingly employed; and Clive led 300 Indians at the siege of Arcot and at Plassey 800 Europeans and 1,200 Indians took part.

This gradual increase necessitated the reorganisation of the sepoy regiments and led to the setting up in 1759 of a committee under Capt. Lawrence. Though according to its decision the Indian Army began to take an organisational shape, yet the forces of the three Presidencies could not co-ordinate due to lack of communications. By 1813, the number of troops had reached the total of 200,000. Though the European section of this army were scandalously corrupt and vicious, the behaviour of the Indian sepoy remained exemplary. We are filled with a sense of grim irony when we remember Cornwallis's tribute that "a Brigade of our sepoys could easily make anybody emperor of Hindusthan." It is, indeed, a shameful truth that the foundation of the British Empire in India was laid with the blood of loyal Indian sepoys.

A number of small explosions leading to the famous mutiny of 1857 made the British Raj aware of new dangers against its measures which had been successful till the recent R. I. N. strike in Bombay. When in 1858 India came directly under the control of the Crown, the proportion of British troops came to be increased; and the Commission of Indian Army Reorganization reported:

> The lesson taught by the mutiny have led to the maintenance of two great principles of retaining in the country an irresistible force of British troops and of keeping the artillery in the hands of the Europeans.

In 1893 the three Presidency Armies were merged into one and called the Indian Staff Corps which in turn became the Indian Army in 1903. Indians shed their blood for the cause of the Imperialist in the war of 1914-18, but it was only in 1918 that the right of Indians to become officers was grudgingly recognised. Fifty officers were trained in three years in the college that was established in Indore, and in that period only ten vacancies were reserved for Indian Gentlemen Cadets at Sandhurst. The pace of Indianisation was considerably retarded by the perverse method of selection and Lord Rawlinson's "black-listing scheme" of 1923 which provided for the segregation of efficient Indian officers.

The Skeen Committee, appointed in 1925, protested against the scheme of Rawlinson, but it was to no effect. Only the number of vacancies at Sandhurst was raised to twenty. In 1928, Woolwich Military College and R.A.F. Military College were thrown open to Indians and the Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun in 1932, thus materializing the recommendation of the Skeen Committee.

A committee was appointed in 1938 under Lord Chatfield to make recommendations regarding land and air forces in India. The recommendations include the mechanisation and modernisation of the Indian Army.

On the eve of the second World War the Indian Army was 182,000 strong and the number of Indian officers was 400 against a total of 5,000 officers. At the end of the war there were 8,200 Indians among the 30,000 officers in the Indian Army. Against this background and in the context of the future role of a free India, the question of full Indianisation has once again

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

come to the fore. So Sir Claude Auchinleck's statement will be hailed by all as a timely gesture.

Speaking on a resolution moved by Pandit Kunzru, General Auchinleck said that it was the intention of the Government of India to create a completely national army officered and manned throughout by Indians in the shortest possible space of time without lowering the very high standard of efficiency and competence of the Indian Army. Outlining the policy for this objective, the Commander-in-Chief said that the estimated strength of 9,000 officers for the Indian Army would be built up partly by recruiting a special class of officers from the V.C.O.'s and Indian warrant officers and N.C.O.'s ; and by April next year 1,100 regular Indian officers would be ready. By this process, the Commander-in-Chief said, the number of officers, British and Indian, would rise up to 5,100 against the estimated future demand of 9,000.

Although we welcome this move for Indianisation, we also feel constrained to remark that some of the major issues have remained absolutely undecided in this announcement. "Within the shortest possible space of time" is too vague a clause to inspire optimism, and the most significant evasion is in General Auchinleck's answer to Pandit Kunzru's demand for stopping recruitment of British officers in the grades of Lieutenants or Captains in the Indian Army. He has refused to place any such restrictions at this moment on the ground of efficiency. It has been reported in a Calcutta newspaper that vacancies created by demobilization of Indian officers are already being filled up by British personnel. The Commander-in-Chief said that complete Indianisation of these grades depended on the coming forward of suitable Indian candidates for regular short service commission. But it must be remembered in this connection, that one of the main reasons holding back Indian young men coming forward is the rotten system of discrimination in favour of the British for Imperial reasons which makes the lives of Indian forces miserable and humiliating and the Indianisation useless.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill

The Indian Legislature has passed Dr. Deshmukh's Bill on Hindu Women's Rights. The Bill seeks to give a married Hindu woman the right to separate residence and maintenance if her husband is suffering from any loathsome disease not contracted from her, if he is guilty of such cruelty to her as to render it unsafe or undesirable for her to live with him, if he is guilty of desertion, if he marries again, if he ceases to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion, if he keeps a concubine in the house or habitually resides with a concubine and for any other justifiable cause. This is the summary of the objects of the Bill as reported in the press. The Hindu Mahasabha held demonstrations against the Bill. The Muslim members of the Assembly abstained from voting. Dr. Deshmukh in moving the adoption of the Bill referred to the criticism that it would break up the Hindu family. He claimed on the contrary that it would consolidate the Hindu family. The veteran social reformer Mr. K. Natarajan thinks that it will certainly not break up the Hindu system, neither will it consolidate it. He believes that it will have no effect at all.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill comes ahead of the Hindu Code drafted by the Rau Committee and there is no doubt that it is a measure long overdue. The Hindu Code will go deep down to the root of the widely prevalent social diseases in the Hindu society, and it is this measure which, when enforced, will uproot the evils of the Hindu social system. Till the Hindu Code is made into law, measures of the type of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill will go a great way in aleviating the distress of Hindu married women and are therefore perfectly laudable.

Reclamation of Waste Lands in U. P.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Justice and Development, told a press correspondent that the U.P. Government was taking most active steps to bring all cultivable land under cultivation. In 1938, the Congress Ministry had appointed a committee to investigate and report on the reclamation of waste land in the province. The committee reported in October, 1939, that the province had a crore acres of fallow land. The report was held in abeyance during the years Congress was out of office. Immediately after their re-assumption of Ministry, the report has been taken under consideration and speedy steps are being taken to implement its recommendations.

The greatest difficulty has been an acute want of agricultural implements. About the dearth of agricultural implements Dr. Katju says :

> The Government Agricultural Workshop was requisitioned by the military authorities, and owing to scarcity of raw materials and other causes, agricultural implements were either not available at all or their prices had gone up by 400 to 500 per cent. Government were faced with the problem how to increase the output of improved agricultural implements, and secure them to the cultivators at reasonable terms. They were treating it as a question of 'highest priority.' All efforts were being made to overcome this difficulty as early as possible.

While Britain treated agricultural implements as munitions of war and placed their production on top priority lists, here in this country their manufacture was stopped by requisitioning the Government Agricultural Workshop. The Government of India did not come to their senses even after the stern warning of the Gregory Committee. The cumulative effect of such thoughtless actions of the Government of India have contributed to a steady worsening of the food situation of the country.

Food Politics of the Powers

The tight veil of secrecy which surrounded the resignation of Herbert Lehman as Director-General of U.N.R.R.A. has at last been lifted by Drew Pearson. Writing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column in the *Leader*, Pearson gives the following story :

> The excuse that the former New York Governor resigned because of poor health was mere 'diplomatic double talk.' Actually, Lehman resigned because he was disgusted with the deceit and fraud which has surrounded the entire question of feeding a hungry world, plus Herbert Hoover. Hoover was the straw that broke Lehman's back.
>
> More was involved than the fact that Hoover was given permission to make a food survey of territory which U.N.R.R.A. had already carefully surveyed. Lehman was Franklin Roosevelt's close

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

friend and Herbert Hoover was one of Franklin Roosevelt's bitterest enemies.

On the day after Hoover's appointment was announced Lehman recalled to friends the way Hoover used relief for political purposes after the last war, and he was convinced that Hoover would repeat the same errors in 1946.

Lehman was not even consulted regarding Hoover's appointment. The one Roosevelt Cabinet member who was consulted, Henry Wallace, protested vigorously. But in the end, he went along as a 'good soldier' under urging from President Truman and Secretary of Agriculture, Anderson.

Even before the Hoover appointment, however, Lehman was on the verge of resigning. For months he had been warning that world famine was imminent. He had appealed for the continuation of rationing and charged at inner Government conferences that the Administration had wept crocodile tears for the rest of the world while ducking rationing because of political expediency.

Lehman's experts estimated that another 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons of food could be exported by rationing, and that this amount would spell the difference between life and death for 10,000,00 people.

Another of Lehman's battles involved Combined Food Board composed of Canadian, British and American members, which has a virtual death grip on the assignment of food for export. *Lehman felt that many of its decisions were frankly political, and that food was being used as a weapon to influence the politics of certain nations not friendly to England.* Finally, when he saw he had lost on all these fronts, Lehman, a gentleman and a loyal Democrat, politely cashed in his chips, refusing to issue a critical blast against the Truman Administration.

In spite of the Government's protestations to the contrary, food has always been and still continues to remain in India as the hot bed of Imperialist politics. In an earlier issue, we had explained how the Government of India's food politics have landed us in the present disaster. We had always suspected similar politics in the distribution of food to hungry countries of the world. Drew Pearson has confirmed it.

How the Combined Food Board Works

The Combined Food Board is composed of only three members representing America, Britain and Canada. America naturally dominates because although Canada is in name a British Dominion, in fact it is an American puppet. This explains Britain's weak position on the Combined Food Board which has recently been revealed by Sir Manilal Nanavati.

The Board is assisted by Committees dealing with various commodities in short supply, on which the main importing and exporting countries concerned represent almost all United Nations. The first thing to get clear is that the Board is a purely advisory body. It has no mandatory or executive powers or financial responsibilities.

The various commodity committees collect facts as to the amount of each commodity available for export by the producing countries and the amounts required by countries in need. Then they recommend to the Board how the supplies available should be allocated and the Board passes on these recommendations to the Governments concerned. The countries in need then go out into the open market to buy up to the extent of their allocations.

This is all on a voluntary basis, but its success is shown by the fact that so far food produced in fifty countries has thus been distributed to seventy countries.

The Board cannot go out and buy food to distribute as it wishes. It cannot say to a producing country : "You are exporting only so much wheat, whereas in fairness to others you must export so much more." It cannot say to an exporting country : "You must divide your exports in these proportions among the countries A, B and C."

This happened last month. The Board was powerless to do anything when Argentina, one of the chief wheat exporting countries, refused to reduce her shipping to Spain and Portugal.

The Board was set up in 1942 when it was felt necessary to bring into being a "fair share" pool for the Allies.

Dr. B. C. Roy on Bhore Committee's Report

For the first time, the Bhore Committee have made a serious attempt to draw up a comprehensive plan for every type of health service, in order to secure positive health for the people of the country. In preparing a plan for health development in the future the Committee accepted certain fundamental principles such as : (1)That every individual has a right to receive from the State free and adequate medical care ; (2) that the health programme must include both curative and preventive measures ; (3) that there was an urgent need to develop and maintain health services for the vast rural population; (4) that the health services should be placed as close to the people as possible ; (5) That the scheme should be so devised as to secure active co-operation of the people in all stages : (6) the Ministry of Health in future should contain persons with an intimate knowledge of health matters, who should enjoy the confidence of the public and are thus able to secure their support in matters of legislation and administration.

The country-side was the focal point of the Committee's main recommendations, because therein resided 90 per cent of the people who today received very little health protection.

Criticising the Committee's Report, Dr. B. C. Roy said in a speech broadcast by the All-India Radio, that it may take 40 years or more to implement fully the long-term programme ; but once given effect to, it will secure for the people a reasonably well-developed service based on the newer and extended conception of modern health requirements.

Dr. Roy said that such a long term of years would be necessary to give full effect to the scheme because : (1) The total number of personnel required for implementing the scheme for the whole of British India was not now available. It may take 30 years and more to do so ; (2) The money necessary for giving effect to this scheme, both recurring and non-recurring, may be difficult for this country to afford immediately ; and (3) The technique for providing the health services should be developed in reference to the existing social and economic conditions of the people. Emphasising the third reason, Dr. Roy pointed out that it should be a tragedy if the technique developed in other countries were to be applied to India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. Roy made it perfectly clear that any health plan for India must be based on the following two fundamentals :

First, that we should be free to overhaul, if need be, the whole of the existing machinery for administration of health services in India as also the policy guiding it and not to be weighed down by any consideration of sectional service, communal or racial interests.

Secondly, that in planning for the future, we should proceed on the basis that the problems belong to an independent India, an India which would be free to formulate its own scheme of health development and be responsible to carry it into effect, an India where people will give to the plan their free and willing co-operation without which success cannot be ensured.

Egypt and the Treaty Revision

Three major problems confront Egypt today : revision of Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the sterling balances and the disposal of cotton stocks. The relation between them is closer than is generally imagined. A new Treaty may depend in large measure on a satisfactory settlement of the problem of cotton, which remains the farmer's most profitable crop and the basis of Egyptian economy. The sterling balances are as much a mystery to most Egyptians as is the sphinx. One writer in a daily Egyptian newspaper suggested that Britain should be asked to send a cheque for the full amount immediately, and another that since Britain had originally occupied Egypt to recover a debt the tables should now be turned. As regards the recent fall in cotton prices, the belief has been created that Britain deliberately set out to force down prices by curtailing her own imports of Egyptian cotton and by preventing other countries from taking it. The Egyptian Government have kept the acreage under cotton at last year's reduced wartime figure but in view of the accumulating stocks, no steps have been taken to restrict the growing of cotton. By next July or August, therefore, a crisis may be expected. Then the government will have to decide whether it is going to continue its cotton buying policy at the dictate of the agricultural interests or stand aloof. This dilemma will inevitably be alleged to be of Britain's creation, and if, as is possible, it should coincide with a crucial stage in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations, it might well be decisive. The *Manchester Guardian* feels that consequences will be harmful to Britain and suggests that some attempt should be made to find a solution. The *Guardian* says that it should not be forgotten that during the war the joint Anglo-Egyptian Cotton Buying Commission worked well, and not without a certain amount of financial profit to both countries. With the same goodwill it should not be impossible to revive such an organisation with the object of restoring the situation for the benefit of both producer and consumer.

The retention of British troops and the water of the Nile are the next vital questions. Egyptians feel that there is no case for the retention of any substantial British forces in Egypt, particularly in the neighbourhood of Cairo. British politicians think that a reconciliation of opposing views on the question of retention of troops is possible. But the problem of Sudan is much more difficult. On the usual plea that Sudan is pursuing its own road successfully towards ultimate self-government, Britain wants to retain this cotton growing area under her thumb. She is, however, ready to give Egypt assurances to get at rest her anxieties about the Nile water.

Meanwhile Egyptians are growing continually anxious about the fate of the negotiations for Treaty revision. The Cairo incident of February 21 was significant in this connection. There is, however, a discrepancy between the Egyptian and the British accounts of this incident. Both parties give their version after careful inquiry. The Egyptian account, finished by Sidky Pasha in a speech to the Senate, is that peaceful demonstrators were proceeding harmlessly until some British lorries, advancing through the crowd, caused injuries and one death and touched off the passions which resulted in widespread destruction of British property. The British version is that hooliganism had begun in parts of Cairo before the incident of the lorries had begun. Judging from our own experience of police and military attitude to peaceful demonstrations and exactly similar "lorry incidents" followed by widespread destruction of property, every Indian will be inclined to believe the Egyptian version of the Cairo events. In any case, it is plain that public temper in Egypt and Treaty negotiations can be protracted only with bitter results. Meanwhile, the death of Hassanein Pasha, King Farouk's *Chef-de-Cabinet*, in a motor accident has been a serious blow to Britain. Hassanein Pasha was probably the last of the liberal politicians who could influence Egyptian opinion at least to some extent in favour of the British. The strong and extremely vocal body of extreme Nationalists in Egypt demand that the treaty should be unilaterally denounced and not revised. They argue that now that the United Nations Organisation is established the treaty is useless. The existing Anglo-Egyptian Treaty provides that British troops should be stationed in the Suez Canal area ; it has a life of 20 years, 1936-56, and while either party can ask for revision after ten years any change must be made by mutual consent.

Showdown in Middle East

The British-Soviet duel over Iran shows that Great Britain is losing in Iran and with that control of the Middle East, thus exposing her empire life line. This crisis is only a part of major empire policy crisis, writes Max Werner in *PM*, New York.

This "battle for Iran" is indeed a peculiar dispute. There is no private Soviet-Iranian dispute as there is no private Turkish-Soviet conflict. Iranian sovereignty and the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers are not at stake ; Soviet-British-American relations in the Middle East region are. In the Middle East, the appeal of Soviet diplomacy is not to Teheran and Ankara but to London and Washington.

Max Werner sums up the Soviet attitude as follows :

The Soviet Union supports the complete independence of Iran and of Turkey. But this independence must work in all directions and must be asserted towards all the Great Powers. It is absurd to consider Soviet policy in Iran similar to Hitler's Sudeten demands preceding the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union does not consider the Middle East as its Lebensraum. In the early 20th

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the independence of Turkey and Iran, threatened by Great Britain, were saved with Russian help.

What Soviet diplomacy opposes are the special privileges of the other Great Powers in Iran and Turkey. It insists on equality and reciprocity. In the Soviet concept, Iran and Turkey have the same relation to Soviet strategic interests as the Low Countries to Britain and Mexico to the United States.

Summing up the British interest, Werner says :

Because Britain has economic influence in Iran far superior to the Soviet Union. Soviet diplomacy requires guarantees against eventual British political and military penetration. Russia does not oppose the British exploitation of the south Iranian oil fields, but it strikes against the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., making the policy of Iran. The best guarantee of Soviet security in the Middle East is the real independence of Iran and Turkey.

The actual British positions in Iran are obviously inadequate. The Soviet Union is the neighbour of Iran. Britain is not. The Soviet Union has a land frontier with Iran, Britain has to support its influence through arduous 4,000-mile long sea communications. If there is to be a seesaw of British pressure and Soviet counter-pressure, Britain will lose.

There is hardly any remedy against the basic political and strategic weakness of Great Britain in this region. Iran is situated in the centre of the former zone of British influence, now stricken by a crisis. All of the land approaches to the Turkish-Iranian space are in fermentation—or lost. Britain has given up its positions in the Balkans, except for isolated and unquiet Greece. The major crisis in India is impending. It will become increasingly difficult to exert the British influence in Iran *via* the Arab States.

By favouring the independence of the Arab States, Britain is sapping its control over the land routes leading to the Persian Gulf. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq have no real power, but they can very well blackmail their British partner, and they are doing it. Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon are already demanding the evacuation of the British garrisons. This general crisis in the Middle East will be certainly felt in the dispute over Iran—and not in the British favour.

But the crisis goes even deeper. Great Britain cannot defend its Empire positions by digging in the social swamp of the Middle East. Socially, economically, politically, the Middle East is probably the most backward area of the world today. If the Middle East is assigned the role of middle link in the British Empire, it will be a very unreliable link indeed.

The entire Middle East today is brittle politically and socially. The feudal landlords and the big speculators of Iran are now inefficient allies for Britain. In order to get rid of the strong-minded Riza Shah, Britain has brought in a weak government in Iran which is much more amenable to Soviet pressure. By supporting the present set of weak rulers in Middle East, Britain is weakening her own vital Empire positions.

Louis Fischer on Pakistan

Pakistan has been pushed to the forefront as a major political issue today. It started as a bluff, then it became a bargaining counter and now Muslim League politicians and their British patrons are swearing by it. Impartial observers of international repute, who had shrewdness enough to see through the game, have given their verdict on it which certainly will not be palatable to the League leaders. We give here significant portions from a penetrating analysis of Pakistan by the celebrated journalist Louis Fischer. Writing in the *Hindu,* Fischer says :

> One question stands out in the minds of outside observers : What about the Muslims? Will Mohamed Ali Jinnah, in his capacity as President of the Muslim League, insist on Pakistan? Mr. Jinnah is right in remarking that the Muslims in India are not an ordinary "minority." Mr. Herbert Morrison told the House of Commons on November 14, 1945, that the "approximate number of Muslims in India was 92 millions." Quite a minority ! Mr. Jinnah claims that they are a separate nation and should, therefore, have a separate national home—Pakistan.
>
> Since my visit to India in 1943, I had the profound conviction that the Muslim issue was neither national nor religious ; it is social and economic. The Muslim League consists overwhelmingly of large landlords. They know that the first step an Independent India would take would be land reform. Hindu industrialists want independence because the British have naturally retarded Indian industrialisation in order to keep India as a market for British goods. The Muslim landed proprietor does not want independence because the presence of the British tends to block land reform. Muslim peasants accordingly could have no sympathy for the upper class Muslim League.
>
> Mr. Jinnah needs a device which would form a bridge between the Muslim landlords and the Muslim peasants. He found it in Muslim nationality, in Pakistan and in Muslim Zionism. He first proclaimed it in 1940. Pakistan would be a poor, reactionary and landlord-ridden State. Pakistan would be another Iran. *I can see why Muslim feudals would desire it. I cannot see why Muslim peasants and intellectuals and businessmen would desire it.*

Fischer had a talk with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan on Pakistan. He says that the Frontier Gandhi was one of the most impressive men he had encountered in India. He lives in a village near Peshawar with the peasants and like a peasant. He was rich but renounced his wealth. Fischer says :

> I asked him what he thought of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan. "I judge it by those who support it. In my province," he replied, "it is supported by rich Khans, wealthy Nawabs and reactionary Mullahs. Pakistan will give strength to those Muslims who oppress my peasant people."
>
> "Will it strengthen Islam?" I asked. "Mr. Jinnah is a bad Muslim" he asserted angrily. "He is not a devout follower of the Prophet."
>
> Mr. Jinnah tells the Muslim peasants that they are Muslims first and therefore ought to constitute a Muslim Nation. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others tell the Muslim peasants that they are peasants economically, Muslims religiously and Indians politically. Hitler told the Germans that they were Germans only. He hoped Nationalism would make them forget their class enemies and hate racial enemies.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fischer gives his verdict that world cannot tolerate Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's religious racialism is equally dangerous as Nazi racialism. Jinnah tells the Muslim peasants to forget the sins of the Muslim landlord and hate their Hindu neighbour. Two Indias, according to him, would mean a hundred headaches for the world. Weakened by division and friction, India would become an arena where big powers would intrigue and manouvre against one another as they do in Europe and China. Civilisation is based on the ability to live with those who are different. Racial, religious and social intolerances are uncivilised and undemocratic.

Brailsford on Jinnah's Pakistan

Like Fischer, another foreign journalist, Brailsford gives his outspoken view on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan. Writing in the *Hindu,* he says :

> If it is to succeed in bringing the Congress and the League together, the Cabinet Mission faces a task of incredible difficulty. The violent and abusive speeches at the League's Convention in Delhi have made reconciliation barely thinkable. There is, however, one ground of plain common sense on which it is easy to base the case for unity. In handing over power the British Government has the duty to think first of all of India's safety. No responsible British soldier would guarantee it if Pakistan came into being as Mr. Jinnah defines it. Strategically, it is an impossible conception. Broken into two zones, with the whole width of Hindustan between them, it defies every maxim of military science. The cost, moreover, of Indian defence would be swollen immensely, if the Indian army were broken into two and divided between the two States. The British soldiers are unanimous in holding the opinion that the safety of India can be assured only if it is defended by one army under a single command.
>
> How far this argument will modify the views of the Muslim leaders, I cannot predict. To me it looks like the central issue. The army may turn out to be the greatest asset for unity. To break it into two would be an act of folly which no British Government will lightly commit.
>
> Speaking only for myself, I should argue for a bold use of this asset. The army, with its organisation and equipment, morally belongs to the whole of India. It should be handed over only to a Government that will preserve it intact and use it for the safety of the whole peninsula. If that were made clear, we should be nearer to the creation of an Indian Union.

Brailsford wants one point to be cleared up in advance. He says that Mr. Jinnah must be aware of the strategical weakness of Pakistan. On what, then, does he rely ? Brailsford's guess is that he may be thinking of claiming Dominion Status for it, while the rest of India chooses independence. Brailsford declares that it would be, from the British standpoint, a fatal solution. It would only add to Britain's military burdens. It would involve her in all the disputes of the peninsula and ruin the hope of friendly relationships between the U.K. and an independent India. This idea dates from the dead past. He says that the tactics of trading on Hindu-Muslim divisions was abandoned when Labour came to power, but India still has doubts.

Caste and Pakistan

Two letters have recently been published in the *Indian Social Reformer*. One was addressed to Mr. Jinnah by an American missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Ogden, appealing to him to work for the unity of India as American statesmen have been doing to make one nation of the diverse elements of the population drawn from all the nationalities of Europe divided by race, language and history. The other was from Sant Ram of Lahore who for many years has been carrying on propaganda for the abolition of the caste system among the Hindus through the Jat Pat Torak Mandal of which he is the Secretary. Summing up these letters, the *Indian Social Reformer* has expressed its views on the question with which we fully agree and which we believe worth reproduction :

> While Mr. Ogden appeals to Mr. Jinnah to work for Indian Unity, Mr. Sant Ram maintains that Mr. Jinnah's movement for Pakistan is justified by the caste system of the Hindus and implies that the abolition of caste among Hindus would automatically lead to the abandonment of the demand for Pakistan. The radical reform of caste as it has come to be, has been going on for many years due to the efforts of reformers like Mr. Sant Ram, of English education, of the growth of nationalism and chiefly owing to the system having ceased to serve its original purpose. Surely, caste as it is observed today except among very conservative people is a thin shadow of what it was when Mr. Sant Ram founded his excellent society. If caste is the actuating cause of the demand for Pakistan, it is strange that the demand should come when caste is on its last legs. It is also strange that it should come when caste among Muslims exists and no effort whatever is being made to get rid of it. In the last Sunday issue of the *Bombay Chronicle,* Pearl Buck writes of the existence of caste in the United States. Britain has been sometimes spoken of as being more caste-ridden than India. The famous sociologist, Prof. Patrick Geddes, indeed, held that caste was present in all organised societies in some form or other and that, corresponding to the four main Hindu castes, they had in England, the culture caste of the universities, the courage caste of the public schools, the business caste of city men and working caste of factory labourers. An enthusiast for caste reform it is but natural that Mr. Sant Ram should press into service the demand for Pakistan as an argument for abolition of caste, but we cannot help thinking, with great sympathy for his object, that it is far-fetched. On the other hand, the operation of fissiparous forces in our midst, is the very reason why political constitution should be framed so as to counteract these tendencies. Pakistan must be resisted because it adds to and aggravates them. So should the narrow provincialisms for the same reason. India one and indivisible is the vision which, held steadily before our minds, will most effectively counteract the divisive forces and help India to realise her world destiny.

University Courses on Journalism

Presiding over the fifth annual Conference of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation, which met at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Madras, Mr. N. Raghunath Aiyar, Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*, criticised the way in which courses of journalism were being introduced in the Indian universities. His criticism deserves attention and close study by the University authorities. The relevant portion is given below :

> The training of journalists was best undertaken by a professional organisation like the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation in concert with the newspapers. The President criticised the Madras University's decision to institute a Diploma in Journalism for men trained under its own auspices. The University had fixed a University degree as the minimum general educational qualification, but this need not be insisted upon in cases where a meticulous knowledge of literary English was not a desideratum, provided the candidate had the required cultural standard. The one-year course proposed by the University was too short to serve any useful purpose. The course of studies outlined was not only far too ambitious but mixed up professional and technical subjects and general cultural studies in a confusing way. For teaching most of the professional and technical subjects the University had no resources of its own ; it would have to rely on such part-time service of professional journalists as it could secure, and the bare six months' training in the office of a newspaper it required would prove an empty formality. The training to be useful should last for at least two years. To guard against an excess of production it would be best to confine it to those who, after their apprenticeship was over, were likely to be absorbed by the newspaper which deputed them for training, either in its headquarters or in its mofussil staff. Evening classes organised by the professional organisation and conducted by men who did the day to day work on a newspaper would be the best way of correlating theory and practice. The University could also help by organising extension lectures on cultural and academic subjects. The newspapers, he was sure, would be only too ready to give financial assistance for such work if the Federation came forward to undertake it.
>
> The newspaper man's true University, however, was the newspaper itself. The novice learnt best by watching senior craftsmen at work and playing the sedulous ape. Senior men in the profession had therefore a great responsibility ; if the guild idea had still any validity in the modern world it was in the newspaper office where a vocation was pursued which was partly an art and partly a science.

Housing Plan for Workers

The Draft Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Standing Labour Committee of the Tripartite Labour Conference of Madras, to consider matters relating to housing of workers and make recommendations thereon, has been completed and will shortly be released for publication. In the meantime, a summary of the recommendations is available. Mr. V. V. Giri, a member of the Sub-Committee, has given the following account :

> The housing conditions of the industrial workers in India, especially those of the lowest paid staff, are a disgrace to a civilisation. Some of them live in 'slums' provided by private enterprise under insanitary environments and some spend their lives with their families under the shade of trees or on pavements of cities. The accommodation provided to workers by certain employers is a one-room tenement and sometimes, if not often, such tenements house three to four families in each unit. Good housing, therefore, is an indispensable necessity for their health and above all for the efficiency of industry as a whole. While enquiry commissions and committees were appointed by the Government during the last two decades without any substantial results, this Sub-Committee has clinched the issue in a short but interesting report. It dealt with various questions such as the minimum standards required for workers' houses, the manner in which the building fund has to be raised, the basis on which the workers must be required to pay rent, the facilities which the Central and Provincial Governments and local authorities are required to grant for making the scheme a success, etc.
>
> Mr. Giri, proceeding, said that the building of about twenty lakhs of houses, during a period of eight or ten years, at a minimum cost of about Rs. 1,350 per tenement even at the present high cost of materials is quite possible and practicable provided the local authorities co-operate. Of course, the fullest use of large-scale methods of production and the manufacture of standardised parts on a big enough scale, duly programmed to ensure advantages of a mass production, should be provided for. This can only be accomplished if a national building programme is properly planned with a definite time-table.
>
> The scheme now envisaged is based on the creation of a National Housing Board consisting of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments and those of employers and workers. The Governments, both Central and Provincial, have to pay subsidies in the shape of interest-free loans which are to be redeemed by the building authority in a specified period through a sinking fund. The employers also have to contribute to the fund by paying a certain amount per month per house and the workers have to pay an economic rent not exceeding 10 per cent of their pay. The National Board, while responsible to the Central Government, shall have liberty of action and be responsible for co-ordination of schemes and become the machinery through which materials and supplies will be released.
>
> While condemning one-room tenements, it is felt by the Committee that a house for an industrial worker and his family should comprise at least two rooms, a kitchen, an independent bath room, a lavatory, verandahs, both front and back, and a courtyard and all other modern arrangements with respect to lighting, sanitation and drainage necessary to make the locality healthy. The workers' dwellings must be situated in open spaces and they must look like garden cities with playgrounds, co-operative stores and schools for children. Such colonies should not have more than a certain number of houses.

Mr. Giri believes, as also we do, that the housing scheme envisaged by the Sub-Committee will certainly be an accomplished fact if there is the fullest co-operation among all the parties concerned, namely, the Central Government, Provincial Governments, local bodies, and workers' and employers' organisations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Soviet Fourth Five-Year Plan

This year, the Soviet Union is going to shape its post-war economy on the basis of the fourth Five-Year Plan. The precise outlines of this Plan will be made known at the forthcoming Congress of the newly elected Soviets, but the main problems which the plan will seek to solve have already been determined. Recent statements by the members of the Soviet Government and discussions in the Russian Press have thrown some light on the guiding principles of this Plan. In the main, the plan aims at the reconstruction of the devastated areas and at conversion from war to peace. On the administrative level, the process of conversion has been reflected by the abolition, in recent months, of the wartime Commissariats and their replacement by new Economic Departments. For example, the Commissariat for Tank Building has been changed into a Commissariat for Transport Machine Building ; the Commissariat for Ammunition has given place to the Commissariat for Agricultural Machines. A special committee for the Assessment and Distribution of Labour has been formed under the Council of Commissars. The overhaul of the Commissariats shows the importance attached by the Government to industrial building—several new Building Commissariats have come into being. The *Soviet Information Bureau* has published the outlines of the plan.

According to the Fourth Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union's agricultural production is to increase by 1950 to 27 per cent above the 1940 level while the annual grain harvest is to be brought up to 127,000,000 tons. This means that in 1950 the USSR will produce 50 per cent more of grain than was growing in the United States before the war and two and a half times as much as was produced by pre-war Germany, France and Italy taken together.

The aims are great also as regards the yields. For instance, it is planned to ensure increase in grain yields greater than was achieved during the first two Five-Year Plans and much greater than the increase in yields in other countries of Europe after World War I.

In industrial crops, too, an extensive programme has been outlined. Sugar-beet production, for instance, is to be raised to 26,000,000 tons annually by the end of the five year period. When this goal is reached the Soviet Union will grow nearly as much sugar-beet as the total grown in Germany, France and the United States before the war.

By 1950 the USSR plans to produce 3,100,000 tons of raw unginned cotton annually, or only slightly less than the pre-war figures for British India.

As regards flax fibre the Soviet Union's output by the end of the five year period will exceed several times over the total pre-war production of this industrial raw material in all countries of Europe taken together.

In fulfilment of the sweeping tasks in agriculture outlined by the few Five-Year Plan two factors will play the decisive role.

The first of these factors is the possibility of further increasing the productivity of labour, a possibility that is guaranteed by the very nature of the system of collective tillage of soil. It is a well-known fact that, even in the most difficult period of the war when up to 40 per cent of the USSR's cultivated area was occupied by the enemy and collective farms had less able-bodied workers, machines and fertilizers, the country did not experience a serious shortage of grain or other foodstuffs. This is explained by the fact that, even in those difficult conditions, many collective farms substantially increased the productivity of agriculture, thanks to the improved organisation of farm work and selfless enthusiastic labour of collective farmers.

The Osakarovka collective farm in the Karaganda region of the Kazakh USSR has several thousand hectares under crops. In the course of the four war-years this land was tilled considerably more productively than before the war. Whereas the average grain production amounted to 4·3 tons per able bodied member of the farm during the last four pre-war years, the figure rose to 8·8 tons during the four war-years.

These results the farm achieved with the same number of farm implements and tractors it had before the war. The secret of this success was improved organisation of farm-work and scientific farming which led to increase in productivity of farmers' labour.

The experience of the Osakarovka farm is typical of thousands of collective farms during the war.

It goes without saying that immeasurably greater results may be achieved by providing the farms more farm machines and implements, particularly in view of the fact that the Germans destroyed a sizable part of the farm machinery in the areas that fell into their hands. And this is precisely what the Five-Year Plan provides in the course of 1946-1950 : industry is scheduled to supply agriculture with 325,000 new tractors. It should be remembered that in 1937 the USSR had 365,000 tractors. All told, Soviet agriculture will be supplied in the course of the current five-year period with new perfected agricultural machinery totalling 4,500,000,000 million rubles in value. About one thousand additional machine and tractor stations and hundreds of repair shops and machine shops are to be built. The supply of all kinds of mineral fertilizers will increase greatly.

A substantial effect on the development of agriculture will be had by restoration and further development in the irrigation systems. It is to be remembered in this connection that the irrigated lands are the main producers of cotton and a number of other industrial crops. During the war, however, the number of irrigation systems deteriorated and the irrigated area drifted. This happened in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Transcaucasus and elsewhere. In the course of the present five-year period the old irrigation systems will be restored and new ones built.

Highly important are the provisions outlined in the five-year programme for livestock raising. The war interrupted the extensive work that was underway in the country to promote this branch of farming and dealt it enormous losses, particularly in the areas that were occupied by the enemy.

To ensure the achievement of goals set in the improvement of living standards of the population, substantial expansion of output of meat, fats, milk, eggs, wool, leather etc., is vitallly essential. The plan, therefore, calls for a 29 per cent increase over the pre-war in the number of cattle heads to 25,900,000 heads; 62 per cent in the number of sheep and goats to 68,100,000 heads and 35 per cent increase in hogs—to 11,100,000 heads on the collective farms by the end of the five-year period. Substantial increase is also provided for as regards horses and oxen on the collective farms.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Increase in the number of livestock heads and their productivity is ensured by expanding fodder supply. Silage, for instance, has to be doubled in quantity on the collective farms and a sizable increase is provided for in the use of inlustrial by-products as cattle feed.

Year-round grazing is to be practised on a greater scale than ever before especially in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The natural pasturelands available in these areas will substantially augment the fodder resources available during the current five-year period.

Alongside all this the number of heads of pedigree cattle is slated for further rise ; crossbreeding is to be practised on a wider scale than before and other measures will be carried out to improve the herds.

These are the salient features of the sweeping program outlined for agriculture in the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Conditions in India may only be compared. Given a Plan and a true National Government, India has the potentialities of becoming one of the three strongest economic powers in the world.

Post-War Educational Reconstruction in Russia

Having done its duty to the country during the war, Soviet higher schools are now turning attention to tackling far-reaching aims of peace-time development outlined in Stalin's election speech of February 9 :

Initial steps to restore and extend the existing chair of higher and technical schools were taken while the war was still on. Today specialists are being trained in 783 higher schools attended by 562,000 students which is equivalent to the 1940 figure. The network of technical schools and other secondary special schools has substantially expanded. There are now 3,164 of these with a student body upwards of 940,000 or 100,000 more than the pre-war contingent.

Post-war expansion will be effected, first and foremost, in the training of specialists for new fields of science and engineering. The principal role in this respect will be played by technical and other secondary special schools. At the present time, for instance, there are between fifty and sixty technicians to every one hundred engineers in building, iron and steel and coal industries. Under the Five-Year Plan the proportion of technicians in some branches of industry is to be increased. It is proposed, during the five-year period, to graduate 120,000 engineers and 347,000 technicians for industry and constructions ; 47,000 persons with higher and 198,000 with secondary education for agriculture and 98,000 doctors and 284,000 medical personal with secondary education.

Development of science is one of the principal requisites for further progress of the Soviet state. In order to raise steel production to 60,000,000 tons a year, Soviet metallurgy must be developed not merely by extending the present methods of production but by introducing new methods that utilize the latest domestic and foreign scientific achievements. The same applies to the boosting of oil and coal output, raising of grain and cotton yields and productivity of livestock.

In his speech of February 9, J. V. Stalin set the Soviet scientific the important and difficult task of overtaking and surpassing within a short time the achievements of science in other countries.

What are the problems confronting the Soviet higher school in connection with the development of science ?

Proper planning of scientific research is one of the primary tasks in this sphere. Some people claim that it is impossible to plan scientific work. There are brilliant scientific discoveries, it is argued, and no plan can foresee which may revolutionize a given branch of science and upset all the accepted theories and views. True, discoveries of this kind cannot be planned in advance. But planning of research makes it possible to concentrate efforts on the most important problems in a given field.

Science, at its present stage of development, requires combined efforts of a large group of investigators in different fields for effective solution of major problems. To build a modern airplane you need, besides designers, mathematicians, physicists, metallurgists, specialists in engine manufacture, etc.

The higher educational institutions, whose faculty includes scientists in different specialities, offer favourable conditions for such large-scale teamwork. Our Soviet universities and colleges, with their fifty thousand professors and lecturers, have solved a good number of complicated scientific problems in this manner. The mining institute in Leningrad, for example, worked out new methods on concentrating and processing of non-ferrous metals which were widely used in the Urals.

No less an important factor in planning scientific work is the co-ordination of research of higher schools and of scientific institutions. Before long, regular information on research work will be available.

The application of completed researches will be promoted on a wider scale.

During the new Five-Year Plan period Soviet higher schools will intensify training of scientific personnel, primarily in these branches lagging behind the practical needs and level of contemporary science.

Last but not the least, there is the problem of supplying our higher schools and scientific research institutes with the latest apparatus, machinery and equipment. The Soviet Government has already taken steps in this direction by setting up special administrations to supervise the production of laboratory equipment, precision instruments and chemical reagents.

The Soviet Union has made great progress in the field of economy and culture. It now aims to advance to the first place in the world in culture, science and engineering.

Can Burma Govern Herself ?

Writing in the British weekly *Spectator*, Mr. Aubrey Buxton has shown an intelligent Britisher's grave concern over the future of Burma. Being acutely conscious of the liquidation of the British Empire which is already almost a settled affair, Mr. Buxton has advised his imperialist countrymen not to ignore the voice of Burmese nationalism and the interests of the empire itself. He says :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If Burma, through excessive sentiment, should secede, it might be the signal for all nations in South-East Asia to cast off all association with the West. Thus it is vital to us that Burma should become a success as a Dominion.

Though Mr. Buxton has not been able to rid himself wholly of the imperialist myth, which is clear in this statement, his illuminating essay contains some few points which are not only worthwhile to consider seriously but also extremely sensible and realistic. Mr. Henderson might well have pondered over them while speaking during the debate on the political and economic situation in Burma at the House of Commons a few weeks ago.

The right of Burmese self-government, Mr. Buxton points out, is denied mainly on the ground of violent disturbances, riots, murders and general political tension that still prevail in the country. But to expect the Burmese to govern themselves in a totally peaceful way is to ignore not only Burmese character, but Burmese history. Geographically sealed off on all sides, cut off from all foreign contacts till very recently, the Burmese have been naturally rather turbulent in nature. It is only with the British advent that the outer world burst upon Burma with a devastating impact. Burma's progress during the last sixty-one years of British rule, so far as peace and security is concerned, has been quite remarkable. The absence of political assassinations and terrorist activities proves that the Burmese can learn the way of a peaceful civilized nation.

Some would still object to particular cases of violence and barbarism in recent Burmese history. Mr. Buxton meets this objection with these questions :

> How long is it since an English king murdered his wives ? How long is it since men were hanged in England for stealing pheasants ? How long is it since England was torn by political intrigue, violence and civil war ? And may one ask, how the English, in those days, would have received the suggestion that they were not fit to be independent ? (We must not be narrow-minded. There are, after all more ways than one of being civilised. To-day there is such a thing as 'bath-night' in this country. This would shock the Burmese ; even centuries ago, when our kings and queens did not wash at all, every Burmese had a bath every day).

The Burmese people may be grateful, the author points out, for what the British had given them ; but "no amount of roads, railways, schools and so on can outweigh the thought that they are under foreign domination." If Siam can be independent, there is no reason why Burma would not be able to look after herself in her own way. Briefly outlining the history of Burmese politics from the pre-war days of corruption and intrigue to the present ones of fervent nationalist ardour. Mr. Buxton observes that the patriotism of the extreme nationalists are genuine and incorruptible, even if their actions might be misguided.

Mr. Buxton's observations merit close consideration, and his views will be shared by all progressive minds even if they may not be inspired by his vision of a British Commonwealth with Burma as a dominion. Burma to-day wants full independence and she deserves it. In the recent debate at the Commons, Mr. Henderson said that if all went well in Burma it was hoped that a legislature would have been elected and a ministry formed before June, 1947. Although he admitted that there was no difference between the Burmese people and Britain on the question of full self-government for Burma with a status equal to that enjoyed by Britain, he also maintained that the realization of full self-government must come by an orderly and peaceful transfer ; and then again further qualified his assertion by bringing in the issue of the Commonwealth and Dominions. He explained the policy of development towards self-government by describing the two major phases in it. After a ministerial government had been established on the results of a general election, the different parties and sections must agree in drawing up a suitable constitution.

The British Government is still assuming the self-righteous pose of moral responsibility while the forces of history are betraying the imperialist intrigues. Still their policy envisages no change of principle. As Mr. Gallachar said in reply to Mr. Henderson, it was utterly nonsensical to talk about free elections when agents of big monopoly capitalists were spreading corruption in Burma. Thousands of Burmese died without knowing what life was because of the exploitation of the monopolists. The Burmese should be left free to build up their own lives and country in their own way.

Trends in Turkish Literature

It is extremely unfortunate that even in these days of wide international contacts, we know really very little of the socio-cultural trends of our neighbouring countries. Our knowledge of English literature is quite extensive and our concern for it even greater in some cases than our own literature. While admitting the very high merit of English literature upon which we have been nurtured for generations, it must also be said that we should try to understand at least the fundamental facts about the literature of the neighbouring Asiatic nations, particularly in view of the growing Asiatic communion in socio-political aspirations. We give here a brief resume of a lecture given in French by the Turkish Ambassador Rusen Esref Unaydin at the Turkish Halkevi on February 8, 1945, with a view to acquainting our readers with the background of modern Turkish literature.

Cultural studies and artistic production grew round two reviews called *Yeni Mecmua* (New Review) and *Turk Yurdu* (Turkish Land) which were the organs of literary expression during the constitutional era in Turkish history. Modern authors, whose work has appeared in these two reviews, have helped to rejuvenate and to bring fresh splendour to Turkish poetry and prose.

The first World War was unfavourable to the Turkish Empire. But after the victory of Turkish arms the history of the country began to flow in a new channel. A new era came into being with the new state. Vast horizons were opening up and the dynamic inspiration of the new changes also expressed itself in cultural and literary movements. The most important reform was the alteration in the characters of the Turkish alphabet. The Roman script was more suited to the genius of the Turkish language, and it has made the phraseology succinct and clear. Linguistic research and historical studies, much encouraged by Ataturk, have produced significant results.

Translations from the literature of the world have entered on a new era. Authors translated include Andre Gide, Andre Maurois, Pierre Loti, Anatole France,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Maupassant, Flaubert, Zola, Goethe, Dickens, Shakespeare, Tolstoi, Dostoievski, Chekhov, Gorki, Turgeniev and Stendhal. Renaissance and pre-Renaissance authors like Petrarch and Dante have also been translated, and masterpieces of the Hellenic and Latin literature have also been reproduced in the Turkish language.

Turkish literature today is represented by eminent novelists, essay writers, critics, poets and playwrights, such as Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Falih Rifki Atay and Abdulhak Sinasi Hissar. Literary criticism also has found its able expositors in men like Hassan Aali Yucel.

It is most refreshing to be acquainted with this survey of the main streams of renaissant Turkish literature as given by R. E. Unaydin. The phenomenon proves the all-round success of the Turkish regeneration, and is thus significant not only to students of art and culture but also to social reformers and political leaders.

Srinivasa Sastri

Srinivasa Sastri is dead ; "the silver-tongued orator of the British Empire" is silent for ever. Though he died at quite a ripe old age, his death has created a void in national life which can hardly be filled. Even the other day when he expressed his weighty denouncement of the Union Government's latest anti-Indian measure, we could not think that the blow would come so soon.

Sastriji, a true disciple of Gopalkrishna Gokhale, began his life as a school-teacher. And he remained a teacher all his life in more senses than one. His association with the education of the country came to an end only with his death when he finished his career as the Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University. His rare mastery of the English tongue was only the least of his varied gifts, but the perfection he attained was almost unique for a man not born to that language.

Sastriji's public career was dominated by the beliefs and doctrines of literalism. He joined the Servants of India Society in 1907, became its President in 1915 and remained in that position till 1927. A leading light in Indian constitutional discussions, a member of the Madras Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislative Council, a notable Privy Councillor, Representative to the Government of India to various dominions, Indian Agent in South Africa—Sastriji played a number of highly important roles in the course of his long and fruitful life.

When the whole country was throbbing with the stirrings of ardent nationalism, Sastriji with a few noted compatriots held fast to his liberal faith. The strength of that faith has much dwindled in the nation at large, and even Sastriji himself considerably changed in his later political attitude. Nurtured as he was upon a faith in conciliation and constitutionalism, it was no mean development for him to attack unsparingly the policy of the British Government after the August days of 1942. On the whole, his political views are a perfect specimen of sound reasonableness within the framework of liberal thought.

His whole life was a pattern of honesty, strength and brilliance. His integrity earned for him the rarest distinctions in life, and it is to the memory of that greatness of character that his countrymen will ever pay their homage.

—:o:—

The following notes have been sent by Dr. Taraknath Das from New York :

Mutiny and Hunger in India

THE whole world is watching happenings in India. The following is the editorial published in the *New York Times* of February 22, 1946 :

MUTINY AND HUNGER

The revolt of Indian seamen in Bombay, described by Vice-Admiral Sir John Godfrey as 'a state of open mutiny,' underlines the urgency of the mission of three Cabinet Ministers which the British Government is sending to India. It is noteworthy that the rising of the sailors of the Indian Royal Navy, like the walk-out of the textile workers of Allanabad, began as a hunger strike against the drastic cut in the food ration which Lord Wavell was obliged to announce on February 16. When 100,000,000 people are threatened with famine in a country where discontent against the British Government is endemic, the combination produces a crisis of the first magnitude.

The scale of the Indian problem, highlighted by the rioting and blood-shed which are now reported to be subsiding, dwarfs the troubles in Egypt, Greece and the Levant, disturbing and symptomatic as these whirlpools are on the British imperial route. The outbreaks in Cairo are purely and violently nationalist, but India is not so much a national as a continental problem, involving a population greater than that of Europe or the Western Hemisphere and almost as many racial, religious and administrative divisions. Europe, indeed, is rapidly becoming what India is—a sub-continent of Asia—and there are many signs to indicate that the storm center is moving from one area to the other. It is certain, at any rate, that India will be the scene of one of the decisive struggles of the post-war period. Equally certain is that the statesmanship of the British Labor party faces a major political test. Sir Stafford Cripps is one of the three Ministers who will make a new attempt to secure agreement on a plan of self-government, but this attempt is launched in a much worse atmosphere than his unsuccessful mission of 1942. The war is over, the Moslem League and the Congress party are more uncompromising than ever, Great Britain is in a state of uneasy transition. The whole picture this time, moreover, is overshadowed by hunger. In this merging of crises, economic desperation intensifies political violence. It is hard to decide which is more dangerous, but without a heroic effort to stave off wholesale starvation appeals to reason are likely to be vain.

In greater or less degree, this is true of all the post-war settlements. The first emergency of today is a shortage of food, and while no one will claim that a strict rationing and sharing of the world's stocks of wheat will reconcile Jinnah and Gandhi or ease the tensions in Greece and Egypt, France, Italy and Hungary, neither will any one deny that hunger in these countries aggravates every other problem. It is hardly too much to say that hunger is one of the great Powers that will dictate the shape of the peace.

One thing must not be overlooked that mutiny may tighten the bond of slavery. It may lead to disastrous chaos.

To be sure, the causes of discontent must be removed. Indian sailors and soldiers should not be discriminated against by their alien master, because of their race and color.

Indian people must not starve. Britain, which does

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not produce half of the required food for her people, did not have a famine even in war time. Why should there be a famine in India? India's sterling balance should be used to buy grain from Argentina, Canada and other lands.

Indian leaders should not allow irresponsible agitators to create chaos in India. A chaos in India may become a burial ground for Freedom.

Scientific Efficiency of the Japanese

THE *New York Sun* of January 13, 1946, published the following news-item which will interest Indian leaders :

> Tokyo, March 13 (*A. P.*)—Japanese torpedoes were better than either the American or the British, for they carried larger explosive charges, had more range and greater speed, and left no air bubble trains. Capt. Allan L. Dunning of Granby, Conn., who directed a United States Navy technical mission to study the war secrets of the Japanese Navy, announced this finding upon the completion of his project today.
>
> [Navy officials and correspondents knew of the superiority of the Japanese torpedo since very early in the war, but were not permitted to hint at the fact.]
>
> Dunning said the Allies gained little new information from their study. His records have been sent to Pearl Harbor, however, for evaluation.
>
> One eye-opener, he said, was Japan's huge aircraft-carrying submarines. The Japanese told him they had made reconnaissance flights over the Hawaiian Islands in planes catapulted from submarines that could carry three planes each.
>
> "The Japanese researchers had technical horizons as great as our own, but they were unable to co-ordinate production with their findings," Dunning said, adding that in one laboratory they were making oil from rubber, exactly reversing a rubber-from-oil process developed in the United States. On the other hand, Dunning said, Germany gave little help to the Japanese Navy and most of the information arrived too late to benefit the Japanese. There were no records, he added, that the Japanese ever received any assistance from Russia.

Before the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) the Japanese could not build war-ships and large passenger steamers. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1904-05) the Japanese bought their best naval vessels from Great Britain. On the authority of the late Marquis Okuma, who told me during a conversation in 1915 that the Japanese Naval arsenals were supplying naval guns for the British navy. It was well-known that Japan supplied arms and ammunitions both to Britain and Russia in their struggle against Central Powers. After the Washington Conference (1922) when the Japanese navy was limited, Japanese naval experts specialised in submarines and "carriers." It is well-known that the late Admiral Yamamoto was the staunchest advocate of building "plane-carriers" and at the beginning of the World War II Japan used the weapon of "torpedo-planes" effectively.

What the Japanese could develop in the scientific field and in the field of National Defense—India—with proper Indian leadership can also attain.

Oil Interests in the Middle East May Cause A World Conflict Affecting India

American and British oil interests in the Persian Gulf area are making rapid progress in bringing crude oil production up to refinery requirements, according to advices to the companies concerned. Demand for petroleum products for the rehabilitation of Europe, for British post-war industry and for supply of North African, Near East and Middle East markets, it is said, is supporting record refinery operations.

Arabian American Oil Company, jointly owned by Standard Oil Co. of California and Texas Co., has just completed a forty-mile, twelve-inch pipe line from the Abqaiq field, in Saudi Arabia, to the company's main headquarters at Dhahran. Another line of similar size is under construction from Dhahran to the company's new Ras Tanura refinery.

Previously, all the marketed crude oil output of Saudi Arabia has come from the Dammam discovery field in the Dhahran area. Production from this field has been running at 95,000 barrels daily, part going to the Ras Tanura plant and the remainder to the refinery of Bahrein Petroleum Company on Bahrein Island. The two refineries have been processing about 150,000 barrels daily. The Ras Tanura plant, designed for capacity of 50,000 barrels a day, has been processing about 80,000 daily.

The Abqaiq field, forty miles south-west of Dhahran, was proved up in February, 1941, an initial well being completed at 6,180 feet. Five wells have now been completed in the field, and oil men believe that output from these, in conjunction with production from the Dammam field, will be sufficient to supply the needs of the Ras Tanura and Bahrein refineries.

Officials of Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., jointly owned by Anglo-Iranian, Ltd., and Gulf Exploration Co., the latter a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corp., predict that crude oil shipments from the Burgan field in the Kuwait concession will be initiated in May.

Commercial production was scheduled to start in March, but delays have been occasioned by lack of loading tanks and other construction equipment. Production is indicated at 30,000 barrels daily. The company's Abadan refinery is approximately 120 miles from the Burgan field.

Kuwait's oil wells were cemented to seal production early in 1942, when it was feared that the Nazi army would invade the area. Drilling rigs are currently at work reconditioning the wells, which number nine. A tenth well is projected. A production average of 5,000 barrels daily from each well is indicated, according to officials. Proven reserves of the Burgan field are estimated at a minimum of 5,000,000,000 barrels.

The above picture of increasing activities of the Anglo-American oil interests in the Middle and the Near East has a serious bearing on world politics of to-day and tomorrow.

Soviet Russia's efforts to get control over Persia has a serious side of economic warfare against the Anglo-American Powers. Soviet Russia will not only get control over the oil resources of Northern Persia, but a government, controlled by Soviet Russia, will try to oust Anglo-American interests from this region which is bound to produce serious consequences in which India is sure to be involved. Thus Indian statesmen should think of developing India's national defense now. Well-educated Indian youths should dare to join the Indian National Defense Forces to develop it to the status of one of the best forces for defense in the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BATTLE OF PANIPAT: THE VICTOR'S DESPATCHES

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, kt., c.i.e., d.litt.

The momentous third battle of Panipat (in January, 1761) changed the fate of India, but unfortunately the historical inquirer is puzzled by the absence of any official despatch on it from either side. The silence of the Marathas can be easily understood, as all their chiefs except one perished on that fatal field or in the long-drawn murderous pursuit, and they had to abandon all their official papers after their rout. In their language only a few brief reminiscences and a few private letters survive to throw light on the final battle, though the thirteen months of movement before it are tolerably illustrated by the historical letters discovered by Rajwade. One Deccani has no doubt left a very full account of the preceding negotiations and the battle, but it was written in the Persian language. The author was a Deshasth Brahman named Kashiraj Shivaram, a civil officer of the Nawab of Oudh, who was present in the field. I have published a new English translation of his book in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X (1934).

The most interesting and intelligent account of the long campaign and of the changing phases of the battle is given in Persian by Sayyid Nuruddin Husain Khan (an agent of the ex-Wazir Ghaziuddin, Imad-ul-mulk), in his *Life of Najib-ud-daula*, which I have translated into English in the *Islamic Culture* of Haidarabad (1933-34). Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, a participant in the battle wrote his recollections of it thirty years later, and these can be read in English in Elliot's *History of India*, viii, 145-157.

Not a single letter from the side of the victors was hitherto known to have survived. But recently Khan Sahib Sayyid Husain Askari, M.A., has very generously placed in my hands a unique Persian manuscript which gives Ahmad Shah Durrani's own account of his policy and movements throughout the campaign and his tactics during the battle. It is a thin book of 36 folios, with a gap (probably one folio) between 34 *b* and 35 *a* and all the leaves after 36 *b* missing. It lacks the author's preface and colophon which we find in regular Persian letter-books. Each page carries 15 lines, three inches in length. In the MS. as it stands there are 44 letters, out of which 15 were written by the Durrani Shah or his Wazir Shah Wali Khan, and four by Najib-ud-daulah, to Sawai Madho Singh, the Rajah of Jaipur and his minister Har Sahai. There are also some letters relating to Ahmad Khan Bangash (the lame Nawab of Farrukhabad) with the terms of Durrani's alliance with him and a florid description of the visit paid by him to the Durrani Shah at Aligarh on 31st March, 1760, besides letters from the Emperor Shah Alam II (then a wanderer) and from and to the Indian Rohela chiefs.

Those letters which are historically the most important are translated below, but a short sketch of Ahmad Shah's movements with dates, must be first given in order to help the reader.

Ahmad Shah Durrani's Movements in India—1759-1761

Early in September 1759, Sabaji Sindhia (the Maratha governor of Multan and Lahore) defeats Jahan Khan (the Durrani general) and drives him across the river Indus. Soon afterwards Ahmad Shah Durrani himself invades the Punjab, takes Lahore and expels Sabaji, who reaches Dattaji Sindhia's camp at Shukartal (near the right bank of the Ganges, 16 miles east of the city of Muzaffarnagar) on 8th November. The remnant of the Maratha garrison in the Panjab arrive there on 23rd November.

20th November, Ahmad Shah crosses the Beas at Govind-wal; on 10th December, crosses the Satlej at Rupar; on 15th December, his vanguard occupies the Banur and Chhat district (16 miles north of Ambala City), and seize Ambala and Sarhind.

8th December, Dattaji Sindhia raises the siege of Shukartal and marches towards Karnal; crosses the Jamuna at Ramra-ghat, east of Panipat, (*c* 20th), 23rd (or 24th) December, the Afghan vanguard defeats Dattaji's vanguard near Thaneshwar. *C.* 25th Ahmad Shah crosses the Jamuna at Buriya and proceeds to Saharanpur, thence marches to Loni (opposite Delhi).

9th January, 1760, Dattaji slain at Barari ghat, Marathas evacuate Delhi. On 14th January, Ahmad Shah reaches southern suburb of Delhi, is joined by the Ruhela chiefs, and on 1st February, places his own governor (Yaqub Ali) in Delhi. On 27th January, Ahmad Shah leaves Delhi suburb and begins march towards Jaipur, against Malhar Holkar, is near Shergarh (Nu Jhil) on 3rd February, at Dig on 5th, at Narnol on 17th, at Rewari on 19th, and outside Delhi again on 29th February.

Ahmad Shah crosses over to Patparganj on 1st March, surprises Malhar's vanguard near Sikandrabad on 4th and reaches Aligarh on 5th, (its fort captured *c.* 9th April).

14th January, 1761—Battle of Panipat.

I.

From Ahmad Shah Durrani to Madho Singh, Rajah of Jaipur, written on 20th November, 1759:

"At this time Najib-ud-daula Bahadur, Amir-ul-umara, the Mir Bakshi of the empire of Hindustan, has brought to my notice your friendship and devotion towards me. Let your mind be composed that, God willing, I shall gratify your desires in proportion to your devotion. During the long time that I was busily engaged in regulating the affairs of Persia, the wicked race of Deccanis seized the opportunity, came and subdued the entire country of Hindustan, and wrought extreme harm at every place. When the details of the movements of this despicable race reached me, I turned my reins towards Hindustan. Today, the 29th Rabi-ul-awwal (20th November, 1759) I have crossed [the Beas] at the ferry of Govind-wal. I shall continue to march in the same (eastward) direction. The worthless Patil [Sabaji Sindhia], after taking to flight from Rohtas, has arrived near Janko [*i.e.*, Dattaji Sindhia], and it is highly probable that the wretched Janko too will flee away.

"You are faithful to me; do you join Rajah Bijay Singh [of Jodhpur] and bar the path of this wicked tribe, so that not one of them may reach the Deccan in safety. God willing, they will be as grass before the merciless swords of my victorious *ghazis* (warriors of the true faith), and you will be exalted in proportion to your splendid and devoted services."

Govind-wal, 14 miles west of Kapurthala, but on the right bank of the Beas. Sabaji Sindhia was the Maratha governor and commander of the Panjab on behalf of Dattaji Sindhia. (See Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, iii, 211-216).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh, written on 10th December, 1759 :

"God's blessings be on you ! Your face has been brightened inasmuch as you are engaged in fighting the abandoned Deccanis. I too have turned in this direction for suppressing these wicked people, and have today the 10th December, 1759 arrived at Khizirabad, a pargana of Rupar [across the Satlej]. God willing, in a few days I shall destroy the cursed infidel Janko and go in your direction. You should then come and meet me ; I shall, out of my royal grace, grant the desires of this devoted ally. If there be any Deccani force in your quarter, you should with perfect composure of mind disperse them all, so that these wretches may really cease to exist in the realm of Hindustan."

III

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh, written on 30th December, 1759 :

"Received your letter reporting that you had sent onward my letter in praise of the devotion and friendliness of Rajah Bijay Singh of Jodhpur, and that Malhar Maratha was still engaged in hostility to you, but that when Janko is defeated, Malhar too will take to flight. At present I am sending a separate letter to Rajah Bijay Singh, honouring him and asking him to assist you. Most likely he will do so. Praised be Allah ! On Sunday the 2nd Jamadi-ul-awwal [Sunday was the 3rd Jam.A=23rd December, 1759], an army of twenty thousand brave horsemen of Ghaziuddin Khan and the Maratha named Janko, were dragged by their hair by Death to oppose my victorious troops. A battle ensued ; my soldiers fell upon them like tigers on a flock of sheep ; many of the enemy were killed, some taken prisoner, and a few escaped with their bare lives with the utmost difficulty ; the heads of the slain were brought to me. Ghaziuddin and Janko, in terror of my *ghazis*, have fled away like jackals ; a party of my troops has been detached to pursue them, and they too will be dispersed and suppressed, so that the face of this country may be cleared of this worthless bramble [the Maratha invaders]. You should, in perfect peace of mind, turn to the chastisement of Malhar, so that he too may not escape. Rewards are promised to you."

IV

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh, written on 17th February, 1760 :

"Received your humble letter reporting the arrival of my letter addressed to you and your rendering thanks for it, and assuring me that when I have made a few marches, Malhar too will be defeated and put to flight, and repeating your professions of devotion and friendship to me.

"Janko Maratha, bent on causing disorder, with a force of his wicked tribe, engaged in fighting the Afghan clans [of Rohilkhand, at Shukartal] and trampled down God's creatures. All the time letters from this true friend were coming to me. I [therefore] marched with my army into this country in the very hot season and alighted at Buriya near Jahanabad, when that evil-minded person [Jankoji Sindhia] came up with his troops to oppose my victorious army. A battle took place. By the first charge my men drove the enemy away from before them, many of the latter being slain or taken prisoner and only a few escaping.

"The Afghan clans [of Rohilkhand] being now fully released from their oppression, came and joined my camp. At Jahanabad, too, news reached me that Malhar Maratha also had a large army under him and was staying in that country causing disturbances. On receiving this news, I did not halt at Jahanabad but advanced towards that region, alighting at Nu-Jhil. The report of the arrival of my army here having reached that wretch [Malhar] he marched away from his halting-place, traversing twenty kos in one night and fled away. On the 17th February, 1760, when I am at Narnol, it is not known for certain where he has gone.

"You ought to remember your duty to close the path of Malhar through your territory immediately on the receipt of this letter. God willing, I shall spend the summer season also in this country, and when the monsoons are over, I shall with divine assent march into the Deccan at the head of a countless host and a vast force of artillery and give Malhar and other mischief-makers of that country their due punishment, so that in future none of them can cherish the idea of waywardness.

"Compose your mind in every way, remain constant in your fidelity and friendship to me, and at the proper time you and other well-wishers will be rewarded according to your wishes."

V

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh :

"Know, my faithful friend that you will see your desires gratified by my God-given Government because as I had regard for your brother [Ishwari Singh], so towards you also I am gracious and kindly disposed. Know for a verity that "the word of a king is the king of words." It is my intention to bestow abounding favours on this obedient person [Madho Singh]. I have cherished friendliness for all the Rajputs from of old, and I regard all of them as old devoted friends of my Government, and I shall continue to so regard them. God willing, they would all share my favours and become grateful for my benevolence. It will be specially so in your case because your devotion and loyalty has been reported

Khizirabad, a place in the Rupar sub-division, ten miles south-east of Rupar town (which latter is on the east bank of the Satlej). It should not be confounded with another Khizirabad, which was a village some miles south-east of Delhi.

Janko—After the murder of Jayapa Sindhia at Nagor (1755), his government was conducted in the name of his minor son Jankoji, but the real head of the Sindhia army and administration was Jayapa's brother Dattaji Sindhia, who is the person really meant by the term of Janko in these letters.

The battle of 23rd December, 1759 took place near Thaneswar. For a full description of it, see my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. ii, p. 218, where the date given is the 24th of December ; but a letter from the Durrani Wazir Shah Wali Khan to Madho Singh in this MS. states that the battle took place on Thursday, the 27th December, and near the bank of the Jamuna. The former date and place are more reliable because supported by the Maratha records.

Bahadur Khan Baloch was in Ghaziuddin (Delhi Wazir's) army.

Buriya, on the right bank of the Jamuna, 18 miles north-west of Saharanpur and 32 miles south-east of Ambala.

Nu-Jhil, on the left bank of the Jamuna, and opposite to Shergarh (20 miles north of Mathura) on the right bank of the same river. Here Ahmad Shah arrived on 4th February, 1760. *Narnol* (wrongly spelt in the MS.) is 35 miles south-west of Rewari and about 60 miles south-west of Delhi.

Ishwari Singh, the predecessor of Madho Singh on the throne of Jaipur, had fled away with his contingent, instead of fighting Ahmad Shah Durrani, when the latter was attacked by the Delhi imperial army on the 11th March, 1748. (See *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to me by Najib-ud-daulah and is being repeatedly brought to my notice by him. If Allah wills it, you can hope to receive from my Government even a greater degree of honour and rank than what you enjoyed under the Padishahs of Hindustan. Prove your friendliness by action so that you may succeed in getting all of your desires gratified by my Government."

VI

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh :

"On hearing of the occurrences in the city of Delhi, I marched with my army from Anup-Shahar and alighted at Shahdara. But as it was the season of rains and heavy flood, it was impossible for me to cross the river here. The wicked enemy, seizing this opportunity, started for Panipat and Karnal and advancing beyond Karnal, they overthrew Abdus Samad Khan and other [Afghans] at Kunjpura. From Shahdara I started for the purpose of punishing these insolent foes, crossed the Jamuna [at Baghpat, on 25th October, 1760] and marched day after day. We arrived at the caravansarai of Gharaunda, an outpost of the enemy. My *ghazis* in a twinkle of the eye broke up their post and put all the garrison to the sword. Thence I marched to Panipat and dismounted. The Deccanis, too, came to Panipat, entrenched and sat down. Every day our holy warriors fought the enemy. Govind Pandit was slain outside Ghazi-ud-din-nagar with 7,000 Maratha horsemen [on 17th December]. Then we invested the enemy on all sides ; every day we dispersed them, set their trenches on fire, and sent many of them to the lowest Hell. All the above details you must have heard.

"At last on Wednesday, the 14th January, 1761, the infidel host with their artillery, cavalry and infantry, came out of their trenches for fighting and showed audacity by making repeated assaults on our *ghazis*—who are like the *Ashab* of the Faith. The scouts of our army came and reported the facts about the foe to me. During the last two or three months that we lay facing each other, everyday the enemy used to make sorties from their entrenchments on all four sides, severe fighting used to follow, and the enemy, after being beaten and giving up most of their men to slaughter used to flee away to their camp. So, it was imagined by me that on this day too the same thing would happen as in the past.

"But as soon as this news reached me, I took horse for the purpose of suppressing their violence, and threw the dust of the hoofs of my swift horses into the eyes of the foe. Arrived in the field, I surveyed the position. It was then seen that the enemy were in motion on the battle-field in a body of two hundred thousand horse and foot and engaged in firing their guns and rockets. For a space of six kos they were drawn up in line behind line, stepping forward, and with great haste manifesting their determination to fight and discharge their muskets.

"I then drew up my *ghazis* in two wings. Right and Left, rank behind rank, kept each rank firmly in its proper place, and ordered that the artillery and the foot-musketeers with my personal guns, should advance and fight the enemy bravely.

"I also ordered my Wazir Shah Wali Khan Durrani to take post with his own regiment (*dasta*) in support of my artillery at the station assigned to our guns. As soon as the Wazir reached this position, the flame of fighting blazed up and raged on all sides. The clamour of drums and trumpets rose up and filled the breasts of the valiant heroes with enthusiasm. In a twinkle the multitude of athletes strong in fighting and tigers capable of tearing up dragons, fell upon each other. They threw themselves on the centre of the enemy's formation like a lightning flash consuming a cornfield, and performed such deeds of heroism as no man had seen before this battle and no ear had heard of. If Rustam and Asfandiyar had been present in this field, they would not have turned their heads away in contempt but would have bit their fingers of astonishment with their teeth. The enemy too distinguished themselves and fought so well that it was beyond the capacity of other [races]. The blood-shedding fists of the heroes on both sides became equally red with blood.

"Gradually the fighting passed from the exchange of cannon, swivel, and rocket fire to the discharge of muskets. [Six lines of verse *omitted*.] Then it proceeded beyond musketry-fire to the stage of combat with swords and arrows. From the use of swords even, it passed on to the plying of daggers and knives. They grasped each other by the neck and crushed their opponents' breasts. Those dauntless blood-shedders [the Marathas] also did not fall short in fighting and doing glorious deeds.

"As divine grace is always my aid, suddenly the breeze of victory began to blow and, as willed by the Eternal Lord, the wretched Deccanis suffered an utter defeat. Viswas Rai, the son of Nana [Sahib Peshwa] and the Bhau, who had been fighting in front of my Wazir, were slain, and many other *sardars* also on their side fell. Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his brother were captured wounded. Bapu Pandit [Hingane] also was taken prisoner. Forty to fifty thousand troopers and infantrymen of the rebel army became as grass before our pitiless swords, the rest turned their faces away in flight. I ordered a party of my troops to pursue the fugitives; they killed about fifteen to twenty thousand of the enemy. It is not known whether Malhar and Janko have been slain or what else has happened to them. All the enemy's artillery, elephants, and other property have been seized by my men. The whole of Hindustan has come into my possession. The enemies of my God-gifted kingdom have received the due punishment for their acts. The plant of the hope of my well-wishers, has, by order of the Creator of Day and Night, become green and flourishing.

"Now is the time that devoted friends of my Court should take away their shares from this dinner table of gracious gifts. My Wazir has again and again reported your devotion to me. It is fitting that you should come and see me as soon as possible, in order that the foundations may be laid for the proper regulation of the administration of the spacious empire of Hindustan under my eyes. As I have called to my presence all the nobles, Nawabs and Rajahs of this empire, you too should attend, and you will, God willing, be honoured and exalted more than before."

Sarai of Gharaunda (10 miles *north* of Panipat) is evidently a copyist's error for *Sarai Sambhalka* (17 miles north of Sonpat) where the Maratha advanced patrols were defeated on 28th October, with two to three thousand casualties in the two armies taken together. (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii, 284.) But *after* the battle of Panipat, a party of fugitive Maratha horsemen, who had taken shelter in the sarai of Sonpat, were totally destroyed by the Durrani pursuers, as Md. Jafar Shamlu describes. (*Elliot and Dowson*, viii, 157).

Ashab, the first three Khalifs of Islam who were great conquerors.

Dasta means a regiment, varying in strength from one thousand to several thousands.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

A New Reorientation

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The motion picture which chooses to call itself an "industry" because of its wide use of the mechanical apparatus, is comparatively one of the youngest amongst Indian industries. That our industrial pattern should more or less blindly follow the Western model, was perhaps inevitable. The early initiative in the field of all mechanical industry came from the West, mainly from England. We were not only under its physical grip but also under its psychological domination. It is only the last half century that has been seeing the gradual unloosening of that grip. But the glamour has not passed. We have been so mentally and materially obsessed by the sense of power that has emanated from the West, that in spite of all our past traditions to the contrary and our tall talk of our special moral standards, we meekly bow to power and be content to follow the pattern. To us it signifies the desirable, the objective to be attained. Hence our susceptibility to its influences is not only inescapable but becomes subtly welcome. In many respects our knowledge of the West is superficial. Those who have lived abroad over a long period as those who make fleeting trips, come so completely under the West's fascination that it exercises almost an abnormal lure because of the contrast with India. From every angle and every standard to them India falls short and suffers by comparison. The West rules the world, therefore if India is to rule even her own destiny, it should become a prototype of the West—is the inevitable conclusion they come to. Few care to probe deep into the social core of the Western structures, to sound the amplitude and vitality of their human values. If one did that, one would find every time that they were found wanting, that their content was almost as poor and inadequate as of that in this country, that basically the Westerners have no more solved their fundamental problems than we have. Although it is gradually dawning on us that the magnitude of industrial and technical development is not a sound criterion for evaluating human fulfilment or happiness, still that oppressive fascination continues its grip on us.

The effects of the last world war are, however, largely changing the face of life in the West. Deep inroads have already been cut into its rigid body and the social forces of progress are rising to the surface to create a new pattern. The conviction that Democracy must represent an adjustment between the values of freedom and society is today a living experience and not mere vanilla-flavoured homiletics.

All forces that go to the moulding of a society are of equally vital importance. All cultural expressions are an integral part of the life-throb of a people. Hence the importance of the social content of any of the cultural phases, be it the film or the drama, painting or sculpture.

In the making of our pictures we have naturally been greatly influenced by Hollywood which has been called the home of the movies. It has more or less represented to us the goal to work for and to strive to attain. The high efficiency of Hollywood studios, the amazing strides in technical development, the universal popularity of Hollywood pictures, these factors have set the standard for us. Their poor social content, their general reactionary outlook on national problems, their unreal character, their divorce from the day-to-day life of the American people, their failure to express the nation's normal ambitions and struggles, these have been generally lost sight of. In fact often the ignoble social role of many Hollywood productions in alluringly dramatising anti-social elements, lending heroism to gangsterism and the garb of idolatry to crooks, high-lighting with colour and music the meanest and most unsavoury of human weaknesses, has been one of the social tragedies of American life. We have not hesitated to blindly copy even the vulgar printed rags of Hollywood purveying with stinking gossip and hold them up as "Film journalism" and proudly quote the opinions of Hollywood figures in praise of Indian Hollywoodism. Hollywood has thus become almost the last word in movie pictures lock, stock and barrel.

Traditionally Hollywood has regarded the film as a fantasy, a medium with only one purpose, to provide enjoyment or entertainment for its audiences. Consequently the average Hollywood producer has never been moved by any other social urge and therefore felt no greater obligation towards society beyond that. Even where important topics of the day are presented, either out of confusion or ignorance, either the emphasis is on the wrong end or facts are turned and twisted. If ever greater integrity of presentation was upon any of them, the reply has been a brusque "it is after all only a movie," in other words a make-believe which is not supposed to have any relationship with the realities of everyday life, except for occasional lapses like the *Grapes of Wrath*.

The exigencies of war have, however, brought a new reorientation to all social expressions including the film. Even the hard-boiled Hollywood producers have been forced into a slow but nevertheless a growing realisation that the film is after all a social document, that cover cannot be taken under the cloak of "escapism." But it needed all the brutality, the stark naked ruthless unsheathed sword to bring this elementary fact home to these cynical leaders of this so-called industry.

The first dynamite that made the hardened Hollywood top strata crack was the ingenious use made of American pictures abroad by the Nazis, especially the gangster pictures, some of which were re-edited for the education of Europeans on the sub-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ject of American people and their rulers. "Are these the 'liberties' you look to?" the hapless people of war-torn, Nazi-dominated Europe were asked. Hollywood producers who had scorned documentaries and refused to give credence to the social value of pictures, relegating them to the "unreal" now sat up to see their childish make-believes accepted overseas as documentary portrayals of American life. At the same time the pictures utterly failed to reach out to the American public who were psychologically as well as materially unprepared to meet the debacle initiated by Pearl Harbour and followed up by the collapse which followed all along the line in South East Asia. The pictures produced at this period failed at both ends neither able to hold up the fighting line by their sheer inability to mobilise the public for an all-out effort, nor the home-front by not being able to speak straight to the average man—and in a war it is the average man that is the hero, for it is on his industry and loyalty that the entire war effort rests. On the contrary the home-front came to be kind of parodied and given comedy treatment. Red Cross and air-raid workers were ridiculed, in fact all civil defence activities were to a larger or lesser degree the butt-end of jokes. It was but adding insult to injury to distribute such films abroad in countries where the home-front was taking as fierce or even more fierce beating than the war-front. Nor were the pictures of the enemy any better. At a time when the people needed to know above all else a sober evaluation of the enemy's strength and weakness to merely portray them as crude monsters or tricky crooks fit to be just ridiculed, was not getting anybody anywhere. Childish tales of spies and fifth-columnists were the order of the day. Of the 486 pictures put out by Hollywood in 1942, more than a quarter were war films, 65 per cent of which and 15 per cent of all pictures produced were spy stories! It was the easy way out to capitalise on war and exploit war sentiment and assume that anything, sufficiently "thrilling" built into a war theme will go down. Hollywood tripped up badly, however, when it started depicting the "lighter side" of army life. These pictures began to cause deep resentiment amongst the G. I. men. It is said that at the front when some of these pictures were shown, the service men would just walk out in wrath. Men caught up in the grim tentacles did not very much enjoy seeing themselves "caricaturised" or so at least these scenes with the "comedy" G. I. men seemed. There were continuous floods of protest in the press. Foreign audiences got a very poor conception of American reaction to war, whether at home or abroad. While all Europe was on starvation diet, they saw the American public fed on sumptuous rations—food, food everywhere; whilst they went about struggling in tatters, the American fashion-shows seemed to be making colourful displays, the chief characters in the film shown undergoing sartorial changes six times a day. The resentment against Uncle Sam kept steadily rising. Hollywood had come to be conditioned over decades to put out fantasies, and it was now failing hopelessly to act as vehicle for conveying information. Even later when efforts were made to use a different form, by giving a documentary touch as for instance in *Wake Island*, *Wilson*, etc., even the real people and real events seemed to have a flavour of unreality clinging to them. They were "stories-first and everything else afterwards. The Hollywood technique of fantasy-facts, could not be shattered in a day and it is said that for quite sometime the American audiences kept on getting confused unable to distinguish between factual and fictional happenings. In the words of Dorothy B. Jones, a commentator on Hollywood and its productions: "From December, 1941 to December, 1944, 1,321 features were released. The main story of three in every ten of these films revolved around the war. Yet of a total of some 370 war pictures, only a few dozen can have accomplished anything of significance for the war effort at home or raise the morale abroad. What is behind this failure of the motion picture industry to fulfil its obligations to the nation at war? What is its future role in the construction of peace?"

To begin with, the movies, like most others, were unprepared for the important work they had to do. For years Hollywood had been producing six or seven hundred films a year, the vast majority of which were comedies, musicals, wild western adventures, murder mysteries, and similar well-worn formulas. For years producers had stoutly maintained that the American public wanted, above all else, to be "entertained". It is small wonder, then, that faced with the task of making films which would educate the public about the war, Hollywood movie-makers did not know where to begin. They lacked the experience. They lacked the know-how—and like the rest of America, they themselves lacked real understanding of the war.

But this cycle of melodrama had to spend itself out and as the seriousness and tempo of the war heightened up, more earnest exploring was called for to meet the situation. Amongst those who made a determined bid for a reorientation, were some of the Hollywood writers and a few individual artists, producers, directors, story editors,, etc. But the dominating group was that of the writers. They had been first stirred by the heavy depression in the early thirties and even before the outbreak of war, the more successful members of this group had occasionally been allowed to make a film or two which were marked out for their social content as being of national significance. But on the whole what they had been able to achieve was too meagre and inadequate to what social problems and conditions demanded; and although their salaries ran into astronomical figures and they held top places as experts in the industry, their initiative was curbed, their field of production circumscribed. A sense of hopelessness had come to settle on them like the evening mist which only the warm flood of a ray could help lift. These men and women saw immediately the opportunity offered by the war for the realisation of their dreams and saw at the same time unable even decadent Hollywood play a vital and progressive role in winning the war and securing the peace.

1943 thus saw the emergence of a new class of pictures, distinguished by a more realistic and more seriously intentioned screen treatment of the national problems. A new prestige came to be lent to such pictures as *Hitler's Children*, *This Land is Mine*, *North Star*, *Watch on the Rhine*, stories of anti-Fascist struggles. For the first time attempts were made to examine the Nazi ideology in its correct perspective. Then came pictures like *The Human Comedy*, a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

homely portrayal of American small town life ; *Joe Smith,* the life of an average American production worker, dramatising the values of the little things of life ; *The Ox-Bow Incident* aimed to turn the spotlight on the question of civil liberties ; *Power of the Press,* meant to dramatise the responsibility entailed by freedom of the press. Feature films have certain advantages of their own. For their very freedom from factual details enables them to achieve a clarity of theme that can state a point more easily than the documentary. In addition imaginary characters give the audience an unbiassed start and is, therefore, an asset in helping them understand the intricacies of a problem. A spirit of reality can thus be conveyed without tying oneself up with a specific set of facts.

One week after Pearl Harbour, these Hollywood elements met to dedicate their talents to what they called "furnishing morale-building material," and an organisation known as the Hollywood Writers' Mobilisation was established. This body not only acted as an agency to the Government to provide talent, it came to exercise considerable influence on the new scripts that were being written by giving them a new reorientation. In October, 1943, the Mobilisation in conjunction with the University of California at Los Angeles, sponsored a Writers' Congress which was attended by about 1,300 people. Although the immediate pressure of war provided the occasion, the writers assembled laid down that the film could not continue to think it could remain isolated from the day-to-day social problems. This conference was followed up by the initiation of a series of seminars by the Mobilisation, in which the writers discussed the problem of portrayal in relation to the social questions. The popularity of these seminars was evidenced by their large attendance. They proved without doubt a source of information and a stimulus to constructive thinking and gradually a new form of social expression promised to emerge as writers set out to clarify their thought processes in reference to current affairs. Amongst those who took the lead in this new movement were Orson Welles, Katherine Hepburn, Edward Robinson, The Warners, Duddley Nichols, Datton Trumbo, Henry Koch and a host of other top artists.

This has also meant a fundamental change in the old stereotyped attitude towards foreigners and minorities. Just as during the war it became necessary to stop identifying the enemy as the guttural-tongued German or the slant-eyed Japanese, it became equally imperative to cease portraying the Negro as the domestic-help, the Chinese as a laundryman, the Amer-Indian as the wildman in feathers, the Mexican as the Rustler stealing cattle on a ranch, and so on. These cartoonist pictures had to be replaced by new portraits that showed each primarily as a human being not so very different from the average white American, men and women whom the audience can accept as members of their own society, not some sort of outlandish individuals who had no counterpart in their own social organism. One notices today several evidences of an increasing maturity in the Hollywood film industry. With the spread of the new attitude towards pictures, various talent groups have stepped forward to accept their social and political responsibilities towards society in general and the motion picture colony in particular. There has also come a broadened concept of film audiences as a living society. Moreover, the old days of easy monopoly have gone. Practically every country has today come to appreciate the power of the screen and is anxious to have it serve its own national interests. There is thus a livelier effort to develop a national film industry while at the same time watch the effect of foreign particularly American pictures on the mind of its people in their relationship to native traditions philosophies and needs. Thus each country is becoming more acutely aware of its social obligations and equally sensitive to propaganda machineries. It seems that the American film industry has come to a difficult pass on its onward march in the international career. For today the world calls for a new and higher degree of international knowledge and a wider, more broad-based and at the same time more sympathetic treatment of native themes. It has been found that on more than one occasion, the diplomatic relationship between the United States and the Latin American countries became strained due to pictures like *Down Argentine Way* produced by Hollywood. Thus international *knowledge* has to go hand in hand with *good-will,* for good-will alone cannot make for good neighbourliness. There is the instance of the war picture *The Chetnicks* portraying the heroes of the Yugoslav "two-timer" Mihailovich, typical of American ignorance of Yugoslav war-torn resistance period. In the past Hollywood has been led by its salesmen who have done very well for it so far as dollar bills go. But the need of tomorrow is not the satisfaction of yesterday. Today the call is for those who will go behind the mere problem of sales and seek for the core of international relations, of understanding and trust based on common interests. For as in the political field so in the film-world, a comity of nations can only be brought about by considered and creative co-operation in the pursuit of common values and ideas.

True, to say there has been one long uninterrupted revolution in the Hollywood picture-world would be wishful thinking. As a matter of fact, as the war began to come to a close and plans for reconversion got set afoot, there was a swing back to the semi-familiar pre-war formulas, and the stereotyped light musicals, murder mysteries and similar escapist pictures were into production again. Still the change is there, definite and visible. For this new influence is not going to merely exert itself through just production, but also through those artists who have become more socially conscious and aware of their responsibilities. The Writers' Mobilisation for instance will function as a cultural centre for motion-picture writers interested in the social and political implications of the film and will further the exchange of ideas with script writers of other nations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I MEET LOUIS BROMFIELD

By S. CHANDRASEKHAR, M.A., Ph.D.

New York City

I

"Indian villages are the key to India; not the politicians in New Delhi," declared Louis Bromfield, famous American novelist and author of two novels about India. His picturesque Ohio farm, where we met, is called Malabar Farms in memory of his years in India, and it resembles an Indian village indeed—but a rather Utopian and modern one.

I drove through miles of beautiful countryside to meet Mr. Bromfield at his charming and secluded thirty-room house. I found the man as genial and spontaneous as his setting. He readily gave me his views on the questions that are all important to India. The future of the world, he believes, lies in the hands of India and China, because of their superiority in land, resources, and population over other countries; whereas Britain has reached the zenith of her power and will soon begin to decline. "India will have to acquire freedom through gradual disintegration of the British," Mr. Bromfield said. "It will be a rapid evolution and not a revolution. It is inevitable that Britain will soon be out of the picture in world politics."

I asked Mr. Bromfield for his opinion of the future of Indian industry. "Industrialization of India," he answered, "will advance in proportion to the advancement of Indian agriculture. India cannot advance industrially if her agriculture does not progress simultaneously. Since Indian industry cannot seek a foreign market, it will have to look at home for consumers. Who will these consumers be? Peasants—for the overwhelming majority of the Indian population is composed of peasants. And their purchasing power is so low that they cannot even afford to buy a shirt.

"Improving Indian agriculture, however, means raising the standard of living of the Indian peasant. Then the peasant will have the purchasing power to buy India-manufactured goods. Thus industrialization will follow close upon improved agriculture."

Mr. Bromfield discussed Indian agriculture enthusiastically, for he himself is a farmer as well as a writer—not a gentleman farmer, as many consider him to be, but a "dirt farmer," working on the land himself during the day and writing at night. His large farm is run on a co-operative basis—all of the profits over the first five per cent, which is paid on the capital he invested in the farm, is divided among the employees. The dozen tenant families not only live on his farm but of it. So he was naturally interested in the improvement of agriculture in India.

"India needs modern and mechanized forms of agriculture," Mr. Bromfield continued. "She must change from the wooden plough to the steel tractor. And the health of the average Indian must be improved to the point where he at least has the stamina and strength to work the land efficiently. Then transport conditions must be improved—good roads must be built—so that the farmer can bring his produce to market.

"Before India can even talk of industrialization, she must make her agricultural methods five thousand times more efficient. And the improvement of agriculture will help solve another problem—overpopulation. For an increase in the standard of living tends to lower the birth rate."

"Do you believe in birth control?" I wanted to know.

"I am not against birth control," Mr. Bromfield explained, "but it will not solve the Indian problem. It reduces the number of poor people without raising the standard of living. That is not enough."

"Why Russia has come out of this war strong," he went on with enthusiasm, "is because of her limitless manpower, large land area, and great resources. I do not see why India cannot become like Russia in the near future."

II

Farming and writing have always been the two primary interests in Mr. Bromfield's life. He was born nearly fifty years ago—on December 17, 1896, to be exact—on a farm in Mansfield, Ohio, near where Malabar Farms is now located. He wanted to be a farmer, and so he enrolled at the Cornell University School of Agriculture when he was sixteen. But the urge to write proved to be too strong, and so he left Cornell after one term to enter the Columbia University School of Journalism in 1914. When America entered the First World War he gave up school and joined the American Expeditionary Forces. For two years he served in every major sector from Switzerland to the sea; his military activities in France winning him the Croix de Guerre.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Bromfield became one of the original members of the staff of *Time* Magazine. A year before his first novel, *The Green Bay Tree,* was published, he married Mary Appleton Wood—in 1923. In 1925 they sailed for France where they settled on a farm near the little village of Senlis—thirty miles north of Paris. They remained abroad for the next fourteen years and all of his three daughters—Mary, Ellen, and Hope—were born in France.

From 1924 until the present Mr. Bromfield has been writing steadily at the rate of a book a year. His total output to date comes to more than twenty books, most of them highly successful if not best sellers. An interlude of residence in India gave him material for two of his novels—*The Rains Came* and *Night in Bombay*. Both proved to be immensely popular, for they had everything that an American reader expects of India—incredible Indians, blundering Britons, spendthrift Americans; earthquakes, floods, plagues, and other disasters; and what not, together with clever social commentary and a rare insight into Indian *mores*. *The Rains Came,* which is Mr. Bromfield's favorite and most successful work, was made into a Hollywood motion picture—popular in America and rather impossible in India. Many of Mr. Bromfield's subsequent novels seem to have been slanted toward Hollywood—his *Mrs. Parkington* was recently made into a record-breaking picture. Besides being a best-selling writer, Mr. Bromfield is a Pulitzer Prize winner—he received the prize for his third novel, *Early Autumn*. He has also written a number of short

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stories which were recently brought together in one volume under the title of *The World We Live In*.

III

Mr. Bromfield and I had a lengthy discussion on politics. He himself was formerly an ardent New Dealer, but during the last election he became critical of Roosevelt's agricultural policies ; and so he voted for Dewey on the Republican ticket. It was rumored that Bromfield himself had hoped to be Secretary (Minister) of Agriculture—the post which Roosevelt gave to Henry Wallace, now Secretary (Minister) of Commerce. It was, however, the effect Britain's change of government would have on India that absorbed us most.

"Labour Government is not the solution for India," Mr. Bromfield told me. "Every workingman in England has to have a job, and to them that means that they have to be imperialists. The change in government in London may appear to be for India's benefit but actually, although the British workingman may be socialistic as regards the country's domestic policy, when it comes to her foreign policy he remains just as much a Tory as ever.

"Britain still has to exploit raw materials from her colonies, bring them back to England, manufacture them into commodities, and export them again to the colonial markets. This means she needs sea routes, which means the empire life-line, which in turn means the continuance of imperialism all over the world. Look at Hongkong."

"But," Mr. Bromfield concluded, "the British Empire is an economic anomaly. It has to go. The United States' pouring money into England won't help England. It is like eternally helping a poor relative ; he gets hungrier and hungrier. England has become a second class power and nothing will help her."

"What do you think of Pakistan ?" I inquired.

"I have met Mr. Jinnah socially both in Bombay and New Delhi, but we never discussed politics—at any rate, not Pakistan," answered Mr. Bromfield warily. "On the whole, however, I think Pakistan can't work, because Moslems are scattered all over India, even though they are in a majority in a few provinces. It will be impossible even if you attempt to transfer populations—and that has been tried in Europe and found to be not feasible. And, above all, from what I know of India, Pakistan, if effected, would be the poorest territory in the world."

While discussing the obstacles to Indian freedom we talked of India's minorities, the question of defense, and the problem of India's Maharajahs. He said that he had met a few Maharajahs during his sojourn in India, but he feels that "the Maharajahs are doomed. They have a brilliant future only as great Indian patriots, scholars, or industrialists ; but certainly not as Maharajahs, for their days will soon be over. Look at the European Maharajahs. Their abilities as rulers are very questionable, but they have a great future as great individuals developing their talents for the benefit of their country."

This led naturally to European affairs, on which Mr. Bromfield touched but slightly. Of France, his home for some fifteen years, he said : "No Frenchman will leave France ; French emigration is an unheard of thing." He also predicted that France would conquer Germany culturally, and pointed out that even in America the culture is more truly representative of the French than the British. "In fact," he said, "our judicial system is the only British thing we have."

Before I took leave of Bromfield he took me to his magnificent, book-lined study to give me an autographed copy of his latest book, *Pleasant Valley*. Although it is partially autobiographical, describing his life as a "dirt farmer," Mr. Bromfield says he does not plan to write an actual autobiography until he reached the age of sixty-five. From the huge bay window in the room I could see the endless greenness of his spreading thousand acres, reminding me again that Bromfield is just as much a farmer as he is a writer. As we shook hands, my eye caught the little figure of Ganesha, the Hindu God of Luck, in a niche over the doorway. Bromfield noticed the direction of my glance. "God of Success, you know," he smiled.

——:o:——

THIS FREEDOM

By A. C.

The Muslims are not a new force in Indian politics. Ever since the Muslims of Arabic, Turkish and Iranian descent began their long chain of invasions of India, ever since the Muslim rulers of various parts of India began their work of Muslimising India, they have been a strong force in Indian politics and Indian life. No matter whether they are now of pure or part Arabic-Iranian-Turkish blood, no matter whether their own traditions, culture and way of living have undergone fundamental changes, they remain a body of men, with extra-territorial loyalties and an outlook on life which is not indigenously Indian. (This is true of a large number of Muslims, though not of all Muslims.) They are really afraid of becoming Indians, although they may be so in blood, language, food, clothing, vocation and what not. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has said in so many words that he is not an Indian. The question is what is he then ? Is he an Arab, a Turk or an Iranian ? He is not any of these, but is according to him, a Muslim, belonging to the Muslim Nation of Pakisthan. India. The trouble is that this Nation has not existed before Jinnah, nor has their homeland Pakisthan. But Jinnah says all or most Muslims of India want to belong to that Nation and that Land. They must, therefore have their own Nation and Land in India and unless they were granted this simple demand, they would devastate everything to the best of their power and ability. The difficulty is that no part of India is purely Muslim. In some places there is a high Muslim majority, in others they are 50-50 with Hindus and in most places they are a definite minority. They say that they must have all the places, where they are in a majority or are equal with Hindus, as Pakisthan, and to round off things nicely, they must have a few more areas,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which are predominantly Hindu, thrown in for the sake of peace.

The point is that where they are in a definite majority they can have their own Government, provided such Government conform to the accepted codes of civilised governance, in the natural course of things. Where they are 50-50 they have to guarantee to the other side that they shall not try to play any selfish tricks to feed their own interests or even their vanity. For if they did that, the slightly less numerous but almost equal minority will deal with them in a manner which will not make for peace. Where they are a minority they cannot by any means establish Muslim Raj, for the simple reason that the majority will not have it.

In any scheme of self-government for India, the various linguistic-racial groups will have full freedom to set up their own Government in their own area. Working on this principle any large enough area will be free to choose and make its own Government. Assam and Western Bengal, for instance, are predominantly non-Muslim. In their history too the Muslims have never been in political power in these areas. The hope, therefore, that either the British or the rest of India will make a gift of Western Bengal or Assam to the Muslims can only be based on the assumption that the British or the other Hindu areas of India have a moral or political right to make such a gift. They have no such right. The British cannot establish any kind of Government anywhere in India without the sanction of the people of the particular region. If they tried that, they shall be resisted. The other Hindu areas cannot make such a gift for the simple reason that Western Bengal and Assam are not the property of the people of, say, Bombay or U.P. to dispose of as they liked and to suit their convenience. The people of Western Bengal or Assam have as much right to their own freedom as the people of Bombay or the members of the Muslim Nation have to theirs. In other words, if the British or any part of India tried to decide the fate of any other part of India, they shall be resisted.

The only way for the Muslim Nation, therefore, to build Pakisthan anywhere in India excepting where they are unquestionably and outstandingly in a majority will be by the use of force.

The U.N.O. has been set up to prevent War. In future no nation will be allowed to establish its "Rights" by virtue of might. If this be the real purpose of the U.N.O., the Muslims of Eastern Bengal or Western Punjab or of N.-W.F. Province or Sind will have to make War on Assam and Western Bengal to build up Pakisthan and they will have to fight the U.N.O. along with the people of these areas to achieve their end.

We all know how absurd that proposition is. Mr. Jinnah can ask himself one simple question as he moves his eyes over the map of India. "Who is giving away *What* to whom?" And while answering that question he must remember that he is now in conference to settle a question of Freedom for those peoples of the Earth who have not been free for some time. He is not on a battle-field where he can decide things by force. He can no more force a Government on any group of men than they can on him. He may like to have Calcutta for his Pakisthan, but the people of Calcutta may not like it. His able assistant Suhrawardy may wish to rule over all the areas where Bengali is spoken, but the people of those areas definitely have a say in the matter. Whether the idea of Pakisthan is a sound one or not does not matter. If in an area an overwhelming majority of people want a certain form of Government, they can surely have it. But no one can impose his own folly or wisdom on some one else without the other's approval. That is the basis of all Freedom.

The people of those districts where Hindus are in a definite majority can never be included in Pakisthan, no matter what British Province these districts are in. The same is true of Muslim majority districts. I say district, because a district has a large enough population to be counted as effective in any political issue. The ease with which the Muslim talkers are settling the political fate of 25 or 30 million people according to their own sweet will, truly savours of Chengiz Khan (who incidentally was not a Muslim) who has been mentioned by Sir F. K. Noon in this connection. But the Great Khan fought the armies of less capable despots and not Nations. Maybe a nation of 30 million Bengalis who have produced Surendranath Banerjea, C. R. Das, Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose and an endless number of political fighters during the last half a century, will not surrender to anybody's will so tamely. Chances are that the fate of Pakisthan will be decided on the fields of Western Bengal if any liberties are taken with the freedom of the people here by the British, the Hindus of the rest of India or the Muslim Nation. The Bengalis have no reputation as swashbuckling mercenaries, but they have a fair enough name as undaunted fighters for freedom.

Mr. Jinnah's latest demand of Calcutta as a Muslim port and a corridor right across India to link up his kingdom, is only another example of an ever-shifting outlook on politics. A man who loves freedom and does not believe in interfering with the freedom of others cannot demand control over the homes of other people in this off-hand fashion. He has also mentioned his friendly relations with Afghanistan and other Muslim States of Asia who will do his job for him. One can begin to see the slowly unfolding pattern of a two-fold conspiratorial design through the mist of all this apparently senseless outbursts. On the one side there is some scheme afoot to crush some power against whom all the Muslims will combine on the side of Britain. On the other hand, India shall be in the grip of this Muslim combine and may, *Inshalla,* develop into a hundred per cent Pakisthan in the near future. This is the not long-forgotten dream of the decadent despots of middle Asia—Pan-Islamism. Up to a certain point the British Imperial diplomacy may thrive on this. If they could gain the support and sympathy of a large bunch of sturdy men, who are sufficiently fanatical to overlook the modern ideals of freedom and progress, one may even hope to meet the challenge of Russia. The question is: Will the youth of Asia subscribe to a scheme of this nature? Will the Indians—Hindus and Muslims, lend themselves to be used as pawns on the British Imperial chess-board to that extent? Will they agree to march backwards a couple of hundred years to satisfy the desires of men to whom humanity and the purer ideals of democracy mean nothing?

I should say, no. Nobody is going to tolerate such things in this age. If in Sind or Baluchistan the majority of Muslims agree to heap upon the non-Muslim

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

minority disabilities or indignities of any kind whatsoever, if in Bihar or Madras the Hindus do the same to non-Hindu minorities, then one would have to admit that India's fight for freedom has been a mockery and a tragic failure. The future of India depends on the establishment of Justice, Equity and Truth as the foundation of her new freedom. There may be Muslims who hope to see *Quazis* occupying the High Courts of India and there may be Hindus who wish to re-establish Brahminism with its sordid paraphernalia in the cities and villages of Hindusthan ; but neither must be allowed. The Rajahs and Nawabs may like to continue to vegetate in pomp and splendour, the Banias may dream of building up endless trusts and monopolies ; but no, all these degenerate ambitions must be sacrificed willingly or shattered. A free India means a land in which *all* men have equal rights and privileges, where all men hold their heads high, where no man is made to feel small or suffer any disability on grounds of religion, caste, dogma, race, colour or such other unrealities which have vitiated human existence in the past.

If the Muslims of India, where they are in a majority, wish to change the names of their cities and villages or larger areas they may do so ; but not a single individual anywhere in India must be put under any disadvantage for reasons which have no basis in Justice, Equity or established fact. If that is allowed then India will be exchanging her present slavery for another which will be far worse and thoroughly evil.

———:O:———

THE TRANSITION BUDGET OF INDIA

By NIKHIL RANJAN BANERJEE, M.A.

The Indian Budget, the Finance Member claims, has been so framed as to meet the basic needs of India in transition from war to peace economy. Not alone were economic contingencies forestalled, but the political side of the question did equally engage his attention—as the one self-vaunting expression leads him to assert that the Budget, as framed, would be an important augury for his successor, Indian or British, more probably Indian than British, for, he sees the political metamorphosis in the offing, and makes for the latter the Membership a bed of roses.

Whether, or not, the future budgetary business would be a cold weather theme does matter little for, his successor, Indian presumably, has, as he says, no reason to be found lacking in the qualities of clearing the Augean stable of Indian finance. We here propose to confine ourselves to a consideration of how far the Budget as introduced is appropriate to the peculiar circumstances of the time and whether the claims put forward by its architect is borne out by facts.

Even to a casual reader of the Indian Budget it would be deemed as an epitome of efforts to make the best of a bad job. But who has made the job bad for us ? When, however, in spite of himself, the Finance Member touches upon the fringe of the problem, an all-out effort to camouflage the real issue, if not misrepresent it, becomes clearly marked. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that in this year's budget an attempt has been made to remedy certain flagrant defects in certain directions, while in respect of others, it breaks altogether new ground.

To take the first thing first, improvement under this head has been sought in two respects, (1) to make the burden of taxation more equitable by some alterations in the scheme of income-tax and in the sphere of certain indirect taxes as well ; (2) to give a fillip to, or rather, remove the shackles on the development of the industrial life of the country which is calculated to take in the slack caused by demobilisation.

So far as the income-tax is concerned, thank Heaven, that even in this late hour the idea has dawned upon the authorities that it was the members of the smaller income groups (earned income, of course) who had to bear the brunt of the war, and as such, their share of the burden should, a bit, be reduced. Accordingly, the slabs of Rs. 3,500 and the upper one were dealt with. But it must be said that the revelation that they have had was the imperfect one, and the counsel that prevailed on the authorities was the counsel of the partisans. For, on any showing, it was the income group of the lowest slab that suffered most ; and though there are not many who would envy the position of the two upper income groups, few would have been surprised if the tax-free limit was scaled up a little, particularly in view of the marked obduracy of the price-level not to fall and the impending food crisis. The loss in revenue due to relaxation on this count could be easily made good by a tightening of the belt a little in respect of another source which remains virtually untapped—I mean the Death duties, and taxes on properties in general. It is true, that in India, unearned income has been distinguished from the earned, a system of taxation devised which hits the former harder than the latter, and the whole business brought, so the Finance Member claims, to its logical conclusion by having the surcharges initiated to this discrimination.

Taken in the right perspective and with the situation which obtains in other countries before our mind, it will be realised that this falls short of what is needed. While in other countries the question of Capital Levy as a means of liquidating the forced savings is being given a serious thought to, it becomes on the face of it, extremely ludicrous, that the case for even the Daltoniac plan of terminable annuities[1] or the plan of Rignano[2] in relation to India should thus have been slurred over. Indeed the time has come for a review of the whole position of Income-tax *vis-a-vis* Inheritance-tax, more so because, in the context of the Indian situation the question has gathered a fresh momentum. I do not propose to enter here upon an elaborate discussion of the subject, but shall be content simply by pointing out certain aspects of the question in broad lineaments. Even when it comes to a comparison of the Inheritance-tax, pure and simple, and neither jammed in Rignano's or Daltoniac plans must insured against, *i.e.*, between inheritance-tax made progressive according to size only and the income-tax also so made progressive, the issue is no longer in doubt. In the first place, Marco's caveat[3] against the

1 Expounded in his book *Inequality of Income.*

2 Explained, in the book *Uma Reforma Socialista del Diritto Successorio.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

progressive taxation in general falls to the ground, because here, unlike in the case of income-tax, the Effort Supply curve is conspicuous by its absence. In the second place, even a very steeply progressive inheritance-tax will not have that deterrent effect on the incentive to invest as distinct from the motive to accumulate which a correspondingly steeply progressive income-tax is wont to have. Thus writes Prof. Meade :

"In their effect on employment, progressive death duties are to be preferred to a progressive income-tax. For the incentive to spend money on capital development at any given rate of interest should, as we have argued, be little affected by death duties."[4]

This unusual period of bottlenecks aside, what would be vitally necessary in the deflationary dispensation of the immediate future, is an all-round predominance of the economics of consumption, and the consequent reduction in the propensity to save.[5] When there still exist certain inflationary pockets, and bottlenecks have been in more than one direction, savings have got to be tapped in order to prevent further lopsided development of the economic life ; and rightly enough does the Budget incorporate certain provisions designed to secure that end in view. At the same time, as a result of the severe cut in defence expenditure having worked out its full effect, or ensuing large-scale demobilisation, the deflationary forces get under way in future then measures calculated to augment the propensity to consume while not impairing the incentive to invest would be the desideratum. Viewed thus, the tax on property, innocuous in its effect on incentive to invest, is the tax *par excellence*. Administrative difficulties, lack of statistical data, etc., should no longer be allowed to baulk the attempt to do the thing in the desired direction.

Coming to the consideration of measures under head (2) of our classification, the first important thing that strikes us is the marked contrast between the features of the transitional economy of India and those of the Western countries. While in the West the problem is mainly that of a switch-over from the war-time industries to the peace-time ones, with no fear of a prolonged unemployment to embarrass its course, in India, the authorities are working under the shadow of a depression whose magnitude becomes larger and larger as the sun of economic tempo reclines on the Western sky and the spell of war activities dies down into helpless inertia. The whole problem of the transition economy in the West resolves itself into a question of adaptation, the course of which may be clogged by the emergence of certain factors, *e.g.*, (1) structural changes in production, (2) the cataclysmic character of post-war demand, (3) availability and ownership of resources, etc.[6] But all these can do no more than make unemployment a passing phase—a mere incidence of a conversion.[7] But in India the war-boom is of a rather different nature, created as it is by an infinitely large proportion of new employment in a land hitherto of the unemployed and it is no wonder, therefore, that as soon as the wieldy hand of the war-lord is withdrawn the activities sag, things return to their old grooves, and depression engulfs the whole of India. Taken in this perspective, the need of energising the economic system of India cannot be over-emphasised. It is probably with this idea before his mind that the Finance Member proceeded to incorporate in his Budget certain innovations which, according to him, are calculated to rouse the economic life from stupor. These measures to name them, are (*a*) The abolition of the Excess Profit Tax, (*b*) Refund of the E. P. T., (*c*) Depreciation allowances of 10 per cent on new buildings and 20 per cent on new plants, (*d*) Relief from customs duties on raw materials imported for industry, *e.g.*, plants and machinery, (*e*) Reduction in the combined rate of income-tax and super-tax by one and three-fourth annas, (*f*) Steepening of the rate of super-tax on dividend above a datum line.

Nobody, perhaps, will deny that these are improvements in the desired direction. The excess profit tax has been a blight on the capital development of the country inasmuch as, it is a positive encouragement to inefficiency ; and the loss in revenue sustained due to its withdrawal will be made good by increased advances through ways and means. If the Building Industry can alone work out Indian salvation, then the improvement under this head is a master-stroke. But a bit jejune, perhaps, is the allowance on plant establishment in a land where by the tricky manipulation of the sterling-balance it has been made a tantalising disillusionment. The rest of the measures speak for themselves.

But, what after all, does this amount to ? It is no more than a mere lip-service to the problem of Indian industrialisation. When the fear of an impending depression stalks over the country and a great lee-way has to be made in the direction of Indian industrialisation if the country is to be saved from that cataclysm, then such tinkering with the vital problem is really exasperating. The Hon. Member's Sphinx-like silence on the issue of tariff measures as a protection to Indian industries may be attributed to either his complacent belief in the future of Indian industries or his attempt to side-track the issue willy-nilly.

Thanks to this war, India was converted overnight into a base for supplying nearly 70 per cent of those infinite varieties of materials required for the prosecution of war, and many industries have sprung up which otherwise would have remained dormant. These industries were taken out of the faggot of other countries and planted in Indian hot-house of war and, hence, their attempt to recover the ground thus lost is a question of months only. Moreover, it is wrong to suppose that these countries will be baulked in their attempt to do this owing to their pre-occupation with setting their houses in order. For, their change-over, as we have seen, may at worst, be stinted by some jolts and jerks due to temporary maladjustments ; but the complete overthrow of economy out of gear bringing in its trails depression of a persistent character, which is likely to mark the Indian adjustment, is far from happening in America. And as a matter of fact, the country like Great Britain, with the Anglo-U.S. loan agreement before her, has been hard put to it to increase her foreign trade by £75 millions for her very existence. Clearly enough, these war-creatures will not be able to hold their own unless being sufficiently buttressed up. The same is, perhaps, true of the nation-building industries, *e.g.*, automobiles, aeroplanes, locomotives, shipbuilding, etc., introduction of some of which was held

3 Antonio De Viti De Marco : *Prima Principii dell Economia.*
4 J. E. Meade . *Finanzaria. An Introduction to Economic Analysis and Policy.*
5 Keynes : *General Theory.*
6 Report of the Committee of the League of Nations on *Transition from War to Peace Economy* (Part I).
7 Ibid.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

back until very recently. We shall return to the discussion of this particular matter shortly. In view of the imperative character of protection in the transition economy of India, it is difficult to believe that the Hon. Member failed to appreciate their significance. We are then reduced to fall back upon the second explanation. Here we come upon interesting phases of their policy and get at the true meaning underlying his reticence. Here it becomes all the more manifest that they have taken for granted certain circumstances and then proceeds within the circumscribed limit to work out the economic destiny of India. The situation has been made impossible for India for her having been made an unwilling partner to the Sterling Block, by not delinking her currency, her being a creditor country notwithstanding, Imperial preference, blocked sterling balances, and all that. In the international sphere also there are also certain factors which do not portend well for India. The repercussion that the Anglo-U.S. loan agreement will have on India may not be unmixed evil. But that would really be a sorry business for India if her hands already tied, are forced to make any commitments to the Bretton-Woods Monetary Agreement as it now stands.

We cannot enter into an elaborate discussion of the subject here which, we are afraid, will take us far afield. But this must be pointed out that it is not for a country, with promises of an infinite growth of industrial life but the resources lying unexploited for the time being, to participate in a common economic *milieu* with an industrially advanced country. It is this common measure meted out to the diametrically opposite countries, that List, the father of the protectionists, inveighed against, and his suggestion to accord some measure of protection to this sort of industries did not fail to find favour with even the best of the classical exponents, John Stuart Mill.

The Hon. Member might have pointed out that a Tariff Board has been set up to look into the question of industries and to suggest measures for their safety. But the thing is that only a certain specific industries have been marked out for their consideration while the question of general tariff policy, and even that of certain very important industries from the nation-building point of view, has been kept beyond their purview. Worse still, perhaps, is the fact that by the time their suggestions, assuming them to be constructive in nature, sees the light of day, the fate of the industries may well-nigh be sealed. The Hon. Member should have on his own initiative and subject to revision by the Tariff Board when that Baby would be in a position to do so, incorporated in his budget certain duties designed to give relief to the struggling industries. His argument in regard to blocked sterling-balances is not convincing. Granted that these countries are not in a position to supply plants and machineries at present, what valid argument can there be against sending *en masse* technical experts from Great Britain where there is a surfeit of it, and also from Germany in payment of the latter's 2 per cent reparations to India? Then, again, so far as the Empire Dollar Pool is concerned, with the plight of South Indian automobile and air-plane industry still fresh in our mind, our understanding refuses to acquiesce in what the Finance Member says. It requires no more than average intelligence to understand, therefore, that what has been done is a mere tinkering with the problem, cutting the *t's* and dotting the *i's* while leaving the main issue undisturbed, lest any infringement on the sacrosanct sphere, they might have feared, would recoil on the British vested interests and jeopardise their position in India, that nucleus of British economic imperialism.

The same dilettantism which marked their policy in regard to industrialisation also marks their effort at planning. In recent years, there has been a good deal of prostitution of planning. A control here, an operation there, a supervision in a third place and a patronage in a fourth, have all been crystallised into planning, and made to pass for it accordingly. India is no exception to this uncanny development. In order to save the country from being thrown into the abyss of a depression, and to keep the level of employment up to the mark the authorities have come forward with a plan the main features of which are to deal with certain specific questions separately and in a disconcerted fashion. Road-building, establishment of Industrial Finance Corporation, development of tele-communication in the federal sphere and certain measures in the provincial sphere as well form the main plank in their programme. If such sporadic, piecemeal, ersatz measures become planning, then words as laissez-faire, laissez-passer, would not have found their way into the Dictionary. There is no half-way house in planning. It must be thorough, otherwise, it is nothing. When thorough, it brings cosmos; when partial, it ends in chaos. Space does not permit me to enter upon an elaborate discussion of it here. But those who have any doubt as to that will do well to remember the stupendous failure of the control measures in India at their inception, and the causes underlying it. The economic life is so inter-twined, its different aspects so scrupulously juxtaposed, that even a minor ruffle at one end percolates itself throughout the entire system with an amazingly hectic speed. Even in such matters as price control, writes Profs. Bye and Hewett:

> "Once it is begun there is no way of stopping it. . . . One cannot thrust the ramrod of maximum prices into the delicate mechanism of industry at but a few arbitrarily selected places."[8]

Not to speak of these erratic, piecemeal measures which are an apology of planning,—planning, within the capitalist fold, however concerted and full-fledged it might be, is sure to give rise to what is known as the Fascist planning. For, under planning, within the capitalist fold, the role of the capitalists is relegated to a minor importance, while their claim to shares of national dividend is fully ensured. This anomaly the labour naturally resents with the result that the State as the guardian of the system, has to come forward as an arbitrator, and arbitrate invariably it would against the labour whoever dared to dispute its dispensation. This is fascism, pure and simple. Economic planning must have for its end, to speak in the words of the Webbs "mass production for community consumption." Production and distribution should both be simultaneously tackled in order to ensure to the teeming millions of India the bare physiological needs of life at least. Hence our emphasis on Death duties, Inheritance-tax and vigorous exploitation of taxes on property in general. Only by our concerted action on all these fronts can we hope to see rise from the welter of disrupting forces a "Brave New India."[9]

8 Bye & Hewett: *Applied Economics.*

9 Dickinson: *Economics and Socialism.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A TALE OF THE GAMMA-MEN

By RAJSHEKHAR BOSE

(Translated from Bengali by Prof. Satkari Mitra, Carmichael College, Rangpur)

This story relates to a period thirty years after the complete extinction of man. It may be questioned, since we are all dead, who writes this story and who reads? There is no need for worry. Authors and readers transcend time and space. They can look into the present, past and future and have access into the remotest corners of the universe. But let us proceed with the story.

For a long time there had been strained relation among the big nations of the world, and gradually the tension became so acute that there remained no hope of settlement among them. Dwijendralal's song :

We are the judges of Iran by divine call,
Those who grumble at our judgment are villains all.

had been translated and adopted by every nation as its national anthem. At last the political leaders of various countries held consultations with their own wise men and each nation came to the conclusion that it was impossible to live in safety, security and tranquillity unless the others were wiped out from the face of the earth. With that end in view each nation used the Annihilium bomb against the others. In comparison with this latest product of science the old uranium bomb was merely a pillow stuffed with cotton.

Each nation had thought that it would be first in the race and would be able to carry out its design and annihilate the rest before the others could complete their research and organize production. But as ill luck would have it, no nation lagged behind, and having come to know the design of others through espionage, let loose the Annihilium bomb against one another on the same day and at the same auspicious moment.

No country, civilized, semi-civilized or uncivilized, escaped destruction, and in a moment the whole human race with all its achievements, the beasts, birds, insects and even plant life were completely destroyed. But life is a tenacious and persistent stuff. In the sea, in caves, in desert islands and in a few other inaccessible places some plant life and lower animals escaped destruction. We are, however, not concerned with all the survivors. Let us proceed with the lot of those who are the subjects of this history.

In the huge underground sewers of big cities like London, Paris, New York, Pekin and Calcutta, there lived millions of rats. The greater part of them had of course been annihilated by the bombs, but a few young male and female rats survived accidentally. Not only that, but the gamma rays emanated by the bombs wrought in their generic traits a profound change which biologists call mutation. In a few generations they lost their tails and fur, their forelegs developed into hands, their hind legs became so strong that they began to stand erect and walk about ; their brains increased in size, and their squeak gave place to distinct and articulate speech. In short they acquired all human traits and were endowed with a keen intellect and capacity for rapid progress. Further, from the very beginning, the rats in one respect had an advantage over the human species—they multiplied very rapidly. Now that power put on a more accelerated pace. I do not want to insult these new talented tailless bipeds by calling them rats, they should rather be regarded as human beings. But to distinguish these newly evolved children of the gamma ray from the old human species like ourselves, I shall call them Gamma-men.

It will now be necessary to enter into a little calculation. It is well-known that historians roughly allow 25 years for a generation. Thus, in 18,000 years, there are 720 generations of men. What were our No. 720 forefathers like ? Anthropologists tell us that they belonged to the old stone age. They did not know agriculture or cooking, went about naked, lived in caves and ate raw meat. Just fancy what tremendous progress in all branches of knowledge has been made in the course of only 720 generations ! Now, while we require 25 years for a generation, only 15 days sufficed for the Gamma-men, they could start procreating a fortnight after their birth. Thus, in 30 years after the extinction of *Homo Sapiens* there were 720 generations of the Gamma-men. In other words, 30 years of the Gamma-men's existence equal 18,000 years of human history. If you cannot believe you may figure it up.

In this long period of 30 years the Gamma-men quickly reached the zenith of civilization. They learned all the sciences and arts and became as wealthy and powerful as their predecessors. But all branches of Gamma-men were not equally civilized or equally powerful. Among them were to be found class and race distinctions and differences in political opinion. Some of their states were big and powerful, others small and weak. There were empires with ruling races and subject nations. There also existed keen struggle, hatred, envy, rivalry and inter-state economic warfare. Wars and aggressions were also not infrequent. After repeated internecine wars good sense at last dawned on the foresighted intellectuals among the Gamma-men. They thought : What is the good of these wars ? Is it not possible to agree among ourselves and live together in peace and harmony ? Our present civilization is incomparably great. We have unravelled many secrets of the universe. We have brought under control the stupendous forces of nature and harnessed them to our use. We have eradicated many of our social evils and bodily ills. We have acquired profound knowledge in philosophy and ethics. If our political leaders and the leading men of thought would but lay their heads together it would be certainly possible to reconcile our conflicting national interests.

At the insistent demand of the wise men of all nations, the political leaders called a World Conference. To it came from various countries all the eminent politicians, philosophers, scientists and others. Many attended in the visitors' gallery to see the pageant and the fun. As the actual Gammanite names of the various

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

speakers would be difficult to pronounce, names which are pleasant to hear and easy to utter have been substituted.

Mr. Chung Ling, the wise President of the Conference, in his opening speech explained to the delegates the urgent need of establishing world peace and goodwill among the nations, failing which, he added, there was no hope for Gammankind.

After the address of the President, Count Notenoff, the delegate from a moderately rich state, said, 'The inequitable distribution and division of world's territory and resources are the root causes of world unrest. A few big states have in the past through dishonest means obtained vast empires and established extensive colonies. They have thereby secured control over prodigious amounts of raw materials and domination over huge masses of docile and subservient subject-races. At the same time we have not only been prevented from expanding but have been deprived of even living space. If future wars are to be prevented we must be given a half-share in the world's wealth.'

Then rose Lord Grabearth, the delegate from a mighty and extensive empire. He said, 'As we possess the longest and most varied experience in the governance of empires, it is desirable for the peace of the world that these areas should continue to be under our control. The stronger my state is the greater would be the security of the other nations. As for raw materials, we are prepared to part with a little on suitable terms. But I would request you not to cast greedy eyes on those uncivilized and semi-civilized countries which are under our care. We are merely the trustees for these people and should only be too glad to get rid of our burden as soon as they become fit to manage their own affairs. We do not seek to harm anybody. If danger comes, it will be from the country of my friend General Keepoff. In his country there is no private or independent enterprise, everything is done by the State. There is no place there for the aristocracy and capitalist magnates who are the head and front of society. The bad example of his country is spoiling our working classes. In a short time you will see the vile principles and cheap products of his country flooding the world. Our social structure, religion and industry will be ruined. The first step towards world peace is the reformation of General Keepoff's country.'

Then rose General Keepoff. Twirling his thick bushy moustache he said, 'Gentlemen, you all know that my friend Lord Grabearth is a great liar. It is his country that has kept the rest of the world under its heels. His state has repeatedly fomented internal revolt in my country through bribery. The day of reckoning will come soon, then we will have our revenge. I do not want to say anything more now.'

Abaldasji, the popular leader of a dependent country, then said, 'The plea of trusteeship put forward by Lord Grabearth is downright hypocrisy. So long as his lordship's countrymen arrogate to themselves the power of judging our competence for self-government, we shall never be let off from bondage. The sole duty of this conference is to abolish all empires and acknowledge the freedom of all nations. Dependent countries are the root cause of hatred and jealousy.'

Nischint Maharaj, the great yogi, had so long been sitting with eyes closed in meditation. He now broke his silence and caressingly stroking Abaldas's back, said, 'Set your mind at ease my son, have trust in me. Through my penance you will all attain salvation in due course. I am continually exchanging thoughts with the great sages living on the summit of Mt. Everest. They are all at one with me.'

Dharmadasji, the *karmayogi* or man of action, said, 'Nothing will come out of these trite words. For world peace, it is first of all imperative to reform and purify the character and conduct of all, and then only can emerge a true social conscience. My scheme is very simple. Let all eschew animal food and take to a vegetarian diet, shun all luxury, and lead a life of strict continence for a month (which, by the way, equals in effect 50 years of human existence). The result will be that in this period the aged will die a natural death and no children will be born, so that world population will be reduced by half. Thus, war, famine, epidemics and the other positive checks to population will not be necessary. In a perfectly moral way the needs of the remaining population will be fully satisfied.'

Pandit Satyakamji next said, 'I am fully convinced that nothing can be achieved through supernatural influence or arguments. A vegetarian diet, denial of luxury and a spell of celebacy are all useless. They are against our natural instincts and defy enforcement through international laws and regulations. If the delegates assembled here will only lay bare their hearts and honestly tell us about their policies, it will be easy to find out means for adjustment and the establishment of world peace. We have been able to make enormous progress in science but have failed to modify or improve the Gammanite character in the slightest degree. The reason is simple. Inanimate nature does not deceive, consequently experiments and observations lead to definite and truthful results. But our political leaders cannot move a single step without falsehood. No means can be devised for establishing world peace unless they open their hearts and show all their cards. How can there be any diagnosis and treatment unless all the symptoms of the disease are known?'

Lord Grabearth pursed up his lips and said, 'If a person does not want to give out the secrets of his mind, how can you compel him to speak the truth?'

General Keepoff said, 'Why, by administering drugs. Ever heard of sodium-pentothal? Under its influence one is forced to blurt out the truth. In my country, the drug is administered to rebels to secure confession, and then bang bang go the guns. We do not waste our time in long drawn-out legal proceedings or our money on counsels' fees.'

The renowned old physician Dr. Bhringaraj Nandi said, 'Fools and idiots all! Pentothal stupefies. The victim tells the truth no doubt, but his critical faculty and judgment are destroyed. This is not an opium den; we are not assembled here to exchange befuddled confidences but to solve grave and urgent problems of international politics. Pentothal will not do. What is wanted is injection of Veracitin which I have prepared from the Indian hemp. It is harmless but infallible. It does not deaden judgment; but no matter how crafty and subtle you are it will drag out your innermost thoughts. It has no permanent effect; in an hour its influence passes off and then you are again your old self and free to pursue your campaign of lies. I have got the drug in my pocket and if the President will only permit, I can in a moment convert all here into truthful beings.'

Count Notenoff asked, 'Has it been actually tried?'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. Nandi replied, 'Of course. I have tested it on a large number of rats and guinea pigs.'

General Keepoff burst out into a guffaw and said, 'Do truth and falsehood exist among rats? Do you know their language to understand what's what?'

Dr. Nandi replied, 'Certainly I do. I have only to observe their reactions. If they wag their tails to the left, their motive is bad and they are trying to hide their real intentions. If they wag their tails to the right, it is clear that they are responding honestly and their intentions are good. Moreover, I have tried the drug on a student of mine. Poor fellow, his wife has applied for divorce.'

The President, Mr. Chung Ling said, 'There is no necessity for scepticism about the results. Let us have a demonstration here and now. Gentlemen, I call for volunteers. Will any of you come forward for the sake of science?'

Dharamdas came up to Dr. Nandi and stretching out his arm said, 'Let me have the injection, Doctor.'

Nandi at once took out from his pocket a big magazine syringe and injected about 15 drops of his Veracitin into Dharamdas's arm. Allowing 2 minutes for the drug to take effect, the President said, 'Now Mr. Dharamdas, open your heart and tell us your thoughts.'

Dharamdas said, 'A vegetarian diet, plain living and strict continence. But I confess that I have failed to live up to my ideals and have had several slips.'

General Keepoff smilingly said, 'It is useless to experiment on these cranks. Even in their normal state they do not indulge in many lies. They profess and preach what they honestly believe. Come, try your injection on me. Truth or falsehood is a matter of indifference to me.'

Lord Grabearth became greatly perturbed and catching hold of Keepoff's hand said, 'Stop, sir. You do not know what you are doing. Don't you be a party to this silly affair. No one with a grain of self-respect can submit to this humiliating experiment. To hide our thoughts is our natural right, and we are not going to give it up at the instance of a quack. I do admit that blatant and crude lies are barbarous, but in their subtle and refined form they constitute a valuable weapon, which if judiciously applied can bring the whole world under one's feet. We are not going to give up such a potent weapon. Refined lie is the foundation and cover of civilized society, on it are based social customs and politics. Have you no sense of shame Keepoff? To bare our minds before this Conference would be as indecent as baring our bodies.'

General Keepoff was not deterred. He forcibly extracted his arm from Grabearth's grip and extended it to Dr. Nandi, who forthwith gave him the injection. Then clasping Grabearth in his embrace, Keepoff said, 'Quick, Doctor, give him a dose too, and a stiff one.' Dr. Nandi pushed in a double dose into Grabearth's arm. Writhing in the thick and hairy hands of Keepoff, Grabearth cried, 'What outrage is this! You have transgressed all international law. Mr. President, you have miserably failed to maintain order and discipline in this Conference, you are worthless. Get up Sir, get my Foreign Minister on the phone for me.'

General Keepoff said, 'A very bad and obstinate patient. The disease has gone deep into his bones. Doctor, give him another double dose.' Nandi complied with alacrity. Then gradually Grabearth became quiet and softly said, 'Why single out only two of us? Give a dose to that wicked goonda Notenoff too.'

Notenoff clenched his fists and attacked Grabearth. But Keepoff intervened, and having clasped Notenoff, cried out, 'Stop, stop! Why are you so much afraid of telling the truth? However much we might try to dissemble, we well understand each other's motives and designs. No great harm can result from our speaking out the truth.'

Notenoff whispered, 'I don't care a damn if you know it all. I object on other grounds. Domestic trouble is more dangerous than international complications.'

Just at this moment Countess Notenoff from her seat in the visitors' gallery cried out, 'Give him the injection by force. The Count is an inveterate liar. He has been deceiving me all along.'

Taking advantage of the hubbub, Dr. Nandi crawled forward on all fours and injected his drug in Notenoff's hind part. The Countess cried out, 'Now confess who are your paramours.'

President Chung Ling said, 'No hurry Countess. The Count's mistresses will not fly the country. Let us now proceed with our business. Now, Lord Grabearth, Count Notenoff, General Keepoff, let us hear you one by one. Please relate frankly the actual policy of your States.'

Lord Grabearth said, 'Our aim is very simple. The only policy we believe in is: Might is right. Charity and philanthrophy are quite good principles for practice at home and among kinsmen, but they have no place in international affairs. We want to exploit to the utmost, all, be they civilized or uncivilized, weak or strong. Who thinks of the woes of the calf when milking the cow? Do you consider the case of the victims when for food or other purposes you slaughter cows, sheep, tigers, snakes, rats and mosquitoes? Even plants have life. Can you practise non-violence by subsisting on stones? We want to have the best of everything and to get the best out of life. For that we are ready to perform all sorts of nasty deeds. But we are not free to do as we like. We have to reckon with powerful rivals and our own softness of heart which fools call conscience. Then there are weak-minded sanctimonious people—both among us as also in other nationalities—whom it is difficult to bluff always. To keep them quiet we have to make some concessions at times. I am firmly convinced that the aim of this conference will never be realized. I may be compelled to make slight concessions out of fear of my opponents, but I can never agree to any permanent agreement. What we may be compelled to concede today, we mean to regain at the earliest possible opportunity. You understand the laws of evolution, the struggle for existence and all that. I need not elaborate.'

Notenoff said, 'Our doctrine is exactly the same, though there might be slight differences in our methods. We come from the best stock. A time is bound to come when we shall be the sole masters of the world, and we are out to achieve our end by all means, fair or foul.'

Keepoff said, 'I am generally of the same mind as you, though there is a gulf of difference between our methods and yours. Fortunately, we have a vast country, and so the necessity of exploiting others has not yet arisen. But we are trying our hand so that we might not be found wanting when the need arises.'

Abaldas thumping his head with his palms in despair said, 'Woe betide us! Even falsehood was more bearable than this frank avowal. I thought that puffed

CC-0 In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with the arrogance of power these people have lost their conscience, but there was a slender hope that their moral instincts would again survive. Well, Lord Grabearth, will you answer a question? There is no denying the fact that we of the dependent nations of the world are slowly but gradually gaining in strength. Whatever you may say to the contrary, there are still honest persons in all nations and they support our cause. We shall one day shake off our shackles. But meanwhile rancour and hatred against you are growing in our hearts. Don't you realize what a fate awaits you when nemesis comes? If you come to a fair agreement with us now and make even large sacrifices on that account, we shall not leave you entirely in the lurch. Why doesn't this simple fact penetrate your head?'

Grabearth said, 'It does. But why should we forgo the whole now in the hope of retaining a morsel in some remote future? We do not care what befalls our great-great-grand-children.'

Abaldas heaved a deep sigh and sat down. Nischint Maharaj again stroked his back and said, 'No fear, my son! I am here by you.'

Dharamdas said, 'Of what avail has this injection been? All that has been said under its influence was long known to us. In our holy books, the thoughts of the unrighteous have been described thus: I have gained this today, I shall achieve that end too; this is what I have, and I shall possess those riches as well. I have slain that enemy, and shall slay others as well. I am the master, the enjoyer of the good things of the earth, I succeed in whatever I attempt, I am powerful, I am happy. I am high born, there is none comparable with me.' (From the Gita).

The President then turned his gaze on the delegates and said, 'We have heard the representatives of the major States. Let us now discuss the ways for establishing lasting peace on earth.'

Grabearth, Notenoff and Keepoff all cried out together: 'We are quite happy as we are. Peace and goodwill are empty nonsense. We don't want to be harmless creatures without fangs and claws. We want to spend our lives in the joy of looting and fighting.'

Then, another member, who had so long been sitting silent in a back-seat, stood up. He was Professor Byombajra Shastri, the great philosopher-cum-scientist whose degrees and titles were too long even for a whole quire of foolscap paper. He said, 'I have discovered a way for establishing world peace.'

Dr. Nandi asked, 'Have you too an injection?'

Prof. Shastri replied, 'No sir. It would be impossible to treat the millions of the inhabitants of the globe in that way. The best way is to use my latest invention—the Peace Bomb. Under its benign influence peace will reign everywhere. The rays which emanate from this bomb are a thousand times subtler than cosmic rays. Contact with these purifies the heart, roots out greed, anger and all the passions, and frees the soul from the bondage of the flesh.'

Grabearth exclaimed: 'Silence Professor! You must not divulge secrets here. You have carried out the research with our money and our resources. Whatever you have to state you must report in confidence to our Prime Minister.'

Notenoff jumped to his feet and said, 'What? It is we who have borne all the expenses. The Bomb belongs to us exclusively.'

Keepoff said, 'You are a set of damned liars! My State has long been helping the Professor in his researches, we have the sole right to the invention.'

Byombajra lifted up his arms in a gesture of peace and said, 'Don't be impatient. Everybody has a right to my bomb, you will all be benefited. Abaldasji, it would put an end to the factious spirit of your people and cure all your ills.' Saying this he began to unpack a small bundle.

There was a great stir and noise in the Conference as Grabearth, Notenoff, Keepoff and the other delegates began a tussle for the possession of the bundle.

Dharmadas said, 'Quick, Byombajraji! Do let off your bomb.'

But there was no necessity for this exhortation. In the tussle the bomb slipped from the Professor's hands fell on the floor and burst. No noise was heard, no flash of light seen. Before the waves of sound and light could reach the sense organs, the whole race of Gamma-men had lost its faculty of perception.

.. ..

After being stupefied for a time, Grabearth said, 'Prof. Shastri's bomb is an excellent stuff. I feel as if all of us have attained liberty, equality and fraternity. Notenoff, Keepoff, I do love you dearly. Abaldas, you too are very near and dear to me. Gentlemen, listen to the international anthem I have just composed:

We are brothers of one spot,
There's no variance in our lot.

Now let us embrace each other.'

Nischint Maharaj patted Abaldas on his back and proudly said, 'Didn't I say so?'

The conference overflowed with brotherly feeling. After a time. Notenoff said, 'Come brothers! Let us now divide the world's coal, oil, wheat, cattle, sheep, pigs, cotton, sugar, rubber, iron, gold, etc. Equal share for everyone—what do you say?'

Byombajra said with a smile, 'There is no need. You have shuffled off your mortal coils and are now suspended in the void. You can now go straight to hell, or you can be reborn, or just evaporate into nothingness according to your individual choice.'

Keepoff said, 'Do you mean to say that we have become ghosts? I don't believe in ghosts.'

Byombajra said, 'You needn't. Your disbelief does not affect the other ghosts.'

.. ..

Mother Earth bereft of offspring will rest awhile and will become pregnant again. She does not lament the loss of wicked and worthless sons. Time is boundless, the Earth is colossal too; she is slow-marching and will not turn impatient at the rolling of a million years. She will conceive again and again in the hope of being the parent of a worthier progeny.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

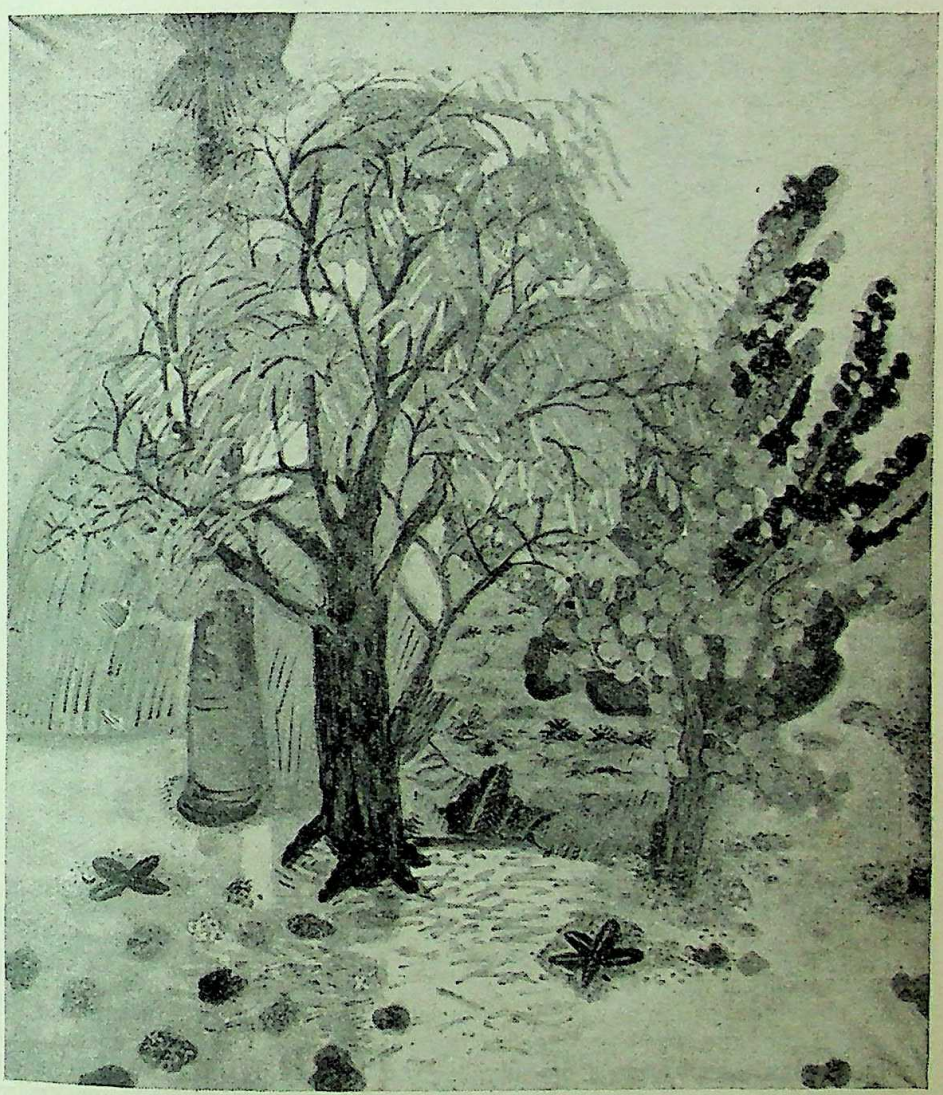
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LANDSCAPE PAINTING IN THE SANTINIKETAN SCHOOL

A New Development

By KAUNDINYA

A new leaf appears to have been turned at the Kalabhavan, the Department of Fine Arts in the University of Tagore. The towering personality of Tagore and his incessant productions in all phases of literature appear to have over-shadowed the other activities of Visva-Bharati. It is very seldom realized that very solid work has been put in by the Department known as Vidya-Bhavan, whose scholars under the able direction of Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri have made valuable contributions to Tibetan studies. The direction of Acharya Nandalal Bose in the Department of Fine Arts has produced equally rich and perhaps more abundant fruits. The new movement in Indian Art initiated by Dr. A. N. Tagore half a century ago, received a new orientation when Nandalal Bose migrated to Santiniketan. A new environment led to a new orientation. Prof. Bose and his disciples, hitherto confined principally to themes from the Indian mythology, gradually turned their faces away from imaginative topics and began to react to the natural sights and scenes of Santiniketan. It reminds one of the great French landscape-painter, Corot, and his sojourn to Ville d'Avray from his studio in Paris. But Corot's excursions to the country were temporary trips while Prof. Bose's migration to Birbhum was a permanent one. Everybody predicted that the New Indian School, in its new environment, was destined to put forth a branch of landscape painting. But there were no immediate signs for such a happening. Bose himself had no burning passion for nature-scenes as such, though trees and flowers have frequently figured in many of his compositions. He had to wait for the advent of an artist with the necessary leaning for a devout worship of Nature. Masoji tried his hands for a time at nature-scenes, but he left Santiniketan, and the dream of an Indian landscape school was frustrated for the moment. Then came Ramendra Chakravorty (the Late Principal of the Government School of Art, now banished to Delhi, by the vagaries of the Public Service Commission) who took assiduously to study village-scenes and, incidentally, landscape subjects. But his great success in figure subjects deferred the hopes for the immediate birth of an Indian Barbizon, for Chakravorty, happily for himself and unhappily for Indian landscape-painting, strayed to figure painting though he has frequently come back to nature-scenes, as in his delightful *Sketches of Europe*. It is very little known to those who ought to know that Mr. Bireswar Sen has richly contributed to the art of landscape. Some of his tiny water-colours are mystic and mysterious renderings of glimpses into the secrets of Nature. But, yet it cannot be claimed that Indian landscape painting had won any devoted worker before the advent of Benode Behari Mukherjee, one of the talented disciples of Prof. Bose. And it was a happy thought on the part of the Asramic Sangha of Santiniketan to arrange for a small exhibition at Calcutta (March last) of about fifty selected examples of landscapes by Mukherjee in various mediums. It was indeed a revelation. The birth of a



Landscape—*Sirish, Palas, Tal* (Tempera on paper)
By Benode Behari Mukherjee

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

new school of Indian landscape was not announced before and the evidence of its birth was indeed a pleasant surprise. Here is an Indian artist, a devoted admirer of Nature, actually dedicated to a devout calling—the sacred vocation of interpreting the beauties of Indian landscapes to Indian connoisseurs. To be a real patriot one must be trained to admire "everything Indian." And Indian artists alone can teach us how to love our motherland and the beauties of her visual treasures. Yet Benode Mukherjee's renderings of Birbhum landscape and the beauty-spots of Santiniketan are no mere topographical studies of sentimental values to the dwellers or the visitors of the famous seat of education and culture. Mukherjee has looked with transfiguring eyes and has



Forest *by* B. B. Mukherjee

given us visions which take his themes to planes far above their recognizable values. In order to build up his technique and the language of his interpretation he has sought inspiration from diverse sources and in different traditions. His schooling in the methods and manners of Chinese and Japanese artists has been obvious, but he has not disdained to profit by the study of the modern masters of Europe. Yet very uncharitable criticisms have been made of his so-called exaggerated debt to the manners of Van Gogh and Cezanne, particularly in his studies of sun-flowers. But his many original and charming studies of Indian plant-life have demonstrated his native gift of giving creative interpretations of the forms of Nature. He has direct vision and he has no need to borrow the language of others, however eminent. Yet another

criticism has come from orthodox nationalists who h bitterly complained that Mukherjee has deliberately or otherwise, the many valuable les that the traditions of Indian landscape art of the schools had to teach him in abundance, and in this pect he has flouted the great landscape painting not only the old Buddhist schools but also of medieval, and the later schools of Kangra and of Moghul miniaturists. There is apparently much in this criticism and it has been pleaded that history of Indian painting has left no continuous easily accessible records of its contribution to la scape painting as such. The frescoes of Ajanta are of representations of plant life, as effective decora backgrounds to the illustrations of the Jatakas,



Forest *by* B. B. Mukherjee

there is very little record of the monk-artists' worsh of Nature for its own sake. In European Art, la scape as such does not emerge very much before advent of the Dutch school, though charming natu pieces are glimpsed in the background of masters of the Italian Renaissance. And even in miniatures of the Kangra school, landscape does figure independently. But it has to be admitted Mukherjee's 'experiments' (many of them have deed passed that stage) do not show any contact the masters of Kangra whose magnificent contribut to flower-painting and the transcendental use of plants, and blossoms cannot be neglected with punity. But, after all, the productions of a mod judged by the actual merits of works and not by a consideration of what he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

borrowed or failed to borrow from earlier masters. It perhaps unfair to judge the specimens exhibited in the show as final and finished efforts of what Mr. Mukherjee has set out to accomplish. They must be regarded as promises rather than fulfilments. But many of them are happy examples of considerable present achievement. But even to evaluate the artist's successful experiments it is necessary to consider the general position of landscape in the history of painting. Landscape, as an inevitable expression of the Romantic spirit, is the characteristic art of the nineteenth century. Its pursuit called the artist away from society, and encouraged an unconditioned individualism. It corresponded to elevated and solitary states of mind. The mystic Wordsworth had made the case for the soul. The mystic Wordsworth had made the case for the soul. The eighteenth century ran out :

"One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can."

So by one of those substitutions of *genres*, landscape painting largely usurped the function of the old historic style, enlisting the most elevated ideals and evoking all the deeper emotions. There was, of course, a fallacy in the idea that man, essentially a social creature, can best fulfil himself in solitary communion with Nature. Such a notion shows how far the art of painting was losing social significance. From the strictly doctrinal Indian point of view, to be ensnared by the superficial aspects of Nature is to ignore the fundamental realities behind the illusions (*Maya*) of visual appearances. To rend that "veil" is to contact the basic realities. To be confined to the four corners of a natural scene as reflected on the retinal image is to be enslaved by the skin-dip beauty of Nature. A master-painter of landscape must over-step the limits of his visual image and unmask the illusion. A very instructive approach to natural scenes, without a slavish imitation of its superficial features is indicated in the meditative soliloquies of Corot, the French master, recorded in a letter (which we quote here) :

> "We see too much. There is nothing left to the imagination. I will rest ! I will doze and dream of my morning scene. I will dream of my picture ; and later on, I will paint my dream. . . . The sun has sunk. Everything is fast fading, yet we know that everything is still there. All is vague, for Nature is falling asleep . . . *The Illusion is over.* The sun having gone to rest, the inner sun, the sun of the soul, the sun of art—arises. Good ! my picture is finished."

Corot is evidently not concerned with the passing mood of Nature or a transient disclosure of it. He has been obviously attempting to over-ride, to transcend the "illusion" of Nature, instead of submitting to its blandishments, in the manner of the average mediocre painter, usually satisfied with an accurate recognizable likeness of Dame Nature. The real master attempts to dig below the surface, and to reveal the remote, the impenetrable, the inscrutable mystery of Nature. This appears to have been the motif of the Chinese masters and a few of the moderns in Europe—Turner, Constable, Cezanne, and Van Gogh. It is unfair to claim that Benode Mukherjee has yet succeeded in dissecting the mysteries of Nature but he has the correct attitude and he sometimes refused to be held in chain by the transient attractions of the beauties of Nature. There is as yet nothing in his renderings to dazzle, astonish, or infuriate anybody. He seems yet to lack the terrible intensity of conviction which turned Van Gogh, originally an art-vagabond, into a glorious artist with a feverish intensity of emotional reactions to Nature. But Mr. Mukherjee's landscapes are full of promises, and he appears to have sown the seeds of a truly national school of Indian landscape.

———:O:———

THE WORKING OF A SMALL-TOWN GOVERNMENT

In the United States the privilege of local self-government is regarded as one of the chief merits of the political system, as one of the inalienable rights of the people and the purest form of functioning democracy. Local government units permit the people of each locality who are most familiar with their own local conditions and needs to regulate their own affairs. Direct participation in local government stimulates, moreover, an interest in public affairs, thus serving as a training school in the political education of its citizens and giving to the nation a more active and valuable member of society.

Villages and towns vary greatly in the United States, both in size and precise form of administration. In addition to these units there are administrative units called townships, which are subdivisions of counties. These townships vary in size from one square mile to forty square miles. They are often more important as governmental units than counties, and in the New England states they actually perform county functions. In New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, and other states, township government involves less direct participation than in New England, and boards of elected officials do the work of directing the affairs of the townships. In such states the larger administrative areas—counties—have great responsibilities. In general, all townships are subject to limitations imposed by the states, and do not have state charters of incorporation.

There are approximately 9,678 incorporated cities, towns, boroughs and villages with populations under 1,000 in the United States. The legislative powers of the incorporated village or borough are usually in the hands of a board of trustees, with a village president or mayor ; and the executive power is in the hands of the village president or mayor, supported by varying officials such as a treasurer, a chief of police or marshal, etc.

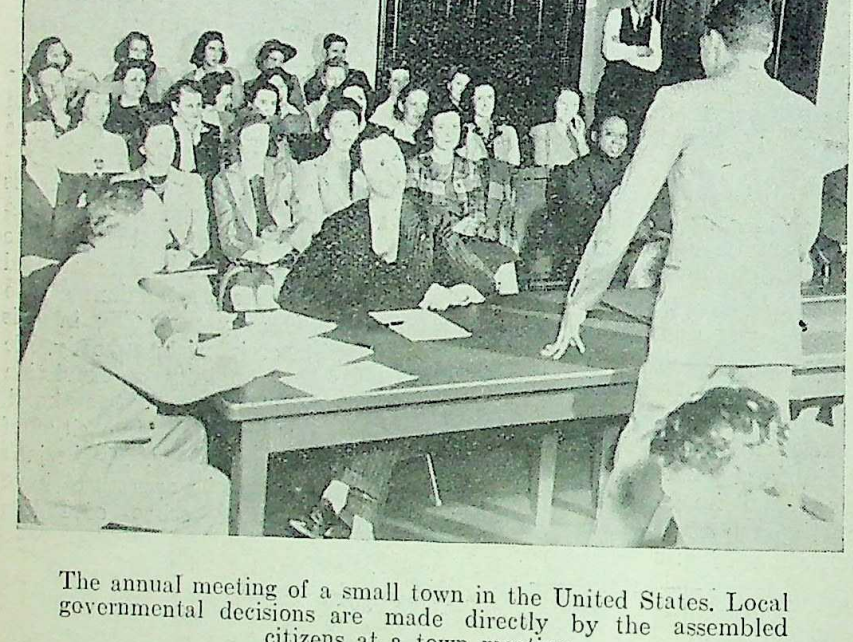
In order to become incorporated as village, town, or city, the community in most states must petition the state for the authority to set up its own local government. The grant is given in the form of a charter. This when unit is then free to carry on its self-government and to formulate such rules and regulations as suit its

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

local needs, in so far as these do not conflict with the rights and laws of the larger units of which it is a part, of the county, state or nation. In some states which have by their constitution or by legislative enactment, granted home rule, the municipality draws up its own charter and has the people vote on it. The municipality is always subject to the control of the state legislature.

Each of the 48 states has, under the American system, the right to rule itself in its own way, within a republican form of government, and within the limitations of the U.S. Constitution. The states grant local government powers not only to incorporated urban communities, but also to their territorial subdivisions known as counties, of which there are more than 3,000 in the United States. Thus the inhabitants of the United States may express their will and find a common protection in three levels—local, state and national.



The annual meeting of a small town in the United States. Local governmental decisions are made directly by the assembled citizens at a town meeting

In their government, types of local government range from the direct government by town meetings, as in New England, to the representative system of delegating authority to elected representatives.

The number and types of officials chosen under the latter system must also vary greatly, not only in accordance with the size of the community, but by reason of geographic conditions and of occupational and economic differences.

A small rural municipality has fewer requirements than one located on a harbor and which engages in shipping and foreign trade. A town on a main highway has need of more traffic officers than a narrow valley town with few cross-streets.

Many towns in the mid-western states which were settled by pioneers from New England have retained, to a certain degree, the town meeting system, whereas in the South and Far West, the town meeting is non-existent.

A Typical Example

In a mid-western township of some 4,000 inhabitants, the system of local government is carried on in such a manner as follows:

An open town meeting is called annually for the election of officers and committees. Procedure requires that formal notice must be given of the time and place of the meeting, with an outline of the business to be transacted, and that this notice be posted in conspicuous places and printed in the town papers a certain number of days before the meeting.

Since this town does not possess a town hall, since schools are in session, making the high-school auditorium inaccessible, and since no one of the three denominational churches offers adequate facilities, the meeting is to be held in a hall, called the Lodge Hall, which serves as the gathering place for many political and social affairs, such as dances, masonic meetings, veterans reunions, and home-coming week festivities.

It is spring, and farmers living within the township drive in with their families to spend the day. Most of them bring a lunch basket, preferring—the day being warm—to eat outdoors in the *Grove* on the river's edge at the outskirts of the town. Relatives and acquaintances gather here in groups for a visit together before attending the afternoon meeting.

Almost everyone, regardless of age, attends the meeting, and all qualified voters arrive at their decisions on general problems through open discussion and open voting, either by a majority showing of hands or by the voice response of *Aye* and *Nay*. In the matter of the election of officers, written ballots are taken up.

The meeting is called to order by the town clerk who reads the warrant. A presiding officer, or moderator, is then elected and business proceeds according to parliamentary rules.

The first order of the day is the election of town officers for the ensuing year. Following this, appropriations are discussed and agreed upon for the payment of public expenses, such as the salaries of officers, the care of roads, street-paving, street lighting, appropriations for education, for the public library, for a so-called "community chest" or charity fund (though most charitable institutions, such as those for orphans, the aged, the mentally infirm, come under the control and support of county or state), and for such special cases as the erection of a new public building or the replacement of a damaged bridge. Problems of epidemics and health laws, of water supply, and fire protection may also come up for discussion.

This town, while retaining in framework the town-meeting system, tends toward the representative form of government, vesting less authority in its town meeting and leaving more decisions to be taken by its elected officers as the need occurs throughout the year.

Officers of a Town

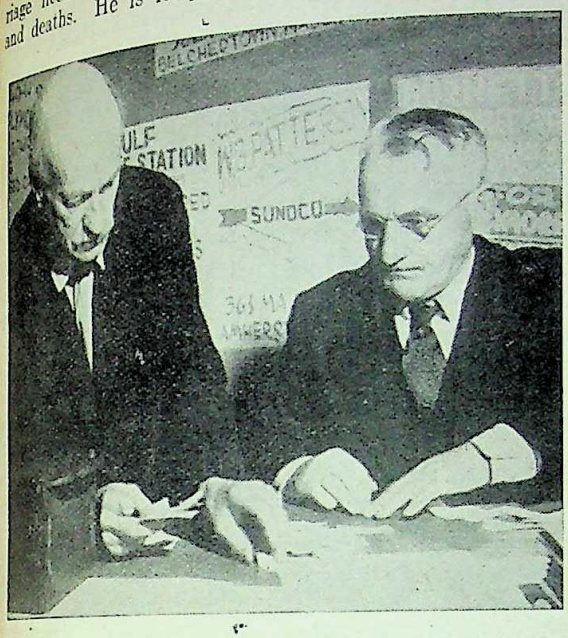
The officers elected at this annual meeting are:

A town clerk whose principal duties are to keep the records of town meetings and of meetings of the councilmen; to prepare vital statistics; record deeds,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mortgages and other legal documents; to issue marriage licenses and keep registers of births, marriages and deaths. He is frequently re-elected from year to year, and thus becomes an authority on the town history, on precedents and genealogy.



The moderator of an annual town meeting counts the ballots cast for town government officials for the coming year

A tax assessor who prepares the list of tax-payers in the town; evaluates property; collects the taxes and turns the funds over to the town treasurer.



Here at an election station, citizens of a small town sign the election register preparatory to casting their secret ballots for state and national legislators, U.S. President and other governmental officials

A town treasurer who receives and takes care of all taxes collected from the payers and turns over to the proper officers the portion which goes to the state and to the county; he also keeps account of all other receipts and disbursements and makes his annual report to the town meeting.

Two constables who serve as peace officers, pursuing and arresting criminals, and executing warrants issued by the justice of the peace.

A justice of the peace whose duties are to administer summary justice in minor cases and commit others to court trial.

Library trustees who appoint the librarian; authorize the purchase of books and other expenditures; and who are usually re-elected from year to year.



This voter in a small U.S. town has marked his ballot with his choice for county and state officials in the privacy of the walled booth

A school board of five members, frequently re-elected, whose duty it is to establish and visit schools; to select teachers; to determine teachers' salaries and promotions; to prescribe courses of instruction; and to appoint truant officers.

A board of selectmen whose duty it is in the intervals between the annual meetings to look after all community affairs which are not specifically taken care of by the other elected officials, and to appoint such minor officials as they see fit, such as an overseer of the poor, who shall care for paupers, investigate the dependent and needy class and determine who is entitled to receive public aid; a poundkeeper, who shall pick up and keep stray animals until they are claimed by their owners; a road-surveyor, a park commissioner, a health officer whose principal duties

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are to control epidemics by enforcing quarantines, by requiring water analysis, drainage and food inspection, and seeing that all health laws are enforced.

This board of selectmen, or as it is also called town council, may look after the upkeep of the town waterworks; may investigate fire protection and appoint firemen; may authorize contracts for street-lighting; may decide upon the granting of liquor licenses and upon the keeping and sale of fire-arms; may appoint a keeper of the cemetery; may regulate such traffic matters as bicycling on the sidewalk, and animals running at large; may take action on a great variety of matters of local interest. If important appropriations or decisions are involved, the council may call for a special town meeting and put the question to a general vote.

In addition to the management of purely local affairs of the community, the town acts as an agent of the state government for the carrying out of certain state laws and policies. It not only assesses and collects state, as well as local taxes, but it enforces the health laws of the state, and acts for the state in many other ways. Thus the governmental organizations overlap and merge at many points, the common good of the greatest number being always the determining factor.—*USIS.*

——:O:——

TECHNIQUE OF DANCE IN SOUTH INDIA

By V. R. CHITRA

According to the accepted canons, the complete curriculum of an ancient Indian gentleman's education and as a matter of that of a cultured lady too—included a number of arts, now mostly lost; others became strange and many degraded themselves to absurd depths of vulgarity. Tradition enforces the knowledge of seventy-two Kalas (Arts) to make a man perfect in his education and sixty-four for ladies of a similar degree. These included, at one time, besides the ordinary types of learning and writing, art of self-defence, art of dalliance, art of dancing and even the art of stealing. Amongst these, dance played no insignificant part and was held in high esteem.



Nataraja (bronze image) showing the exquisite dance of Siva

The art of acting and dancing—which in India as elsewhere—is closely associated with drama and music, is very ancient, though to-day we see very little of the old Indian type of dancing, as it was originally meant to be. Being attributed to divine origin, this divine source is claimed not only for those elements of Hindu culture that strive to express the spiritual aspirations of man, such as poetry, music, but also such apparently lighter matters as erotics. An explanation of this tendency can easily be found in the mode of life of the Hindu; as he lived at the dawn of history, occupied with his sacrificial rites and rituals, his ceremonial offerings and prayers and viewing neither duty nor pleasure save in relation to his religious background. It is hence not quite surprising, that Natya Sastra, the science of dancing, claimed a divine origin and that it was fathered by no less a deity than Brahma himself—the creator of all that constitutes the Universe.

Bharata, the author of Natya Sastra, narrates that at the request of Indra and other gods for a pastime befitting the inhabitants of the celestial region, Brahma, distilled the essence of the four Vedas, taking the Pathya—the words from the Rig-Veda, the music from the Sama-Veda, the gesture and gesticulations from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yajur-Veda and the Rasa—the flavour—from the Atharva-Veda and compounded them into the gracious



A sculptural dance-pose in the Chidambaram temple



Another sculptural dance-pose

art of his new creation—the Natya Veda, endowing it with all the sanctity and dignity attaching to the four Vedas. This fifth Veda was thereafter bestowed by the Creator on Bharata and his hundred sons and disciples, who in due course passed it on to the mortals on earth.

Thus it is no doubt apparent that dancing played a prominent part in the Vedic rituals relating to the offering of sacrifices to the gods, the consecration of kings, the performances of festivals in temples and other auspicious occasions. Bharata himself observes :

> "All the activities of the gods, whether in house or garden, spring from a natural disposition of the mind ; but all the activities of men result from the conscious working of the will ; therefore it is that the details of activities to be done by men are to be carefully presented."

This art of dancing never gets a status equivalent to the most rig'd canons as laid by the Vedas. It is a divine art, with the greatest gods of the Hindu Pantheon as the fathers of the revival style of dancing. Each of these divine dances is symbolical, pregnant with meaning that only the adept can know.



Another sculptural dance-pose

Of the gods that originated the several styles of dancing, the most prolific is the great Siva and the most popular and the much beloved is Krishna, the Eternal Lover. The mythology connected with the dance of Siva is well-known. In short according to the Patanjali myth—the story is that Siva wanted the assistance of Vishnu to put down the arrogance of a few of the heretic Rishis living in the forest of Tarakam and convert them. Vishnu consented to accompany Siva on this proselytising mission. Together they went, Siva disguised as a good-looking mendicant and Vishnu as his young beautiful consort. The Rishis suspecting them as objects to detract their piety and the chastity of their wives immediately raised an *abhichara homa* to destroy the intruders. A fierce tiger emerged out of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fire and Siva tore its skin and wore the same as his mantle. The Rishis then sent a huge serpent, which Siva seized and coiled it round his neck. Thereafter the mighty God began his mystic dance. Undismayed, the Rishis sent the demon Muyulagan, whom Siva crushed under his sacred feet and continued his hectic dance, which was witnessed by all the gods. The heretics thereafter acknowledged Siva as their Lord. After the successful completion of their mission, Siva and Vishnu returned to their heavenly abode. Adisesha, the serpent couch of Vishnu, was so enchanted with Vishnu's recital of the great dance of Siva, that he prayed to Siva to grant him the beatific vision of the dance once again. Accordingly, Siva revealed this dance to Adisesha at Tillai (Chidambaram), which is now preserved for all of us to see and enjoy.



The young artiste—Baby Kamala—attempting to imitate the divine dance of Siva

This great dance of Siva has also its symbolic significance and Tantra-Tattva, a semi-mystic Tantric work describes at length the meaning of this wonderful dance of the Lord of Dancing, which is not possible within the scope of this short article to elucidate.

Equally significant are the dances of Sri Krishna, which are much more popular. Once the dance occasioned the subjugation of the great serpent Kaliya and in the Rasamandala he danced with the Gopis and cowherds of Brindavan. If Siva is the Lord of Dance, Krishna, who became the Avatar of Vishnu, is the Prince of Poets and Sovereign of Song. So His immortal flute enticed the Gopis away from their homes and husbands;

and with the joy of the dance, its simple yet beautiful and enchanting melody and rhythm is so stirring as to move even the most stone-hearted mortal.

Dancing in India is thus a symbolical art. It is of two kinds—one consisting in the simple movements of the body to keep time with the music, and the other the musical theme in itself. Hence it formed part of the rituals to be observed in the earthly abode of the gods, namely the temples. Every Hindu temple has, even to-day, its troupe of dancers—the Devadasis—women dedicated to the service of the gods, even as in heaven the nymphs are supposed to discharge that office. Hence the Devadasis were originally intended for the exclusive service of the God—as it is ordained that *rajopachara* or the paying of royal honour is to be given to the deity installed in temples.



A dance-pose of Bharata Natyam

However this institution of Devadasis has now-a-days fallen into disgrace, thanks to some unsavoury associations entwined with it. It is impossible to deny that there is much in these institutions that would disgust the puritanical conscience. Nor is it only to-day that the evil has attracted public notice. However the association of the prostitute with the arts of music and dancing has been fatal to the latter, so far as it concerns the regular cultivation of them by more leisured and more devoted people. This does not mean that dancing and music are not the finest of the Fine Arts and that the art, as even now practised, have not much in them that is exalting to the utmost.

In the days of the Moguls, the art of dancing became an integral part of the pomp of royalty—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

descending in the scale of respectability—because the patrons perceived only the bodily movements displaying the physical charms, the mortal beauty of the dancer and knew nothing of the inner meaning of her art.



Two of the youthful exponents of Bharata Natyam

The art nevertheless continued to be preserved in a form, which has not even now lost all its ancient grandeur, grace and beauty.

The *Tandava Lakshana*—an elaborate treatise laying down clear-cut rules for dancing poses—describes in minute details the requisites of this art. It narrates in detail for example the thirteen poses of the head, thirty-six kinds of glances, nine different movements of the eye-balls and all the various Nritya Hasta (hand) poses and so on. The minute analytical way by which this art is detailed in this ancient treatise has given this work a unique place in the history of Hindu dancing.

Of the most ancient types still preserved, we have the Bharata Natyam of South India, the Kathakali of Malabar, the Garba of Gujarat, the Manipuri of North Bengal and the Kathak of the United Provinces.

Perhaps twenty years ago, interest in his branch of Fine Art was mainly confined to the professional and hereditary dancers. But a change—a Renaissance set in, in the early years of this century, and the Neo-Bengal movement for the revival of our old Arts on the basis of ancient traditions set the ball rolling. The great Gurudeva—Poet Rabindranath—and his family can be rightly mentioned as the leaders of this new school of regeneration. Abanindranath Tagore founded the new school of painting ; and drama and dance soon followed it under the guidance of Rabindranath. To-day sharing the new creative life in India, dancing has resumed its right place as a vital art and has become a subject of aesthetical study and enjoyment not only among the professional classes but among the cultured and aristocratic members of our society.

In passing, credit must be given to such enlightened men, like Uday Shankar and others, who have devoted their lives to the cultivation and betterment of this art. Thus revived and publicized throughout the world, the art of dance has been given a renewed life and vigour. Among the South Indian exponents, it is worth mentioning the names of such talented artistes, as Srimatis Balasaraswati, Varalakshmi and Bhanumati and others, who have infused by their worthy exposition new blood into this art.

Too long has this enchanted realm of classical dance been hidden from the majority of people. It has now emerged out again and with every generation producing talented exponents and with elderly patrons giving an impetus to this great art, it is for the young generation to preserve this heritage untainted by passing fashions and keep this ancient and glorious art alive and worthy of its divine nature.



Another pair of amateur exponents of Bharata Natyam

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

REVEALING THE PAST

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By H. N. BALVIR

Archaeology, as defined in the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, is "the scientific study of the remains of ancient human activity." Or, as Dr. Gordon Childe puts it :

> "Archaeology attempts to furnish a sort of history of human activity provided always that the actions have produced concrete results and left recognizable material traces."

It is generally believed that such a study has no use for men ; and, it has, no doubt, no immediate use. But to believe that it has no use at all is an erroneous conception. A truly cultured man possesses a broad, rational and liberal outlook, to acquire which he has to study other people's viewpoint on life, and its multifarious activities, as expressed in objects—material or otherwise. And as, 'They know not the present, who only the present know,' such a study shall have to cross the bounds of the present and extend to a wide spatial span. But to understand and appreciate the material relics one should get acquainted with the various sources of stimuli that inspired their authors to create them. Therefore, an attempt should be made to learn about the actual political, social, economic and cultural setting in which those people had their being. And herein comes the Archaeologist. It is his job to discover and reconstruct that setting, and consequently, make an intelligent critical appreciation of those material manifestations of mind possible.

The methods of Archaeology involve work both at the field and in the study. The former broadly comprises exploration, excavation and restoration while to the latter falls the task of interpretation. To get a vivid picture of Archaeological methods we should visualize an archaeologist at his work.

The aim being to discover the course of human civilization, his job is to throw light on some obscure or controversial link in that course. After selecting some such link he proceeds to seek for material. But where to seek for it ?

Here the exploration begins. The epics, the inscriptions, the travellers' accounts and the literature have usually mentioned some prominent places of their times. He, therefore, attempts to find out from these sources a place that existed in the period of his search. When the name of such a place is found its identity in the present world is surmised on the basis of topographical indications afforded by those works. He, then, proceeds to the place and begins exploring the surface as well as making the enquiries from the neighbouring villagers. He studies the one inch map of the locality also to get some enlightenment by the lie of the land. If his labours are rewarded by some village folklore or some antiquity dating back to the period of his research, he feels definite that the place shall provide him with the material.

Sometimes it also happens that during a pleasure walk the explorer unexpectedly comes across some arrestive object lying on the ground or half-buried in it. He tries to find out its date by comparing it to those of its type already known. If the find proves to be of remote origin, it naturally arouses curiosity as to how it happened to come at that place. He, therefore, explores the surface and may find some other indications too. Minor clues have sometimes led to major discoveries.

Moreover, in India most of the excavated sites have not yet been fully treated, and he can find ample room to excavate near those earlier ones with good hopes of enriching the knowledge.

Howsoever he may find the site, but rarely does he get full material for his thesis laid bare on the ground. The ancient sites, when fallen on evil days, were neglected or deserted. They gradually crumbled to debris and were lost to view by the drifting sand which covered them. In such mounds of accumulations lies buried much of the history of the site. Hence, the Archaeologist has to undertake the work of unearthing the hidden material. This is technically called 'Excavation.'

As excavation involves disturbing the soil and debris deposits on and round the buried structure, there is always a danger of disturbing and destroying the historical and archaeological evidence. An error committed once in excavation can never be made good. Therefore, the imperativeness of careful digging can never be over-emphasized. The digging, in the light of the growing experience, has assumed the shape of science in itself, and this so much so that much of the result and value of an excavation depends upon the scientific training of the excavator.

Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the present Director-General of Archaeology, has taken some steps in training the interested scholars in the scientific methods of excavation and its allied subjects through specially conducted courses at some camp-schools.

The archaeologist after getting to the site recruits some local labour as pickmen, shovelmen and basket-carriers. Now, if the site happens to be an extensive one he has to choose his point of attack. Here many indications help him in making a decision, *e.g.*, in summer the grass withers more quickly where the soil lies thin over the buried tops of stonewalls. Thus the luxuriance and scarcity of the field-growth may indicate the direction of the walls of the buried structure.

Now a word about the basic principles of excavation. The principle can aptly be described in the words of Dr. Wheeler who says :

> "The keyword of excavation is 'stratification'—a word which means nothing more or less than the relationship of one deposit to another, in the soil. This means that the history of our civilization is built up not only in our documents nor even in the bricks and mortar of our ancient buildings, but that it is enshrined also in the soil which may on its surface bear no vestige of antiquity."

Thus, Dr. Wheeler means to emphasize that the stratified soil near the walls of the buried structure is more, or at least as important as the walls themselves. The wall may be plain, or at the most show a few recognizable repairs, but its muteness is counteracted by its neighbour, the soil, which speaks volumes for the day-to-day history of the wall. An example shall make it clear. Imagine any walled structure. It had its floor somewhere when it was built. The occupants of the house lived, moved and cooked their food on that floor. With the passing of the time the house decayed, fell or was pulled down for rebuilding. The debris on the floor was left as a filling over which pebbles were laid to form the new floor. Now this floor became the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

habitation level or the 'occupation layer.' Thus many occupation layers are formed, and it is obvious that the relics emerging from these successive hearths, if grouped layer by layer, will form "an index-series illustrating something of the culture of the settlement in correct chronological sequence." It is in this capacity of giving correct sequence of things that the value of stratification lies.

It now becomes clear that throughout his excavation the field archaeologist has to lay great emphasis on first tracing and then following the trend of the layers. He, therefore, digs in several squares of about 3 ft. × 3 ft., technically called 'trial pits'. The so-called trial pits or control pits are dug on each site to enable the supervisor to determine the stratification ahead of the coolies. It is essential that the supervisor should dig these pits deep enough to enable him to be at least a layer ahead of the main digging. On the sides of these small control pits he marks the different layers by either noticing the differences in colour or feeling the softness or hardness of the soil. The pit is then widened, the earth being taken off layer by layer, and the small objects coming out of each layer are kept separately. The process may sound easy, but it is difficult in practice. It requires an intelligent, alert and constant supervision over the labour. As the layers are neither parallel straight lines nor the transition from one to the other always easy to detect, the ordinary pickman cannot be left alone to continue with his work. He is made to dig foot by foot removing very little earth each time—the supervisor constantly checking the course of the layer. The whole work proceeds on a slow pace. It is why even after consuming great labour, much time and money the final output of work on the whole is small in area and volume.

The finds, *i.e.*, the coins, beads, terracottas, metallic objects and potterysherds are kept properly labelled—each label giving the object's actual location, its depth below surface and other relevant information. It should be realized that any find has value just because of the conditions in which it was found. Therefore, before it is removed or the soil near its findspot disturbed, the excavator must make a careful study of the spot. Sometimes, even photograph is taken of the object *in situ*. These antiquities, after the elementary 'field dressing', are sent to the chemical laboratory of the camp to be cleaned, restored and preserved ; after which they go to the proper scholars for being studied.

The archaeologist continues to go deeper and deeper till he reaches the virgin soil—the soil barren of any finds and thus indicating that there never was any habitation below that level. On every evening he also writes a report on day's work recording every worthwhile observation.

Reaching virgin soil in depth, and as wide in area as his funds permitted, he stops. And the task that faces him now is that of interpreting the structure and drawing inferences from it and the finds about the culture of the place. It was for this ultimate task that he had taken so much pains while excavating.

He, therefore, turns to the structures, and then to the finds.

"An ancient building is important not merely as illustrating the history of architecture", says Sir Leonard Woolley, "but as a setting for the lives of men and women. If we do not know in what surroundings people moved, we shall understand very little of their attitude towards life. Moreover, sometimes the picture of the past life that a building gives is extraordinarily vivid. It is the business of the Archaeologist to find out not only what was the building he digs up and what it looked like before it was buried, but also through what vicissitudes it passed for these may reflect the fortunes of a family or even of a nation."

An instinct may tell that a particular building is a temple or a house, but to know more definitely he has to resort to the building's layout. Therefore, the building is surveyed and a plan is drawn. This drawing may look like a labyrinth, formed of meaningless lines and circles, and it is due to the overlapping of the structures of various periods of constructions which he has laid bare in digging up to the virgin soil. To make sense out of this jumbled confusion, alterations and eliminations in the building done in one period have to be separated from those done in another. For this the layers are studied. All the structures having their floor levels in the same layer can reasonably be supposed to be contemporary. Structures of different periods, thus separated, are traced over from the drawn plan. We now get many tracings—each showing the plans of the buildings at one period. The tracing of the bottom level shows the plan of the buildings in inception, the rest showing its later biography.

How is this biography read ? Take an illustration. Suppose a burnt stratum appears and above these ashes there appear new forms of pottery which do not resemble the predecessing types. This implies a sudden foreign contact, which in the light of the burnt stratum—a sign of destruction—points to foreign conquest ; and if the new pottery can be traced the identity of the conquerors can be established.

Though by the study of the layers the fortune of the site can be guessed to a fairly reasonable extent, yet for more knowledge about the culture as also for dating purposes, he has to fall back on the finds.

Finds like the coins or dated inscriptions directly give the date. But others have to be dated first, and then the date of the site inferred.

The study of the finds falls under three headings : (1) Typology, (2) Association and (3) Distribution.

By 'Typology' is meant the shape or type of the find. Suppose a pot with a black slip is found in layer 4 at a site ; and if we know that similar pots were found at a site that belonged to Mauryan times, we can conveniently declare layer 4, with all its contents, to be contemporaneous with Mauryan times.

By 'association' is meant that an object if found with certain other dateable object, the former can also be dated with the help of the latter. For example, some Indian pottery is found with potsherds of Roman pottery at seacoast in South India. As a chronological history of Roman pottery has been prepared, the date of these Roman potsherds can be known, and the same date can be assigned to the Indian pottery found in association with those pieces of Roman pottery.

By 'distribution' is meant that if a certain variety of bead, found at Taxila, is found at some other place also, some sort of commercial relation among all such places can be supposed to exist. This may have been due to their belonging to the same empire. The extent of the empire thus known, by marking all those places on a map, may reveal the name and date of the empire

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The finds can thus be dated, and once dated, they give the date of the site or the layer from which they came out.

When a dated sequence of the site is known, a further study of the finds can be made to reveal more about the culture of the place.

Digging being over, the excavator's party begins to pack up, and then arises a problem as to what is to be done with the excavated area that he would be leaving behind. Modern tendency is in favour of refilling it with earth. This has three main arguments in its favour. First, the conservation of the excavations shall entail big recurring expenditure, while on refilling them the ground can be cultivated and be a source of income. Secondly, conservation is merely a dilatory process. Whatsoever care be given in conserving, it can only retard the process of tear, wear and decay ; it cannot prevent it altogether. But, buried in the womb of earth, which kept it safe for hundreds of years, the site may remain safe for thousands of years again. Thirdly, as all that was worth knowing has been recorded, drawn and photographed, burying the excavations again shall mean no loss of knowledge to the world. However, this is true of big city sites, where there is no use of keeping the whole area open for casual visitors. But where some important structure comes out, it is naturally kept uncovered.

In India, there is, in the words of Lord Curzon, "the most glorious galaxy of such monuments in the world. These monuments have to be saved as national heritage looms from the ravages of nature and the ignorance of human beings. While the 'Act of Preservation of Ancient Monuments' looks after the latter, the conservation branch of the Archaeological Survey looks after their proper repair and upkeep.

The conservation includes not only preservation of a site or an antiquity, but sometimes its restoration also. The whole of the thing has to be dismantled and put together again to gain its former appearance.

Analogous to conservation of building is the conservation of small antiquities, which is mainly the job of the Curators and the Archaeological Chemist.

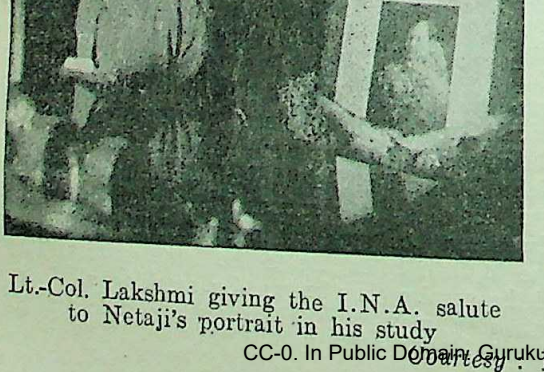
To conclude, the Archaeologist takes all this labour to tell us what our cultural ancestors did, to trace the progress of civilization in the country and to define the vicissitudes in the life of the nation. But much depends upon the intelligent co-operation of government and the public. Archaeological exploration is not very expensive work, and an investment in it by great capitalists of the country would show that they have enlightened views and an appreciation of aesthetic and historical knowledge.

———:O:———

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. She is the first lady to get this unique distinction. Dr. Chaudhuri had a brilliant career in the Calcutta University, having stood second in the I.A., and First Class First both in B.A. Hons. and M.A. Examinations in Philosophy. She then went to Oxford and got a Doctorate in Philosophy with credit. She is the author of several works on Indian Philosophy and Sufism, and three of her works on the Nimbarka School of Vedanta have been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. She is the Joint Secretary of *Pracyavani*, Institute of Oriental Learning and Joint Editor of the English Research Journal of the Institute. She is a grand-daughter of late Ananda Mohan Bose, and wife of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri of Presidency College, Calcutta.

———:O:———



Lt.-Col. Lakshmi giving the I.N.A. salute to Netaji's portrait in his study



Lt.-Col. Lakshmi, Haridas Mitra's daughter, Lina and wife, Anita snapped in Netaji's house

Courtesy : Ranjit Kumar Bose

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS-MINDEDNESS' AMONG THE HINDUS

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

The normal attendance at the Ganga Sagar Mela held at the confluence of the sacred Bhagirathi or the Ganges with the Bay of Bengal in the middle of January is of the order of 80,000 per annum. On account of restrictions on travelling and closing of certain routes during the Japanese war, the volume of pilgrimage was reduced very much. This year it is estimated—though not authoritatively—that the number of pilgrims would be about *twice* the normal.

Many of the pilgrims generally pass through the rail-head at Diamond Harbour and catch boats or steamers there. This year on account of accidents—collapse of jetties once in the forenoon and again in the afternoon—a considerable number of pilgrims died and many more were injured. The published death-roll has mounted to 184. The details as to sex and age of most of them, and as to civil condition of some have been published in the daily *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta. Taking this to be a fair sample, truly chosen at random by the fact of mere accidental deaths, and assuming the proportion of victims to the total number of pilgrims of the group or that sex or that category to be the same, we may draw certain conclusions. Summarising the information as published in the *Hindusthan Standard* of the 17th, 18th and 20th January, 1946, we get the following table :

TABLE I
(Number of Dead)

Males—		
(of all civil conditions)		67
Females—		
Unmarried	1	
Married	22	
Widowed	13	
Unclassified	81	117

The dead, mostly non-Bengalees, included a fair sprinkling of Bengalees and hailed from many provinces and States of India. They may safely be regarded as a fair sample of Hindu India. So we would not be very wrong if we prefer the all-India figures to the purely Bengal figures as to the proportion of sex and age-distribution.

The proportion of females to males among the Hindus at the different censuses were as follows :

Proportion of females per 1,000 males

1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
962	969	963	954	953	944

The proportion is steadily decreasing since 1901 ; and the rate of decrease has been greater during the last decade. Assuming the rate of decrease since 1941 to have been the same as that in the decade 1931-1941, the proportion would come down to *940* in 1946.

The relative religious-mindedness of the Hindu males to that of the Hindu females is, therefore = $\frac{67}{1000} \div \frac{117}{940}$ or 1 : 1·9. Or in other words Hindu females are nearly *twice* as much religious-minded as Hindu males. This tallies with our social experience and is as is to be expected. Our females are more given to *pujahs*, observances of *bratas* and pilgrimages than our males ; they are more orthodox by instinct. This is more especially true of our widows.

Now, this religious-mindedness varies with age. That is our social experience, and is as is to be expected psychologically. The age-distribution of the victims of accidents at Diamond Harbour is shown in Table II below. The ages are mere eye-estimates ; and often given in round numbers. They are not the statements of the victims or of their relations ; so their accuracy falls below the census standard.

TABLE II
Age Distribution of the Dead

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	2	2	1	8
Females—				
Unmarried	..	1	..	..
Married	..	1	1	..
Widows	..	..	1	1
Unclassified	2	1	1	8
Total females	2	3	3	9
Grand total	4	5	4	17

TABLE II—*(Contd.)*

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	12	10	17	11
Females—				
Unmarried	..	..	..	..
Married	8	8	3	..
Widows	1	5	5	..
Unclassified	18	28	16	3
Total females	27	41	24	3
Grand total	39	51	41	14

Assuming, however, that they are comparable with the census statistics, we get certain highly revealing relations.

The age-distribution of the Hindus, male and female, was in 1931 as shown below. They are all-India figures. We are using the 1931 figures as they are the latest available. They are :

TABLE III
Proportion at different age-groups per 1,000

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	274	208	176	145
Females	281	202	185	139

Table III—*(Contd.)*

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	100	58	27	12
Females	93	59	29	12

If the religious-mindedness is the same for all ages, then among the pilgrims we would expect to find the same proportions ; and as by our hypothesis the victims have been chosen at random, the age-distribution of the victims would also be the same. But the facts are otherwise. That is because among the pilgrims the proportions at different ages are not what they are among the general Hindu population, but according to, what we may as a first approximation suppose to be due to different religious-mindedness. The religious-mindedness at different ages may, therefore, be estimated from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

number of victims of a particular age-group to the common experience; and this is reflected in the higher proportion to population of that age-group; and it is found to be as follows:

TABLE IV

Religious-mindedness at different ages

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	2/274	2/208	1/176	8/145
Females	4/281	5/202	4/185	17/139

Table IV—(*Contd.*)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	12/100	10/58	17/27	11/12
Females	39/93	51/59	41/29	14/12

From the figures in Table IV, we get Table V.

TABLE V

Religious-mindedness at different ages × 10,000

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	73	96	57	552
Females	142	247	215	1,295

Table V—(*Contd.*)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	1,200	1,724	6,296	9,166
Females	4,192	8,644	14,137	11,666

It will be noticed that religious-mindedness increases with age and that it increases by leaps and bounds at older ages, both in the case of males and females. One word of caution is necessary; the figures for ages earlier than 30 may be either truly real or merely accidental as they are based on very few observations. Another curious fact is that in the case of males there is a continuous increase in religious-mindedness with age; but in the case of females, there is a drop—a drop of quite 17 per cent, at ages '70 and over' from the figure for 'ages 60-70.' Is it accidental or due to some fundamental basic social cause or causes? We shall attempt an answer later on.

From the figures given in Table V, we can calculate the relative religious-mindedness of the males and females at different ages. Taking that of the males at each age-group to be unity, the religious-mindedness of the females at different ages is found to be as follows:

TABLE VI

Relative religious-mindedness of Females at different ages

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
	1·94	2·57	3·77	2·35

Table VI—(*Contd.*)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
	3·49	5·01	2·25	1·27

The religious-mindedness of the females is always greater than that of males, reaching a relative maximum at 'ages 50-60'. It may be urged that religious-mindedness at early ages, as shown by our method of calculating it, is not very real, as the children have no great volition in the matter and they may have merely accompanied their parents and grand-parents. This is particularly and specially true of infants at breast. But this charge is only partially true. We must not forget the social fact that when an elderly member of the family proposes to go on a pilgrimage, children partly out of affection for that member, partly out of an inmate love of change and adventure, and partly out of what is 'true' religious-mindedness—a resultant and product of the traditions and culture of the family and its environments, accompany him. Even there our girls are more affectionate and more religious-minded. This is our religious-mindedness due to age. We are not, however, relative religious-mindedness at early ages in Table VI.

While males of all civil conditions go on pilgrimages, independent of their particular civil condition; our females widows mostly attend pilgrimages partly out of a sense of religious duty and partly out of the fact that they have less social obligation or obligations to the family. It is inculcated in our religious books that widows should spend their time in religious exercises. Hence among the pilgrims we generally find a large proportion to be widows. The result is that the relative religious-mindedness of the females is partly dependent on the number of widows at each age-group. The number of Hindu widows per 1,000 females of all civil conditions at each age-group as in 1931 is shown in the following Table VII.

TABLE VII

(No. of widows per 1,000 females of all civil conditions)

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
	·92	4·7	16·1	31·8

Table VII—(*Contd.*)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
	41·9	37·9	23·8	10·4

The number of widows reaches a peak at ages 40-50; while the relative religious-mindedness reaches the peak at ages 50-60. This does not seem to us to be purely accidental, but connected in some way which we are unable to find out at present.

The proportion of widows to total number of females of a particular age-group increases with age. The relevant facts are tabulated in Table VIII below:

TABLE VIII

Per 1,000 females of all ages and all civil conditions

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Total Females of that age-group	281	202	185	139
Widows	0·92	4·7	16·1	31·8
Percentage	0·3	2·3	2·3	22·9

Table VIII—(*Contd.*)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Total Females of that age-group	93	59	29	12
Widows	41·9	37·9	23·8	10·4
	45·1	64·2	82·1	86·6

Religious-mindedness is expected to increase with age, both among the males and the females. This is specially the case with widows. So for ages where the proportion of widows is very large, ordinarily we would expect 'religious-mindedness' to increase *absolutely*, not relatively to males. Why then the religious-mindednes of females has decreased from 14,137 for 'ages 60-70' to 11,666 for 'ages 70 and over' [See Table V]? To us the economic dependence of Hindu widows seems to be partly a cause. At the age, when the grand-mother is more dependent upon her grandsons than upon her sons, she is not expected to go on pilgrimages for economic reasons in spite of her greater

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

certain; and we suggest this explanation as a probable cause.

In the above analysis we have used our Bengal experience of social phenomena to all-India statistics: this may be a source of error. But as Hinduism is fundamentally the same all over India the magnitude of the error due to this cause is likely to be quite small.

———:O:———

THE POETRY OF EZRA POUND

By B. MIRANDA, M.A.

There is perhaps no better index to the state of English poetry in the first decade of the present century than that Alfred Austin was the Poet Laureate. Bridges and Swinburne, Kipling and Yeats were also there, but they enjoyed an uncertain measure of popularity. Poetry seemed an effete, far-off thing, not a living force permeating the soul of the nation. A faint ray of hope penetrated the thickening gloom when the Georgian Revolt announced itself. There was a brief re-awakening. A succession of new stars began twinkling in the poetic firmament of England, but, alas, the promise was more than the fulfilment. The Georgians failed to reach the masses, for they still clung to a tradition 'which had become with time as rigid and as tyrannous as Mr. Barrett of Wimpole Street.'

The remedy against this hopelessness came from across the Atlantic. Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot felt the need for revitalising poetry in order to realize its potentialities as an instrument capable of expressing with truth and emotion the seething turmoil which characterises twentieth century life. A new technique had to be evolved and, even if the poetic experience was fundamentally as old as poetry itself (for no poetry is entirely new), the old wine had to be put in new bottles to preserve its flavour. Ezra Pound had the courage —though one dare not say of genius—to give the lead. With a flair for the niceties of language and a keenly perceptive ear, he studied the technique of verse and sensed intuitively rather than by conscious effort, the wonderful possibilities of new rhythms. "I fly on the wings of an unknown chord," he cries out. For him a poem was a song, a symphony not less complicated than an orchestral piece. "Don't imagine," he warns us, "that the art of poetry is any simpler than the art of music." It is this gift for the subtleties and complexities of metrical music that makes Pound one of the major innovators of our poetry. "He has done most of living men," says Carl Sandburg, "to incite new impulse in poetry." Surely, he is one of the leaders of "new" poetry.

I

Ezra Pound was born in Idaho, U.S.A., in 1885. Having graduated in the University of Pennsylvania, he travelled to Europe with a view to write a thesis on Lope de Vega. However, his interest in the Provencal and Italian poetry led him away from his purpose. As he widened his acquaintance with the Troubadours, he became aware of the inertness of contemporary English poetry. What was this "hogwash" compared to the rich accents of the medieval singers? Pound felt that he would do something about it and in 1908 he left America to settle in Europe for good.

After a brief stay in Italy, where he published his first collection *A Lume Spento,* Pound went to London, "seeking such as love Beauty somewhat after my fashion." He met Yeats, who influenced much of his early poetry. Pound was also influenced by Browning, Swinburne and the poets of the Nineties. After all, no poet can be absolutely original. The so-called original poet only works on the achievements of his predecessors and develops their technique. Pound's earlier poems, indeed all his poems are strongly reminiscent but they belong to him no less than Shakespeare's plays belong to Shakespeare. For reminiscence is "a law, not a privilege," and we may add quoting Mr. Charles Williams, "It is a sign of what may turn out to be a growing tendency on the part of English verse. So rich is now our inheritance of associations in literature that it is beginning to be difficult to avoid them."

In 1909 Pound published *Personae* and *Exultations,* the latter containing the *Sestina* : *Altaforte,* a remarkable tour de force, revealing Pound's mastery of the Provencal art. Both these volumes were well received. Pound could now adventure further. He had perfected his acquaintance with the Troubadours. He had learnt the art of the Italian poets, notably Dante and Guido Cavalcanti. He now met T. E. Hulme and joined the Imagist movement. The Imagists sought to replace the out-worn conventional forms by pure *vers-libre* "to which an image is the resonant heart of an exquisite moment." Pound was still very full of his Provencal masters and according to F. S. Flint, added nothing to the Imagist movement. Yet, on the death of Hulme, he assumed the leadership of the Imagist school and even published *Des Imagistes* : *An Anthology* in 1914. But Pound's affiliation with the Imagists did not last long. Though later he styled himself a Vorticist, his reputation had been made and he could now command an audience independently. His *Canzoni* were eagerly welcomed. He next published the *Ripostes,* an attempt at Symbolism in the French style. He translated Guido Cavalcanti and the Japanese Proh plays. What fresh fields and pastures new were there to be tried in the technique of verse?

Pound became literary executor of the late Ernest Fenollosa and began publishing translations from the Chinese. He was evidently not new to translation. But the Chinese poems raised a veritable hornets' nest about his ears. He was denounced as an ignorant fraud, a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

literary poseur, a base charlatan. Similar sarcasms were poured upon his translations from the Provencal and upon his *Homage of Sextus Propertius* . . . and an American critic trenchantly remarked, "It is time Ezra were put in the pound." It is not to excuse Pound to say that "Chinese (or for that matter, Provencal) poetry as we know it to-day is a creation of Mr. Pound." Each translation is a *persona* of Ezra Pound; and of the *Homage of Sextus Propertius* Eliot adds: "It is a criticism of Propertius . . . it is also an interesting study in versification and a necessary prolegomena to the Cantos."

We now come to two poems which have brought on Pound judgments of praise as well as of another kind. They are *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* and *Cantos*. *Mauberley*, published in 1918, is a companion to Eliot's Prufrock poem and, like it, moans the collapse of civilization. It is indubitably a great poem. It is a genuine piece of self-revelation and an avowal of purpose. In the words of Eliot, "It is also a document of an epoch; it is genuine tragedy and comedy; and it is in the best sense of Arnold's worn phrase, a criticism of life." The technique is fashioned after the French Symbolist manner; it is the *ultima thule* of compression. A word, a cliche is thrown to evoke associations ever widening outwards, 'like ripples from a stone dropped in clear water.' The poem is divided into self-contained sections, but each contributing towards the general effect of the whole. The criticism of society is harsh, almost Juvenalian at times.

In our age, says Pound,
Christ follows Dionysus,
Phallic and ambrosial
Made way for macerations;
Caliban casts out Ariel.

Civilisation is

A heap of broken statues,
An old bitch gone in the teeth.

Mauberley is within our grasp. But what shall we say of the *Cantos*? Seventy-one of them have been published so far and they form part of a monumental whole, at least Pound thinks so. Eliot, who at any rate pretends to understand Pound, calls them "a mine for juvenile poets to quarry." But what Ariadne's thread will help the uninstructed tyro through this immense labyrinth of words? There are erudite historical references and sly contemporary allusions; and it is all a timeless, spaceless pattern, a mighty maze, though perhaps not without a plan. This plan was explained by Pound to Yeats. Let us hear it from Yeats himself: "It will, when the hundredth Canto is finished, display a structure like that of a Bach-like figure. There will be no plot, no logic of discourse, but two themes, the descent into Hades from Homer, a metamorphosis from Ovid, and mixed with these medieval or modern historical characters." So far the Cantos are beyond our ken, but perhaps the mystery will be revealed to us 'when the hundredth Canto is finished.' Yet we shall have to approach the *Cantos* with an Encyclopaedia of Universal Knowledge under our armpit, and who knows but even then we may come back no wiser?

II

It is difficult to assess the poetic merits of Ezra Pound, but he is a challenging poet nevertheless. At times, especially in his shorter poems, Pound reveals true poetic sensibility, lyric emotion and a capacity to fuse form and content into one inseparable whole. Take, for instance, this fine piece from the *Personae*:

I stood still and was a tree amid the tree,
Knowing the truth of things unseen before;
Of Daphne and the laurel bow
And that god-feasting couple old
That grew elm-oak amid the world . . .

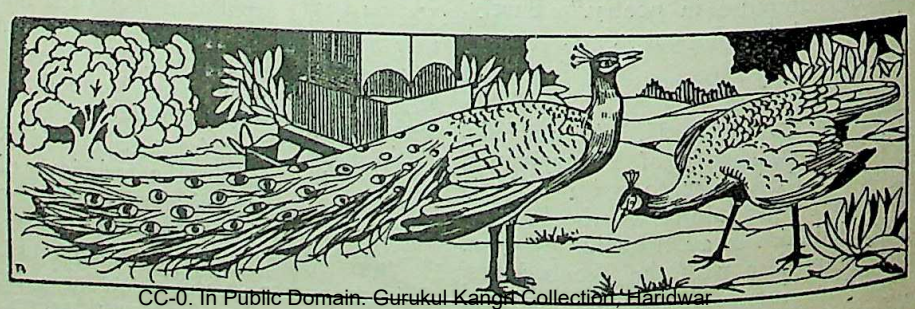
But what about this one?

Gladstone was still respected,
When John Ruskin produced
'King's Treasuries'; Swinburne
And Rossetti still abused.

This is little better than mere prose cut into verse. But worse still is all the ununderstandable gibberish of the *Cantos*. When all is said, Pound is an unequal poet. It seems evident that he has little to say, and is merely trying to be very loud and very obtrusive. Yet, he cannot be ignored.

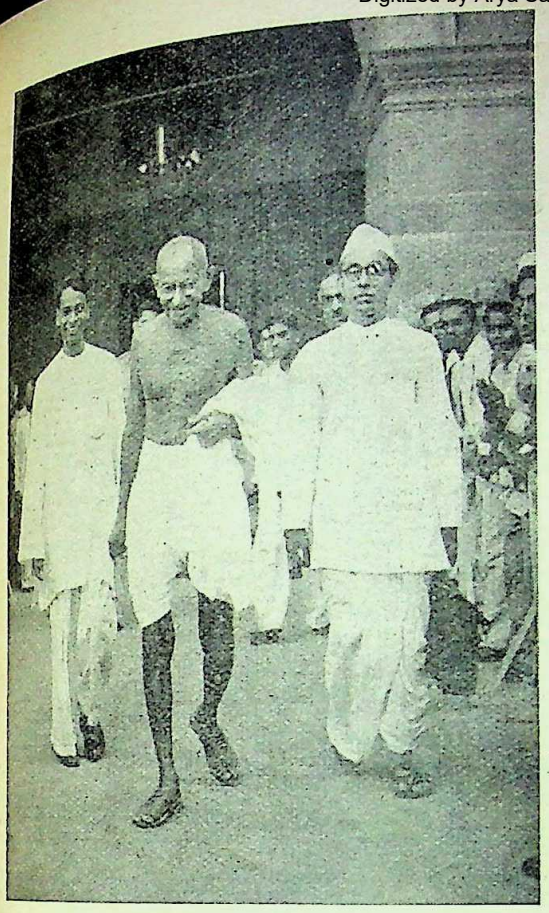
Eliot himself calls him 'il miglior fabbro'. It is as a technician of verse rather than as a poet that Pound ought to be judged.

Pound's poetic technique follows a definite line of development and the advance is towards greater compression, closer approximation of form and content, deeper exploration of the phonetic and semantic effects of language, and subtler rhythms. But unfortunately, as in his later poems, Pound has tried to wade beyond his depths. Perhaps, as Eliot says, he means too much to mean anything. In any case, he remains baffling and obscure. Though Pound started writing poetry with a view to bring it nearer to the masses, he has ended by taking it farther away than it had ever gone before. In his later practice he has shown a careless disregard for the public and written only to please himself. Yet let us not forget the debt we owe him for re-vitalising poetry and "for stirring up and leading forth other minds."

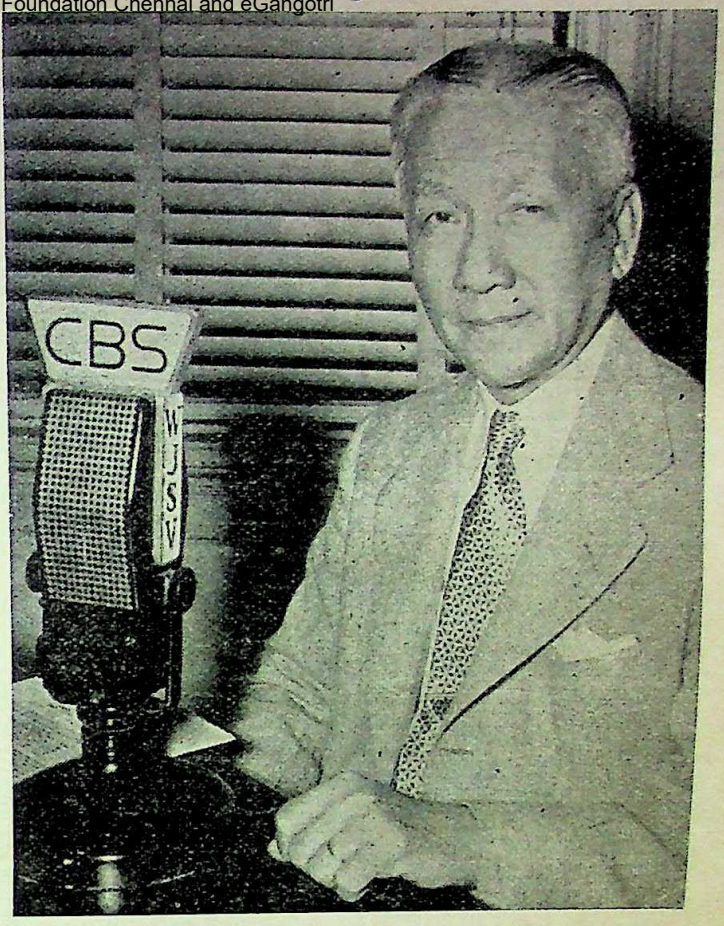


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

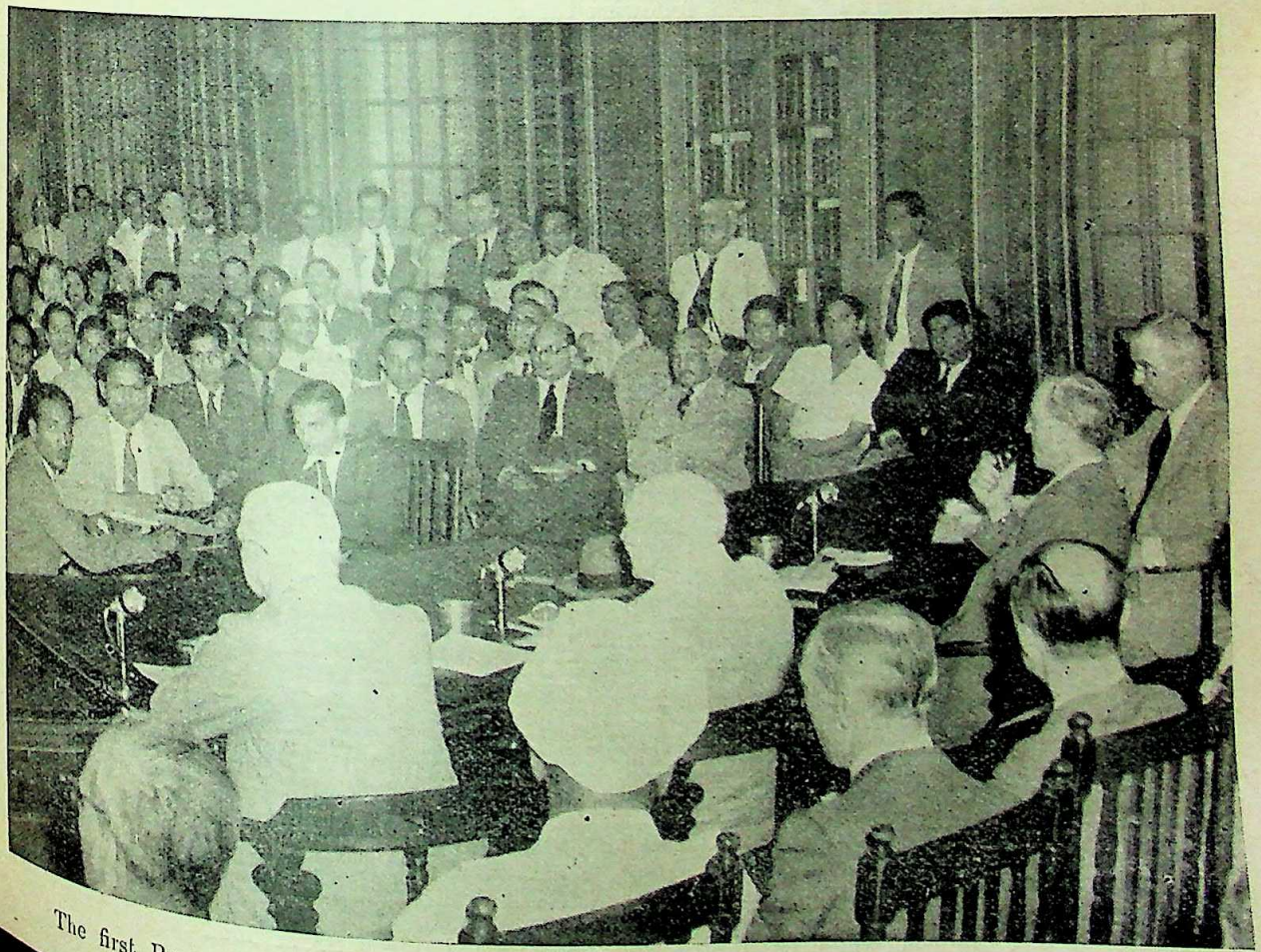
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Mahatma Gandhi leaving the Viceroy's House after he had met the Cabinet Mission



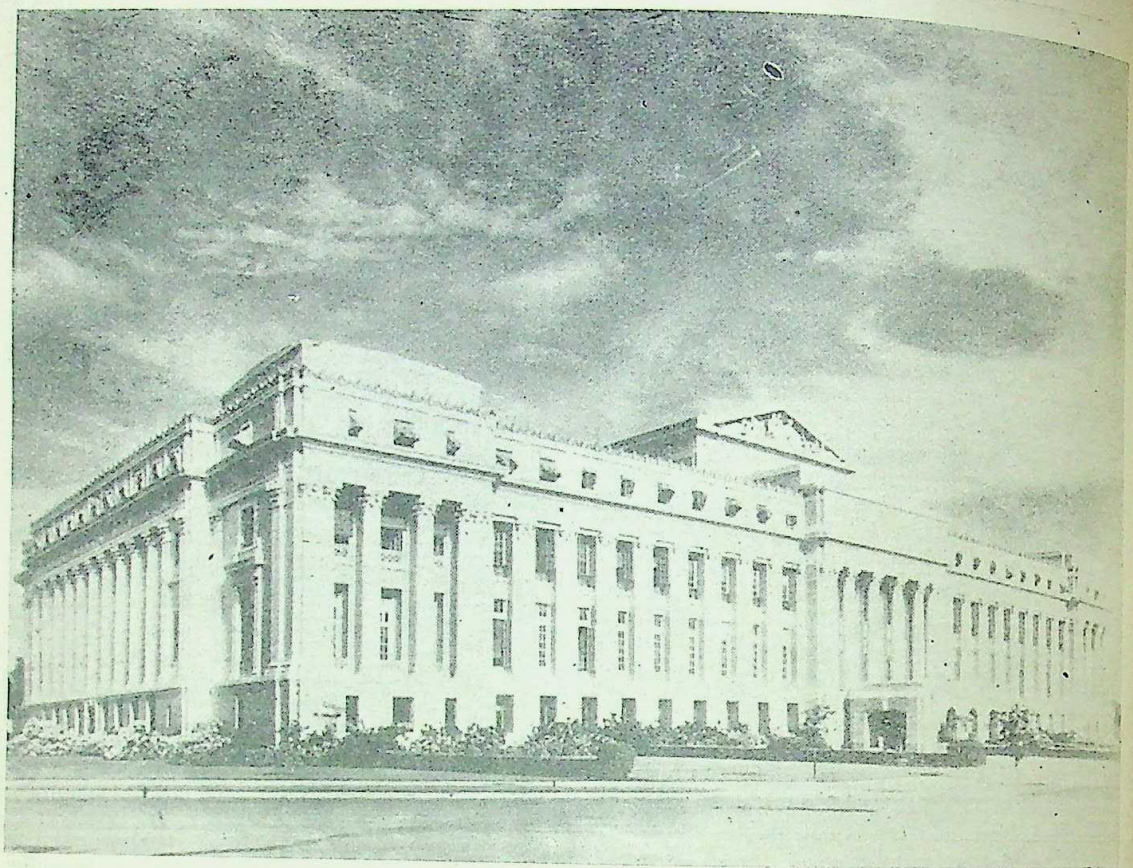
Sergio Osmena, a candidate for the Presidency in the coming elections of the Philippine Commonwealth



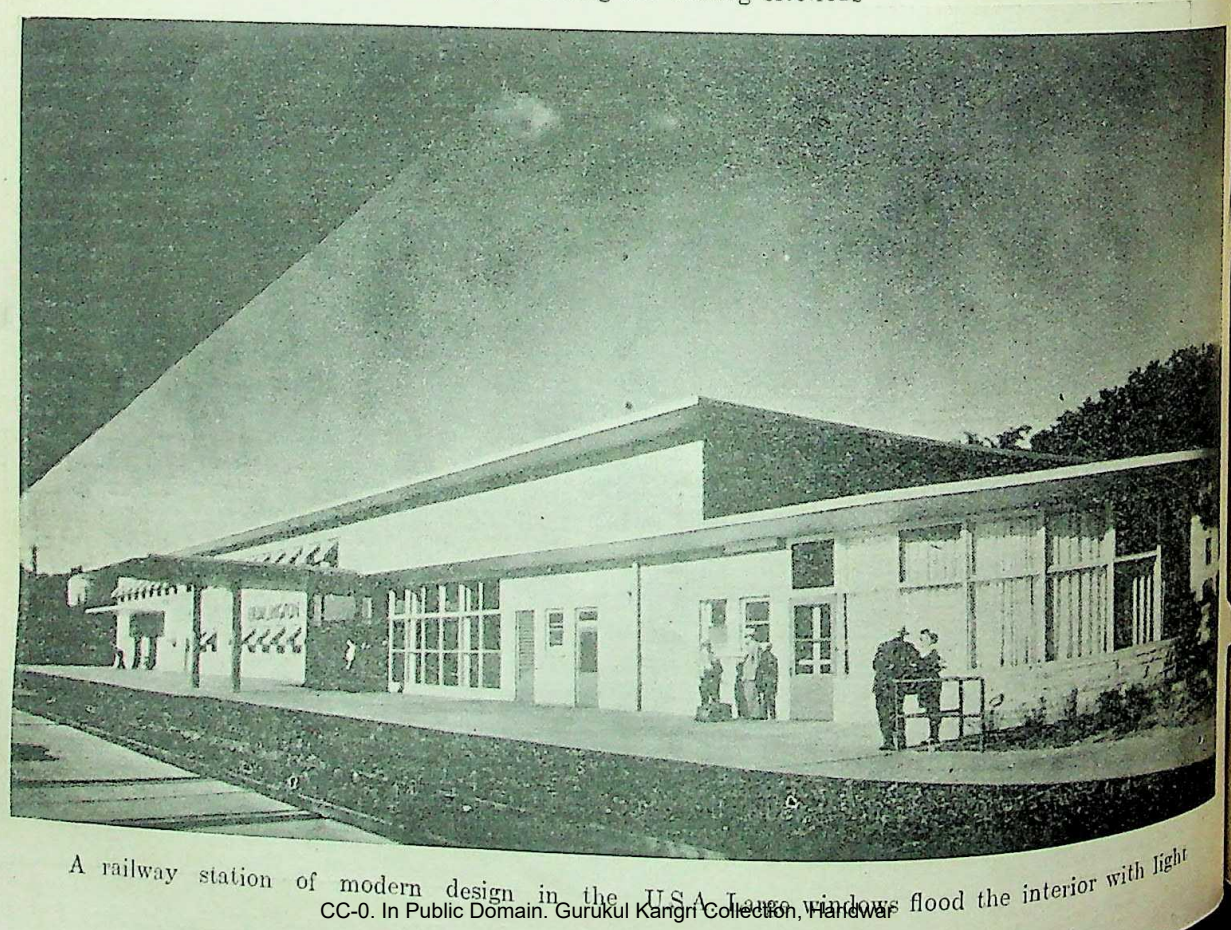
The first Press Conference held by the members of the British Cabinet Mission at New Delhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The legislative building at Manila. The Philippines will achieve complete independence on July 4, 1946, following the coming elections



A railway station of modern design in the U.S.A. Large windows flood the interior with light

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THIRD PARTITION OF BENGAL ?

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Like Poland, Bengal today faces the possibility of a third partition. The first partition was made in 1905, The second one took place in 1911 when, at the time of unsettling the settled fact, four of the most resource-ful districts of Bengal were cut out and joined to the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa. This second partition was effected, like the first one, in flagrant disregard of popular opinion and the accepted principles laid down by the Government themselves, but as the leaders were exhausted and as the full significance of this partition was not well understood at the time there was no active opposition to it. Today we are facing the danger of a third partition with an equally thoughtless indifference.

Official View on Partition

Lovat Fraser has at length explained the official view of the first partition. He says that "the chief reason unquestionably was that the task of the Government was beyond its strength." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had to administer, in 1903, an area of 189,000 sq. miles with a population of 78 millions. No other provincial administrator in India had so huge a charge and it was complicated by the obstacles to rapid travel. In a Note prepared by Sir Andrew Fraser in February, 1901, the need of a redrawing of provincial boundaries was suggested. In May, 1902, the famous "Round and Round Note" of Lord Curzon was written which was secured and published by the *Statesman* for which the newspaper was punished by withholding from it the courtesy of the usual supply of official informations. For several months the Secretaries wrote about the proposals, built upon them, and evolved fresh schemes for the rearrangement of the Eastern provinces of Bengal and Assam. Curzon himself wrote :

"Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries have been calmly carving about and rearranging provinces on paper, colouring and recolouring the map of India according to geographical, historical, political, or linguistic considerations—in the manner that appealed most to their fancy."

Sir John Hewett suggested the transfer of the port of Chittagong to Assam. Early in 1903 Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lt.-Governor of Bengal, followed up Sir John Hewett's recommendation by propounding a much larger scheme, which was the real genesis of the partition of Bengal. The main arguments advanced were that the administration of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh was excessively defective, and that Eastern Bengal needed more immediate personal contact with the higher authorities. It was, therefore, proposed to attach these districts as well as the division of Chittagong, to Assam. Lord Curzon for the first time recorded his general approval of this scheme about the middle of 1903. At the end of the year the proposals were made public. The chief reason assigned were that the Bengal Government needed relief from its excessive burdens ; that the outlying districts of the province required more efficient administration ; and that Assam should have an outlet to the sea which it would find at Chittagong.

In April, 1904, Curzon went to England to report to the British authorities. As a result of the discussions there, the project continued to grow. After his return in February, 1905, the Government of India sent their final proposals to Mr. Brodrick (later Lord Middleton), the Secretary of State for India. They were sanctioned by him on June 9, and the Resolution of the Government of India promulgating the decision was dated July 19.

The new province included, in addition to Assam, Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions. It had an area of 106,540 miles and a population of 31 millions of whom 18 millions were Muslims and 12 millions Hindus. About the Muslim of Eastern Bengal, Lovat Fraser says :

"They are not of alien race but are mostly the descendants of large batches of forced converts made by the early Mahommedan invaders."

Old Bengal received the addition of the district of Sambalpur and certain Oriya states on its western frontier and was left with 141,580 sq. miles of territory with a population of 54 millions of whom 42 millions were Hindu and 9 million Muslims. Lord Curzon had suggested the name of North-Eastern Province for the new one but the Secretary of State named it Eastern Bengal and Assam.

There were several causes which led to the organisation of the agitation against the partition. According to Sir Andrew Fraser, the first and most immediate was that it seemed likely to strike at two vested interests. One was the Calcutta Bar. The Bar saw that the creation of a new province must inevitably lead to the creation of a separate High Court ; all the wealth and weight of the Calcutta Bar were therefore thrown in the fight against the scheme. The other was the Calcutta newspapers. They also, according to Fraser, feared that the regeneration of Dacca as the capital of the new province would bring about the foundation of fresh newspapers and that the people of Eastern Bengal would then turn to Dacca for their news rather than to Calcutta. Lovat Fraser adds two more reasons, *viz.*, that passion against Curzon had been roused among educated Bengali Hindus for his Universities Act and that there was the undoubted growth of a unity of sentiment among Bengali Hindus.

People's Protest

Although administrative reasons were put forward to explain the partition, a desire to erect a bulwark of fanatic and reactionary Muslim bloc behind the partition as a set-off against Hindu progress was discernible. Nawab Salimullah of Dacca was induced to establish the Muslim League and he received financial aid from the Government for this purpose. This and subsequent measures leave little room for doubt as to the real intents of the partition.

The partition was given effect to on October 16, 1905. People's protest and opposition was universal and unprecedented in the history of this country. From December, 1903 to October, 1905 more than 2,000 public meetings attended by 500 to 50,000 people were held in different parts of East and West Bengal to protest

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

against the partition. The resolutions unanimously adopted at these meetings were regularly submitted to the Government of India as well as to the Secretary of State. The people of United Bengal met five times at the Calcutta Town Hall to give expression to their feeling. Many Muslims also joined in the protest. Memorials were submitted by the Indian Association, British Indian Association, the Bengal Landholders' Association, as well as by nearly all the important and recognised public bodies and Associations in either part of the province. In July, 1905, a mammoth representation over the signatures of about 70,000 people of all classes and communities was submitted to the Secretary of State from East Bengal. The Indian press, both in Bengal as well as in other provinces, were unanimous in their condemnation of the partition and even a large section of the Anglo-Indian press including the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* joined in the protest. The *Statesman* gave out the real truth when it wrote :

> "The Government is well aware that its scheme is a direct attack upon the *solidarity and the growing political strength of the Bengali race.*"

The Indian National Congress repeated its protest year after year. The revolutionary movement took deep root in Bengal. The intensity of the agitation was such that Lord Curzon himself was unable to defend the measure in the House of Lords and was forced to go so far as to practically disavow its authorship and throw the responsibility upon Lord Middleton and Lord Ampthill. Muslims of West Bengal were throughout opposed to it. During the earlier stages of the agitations, the Muslims of Eastern Bengal were also opposed to it. Khwaja Attikullah, brother of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, speaking at the Congress of 1906, said :

> "I may tell you at once that it is not correct that the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal are in favour of the partition of Bengal. The real fact is that it is only a few leading Mahomedans, who, for their own purposes, supported the measure."

The Central Mahommedan Association, in a representation to the government submitted through its Secretary, Nawab Syed Ameer Hossain, C.I.E., observed:

> "My Committee are of opinion that no portion of the Bengali-speaking race should be spared from Bengal without the clearest necessity for such separation, and they think in the present case, such necessity does not exist."

While many Mussalmans joined in the protest, there were very few demonstrations in support of it. Fanning of the Muslim fanaticism coupled with cash and political bribes gradually slowed down the intensity of Muslim opposition to the partition and ultimately succeeded in veering many of them round in support of the scheme.

Within eighteen months of the partition, riots broke out at Jamalpur (Mymensingh), Rajshahi and elsewhere in the new province. In all these cases, the instigators and the rioters were Muslims. There were no riots in Western Bengal and no oppression on the Muslims where they were in a hopeless minority. The East Bengal riots had been preceded by the publication of a highly inflammatory pamphlet, known as the *Red Pamphlet* and by the preachings of fanatical Moulavis. Strange expectations had been roused in the minds of the Mahommedan mob. A Muslim Magistrate, trying some of the Muslim rioters observed in his judgment that evidence showed that

> "The accused had read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus."

Mr. Barnville, I.C.S., S.D.O., of Jamalpur, Mymensingh, in his report on communal riots wrote that

> "Some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drums that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus."

The *Red Pamphlet* declared that

> "Among the causes of degradation of Mahomedans is their association with the Hindus" and that "among the means to be adopted for the amelioration of the Mahommedans is the boycotting of the Hindus."

Such languages and such sentiments had never been heard of before the days of the partition.

Readjustment of the Boundary

Under the auspices of the Indian Association, a largely and influentially signed memorial was sent to the Viceroy in June, 1911, which suggested modification of the partition and reconstitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. In the previous year Bhupendranath Basu had visited England as a delegate of the Indian Association to confer with the Secretary of State for India and members of the Parliament on the same question. He raised the problem afresh in the Imperial Council, but it fell on deaf ears. Samsul-Huda from Eastern Bengal and Mazhar-ul-Huq from Bihar were ranged against him and the British politicians took their shelter behind these two reactionary Muslims.

The Memorial referred to above stated that if a partition of the province were needed to relieve the administration of Bengal, the most appropriate division should be as follows :

Lt.-Governorship of Bengal

	Area	Population
1. Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions	76,000	41,250,000
2. Two Districts of Chota Nagpur, *viz.*, Manbhum and Hazaribagh	11,000	2,500,000
3. Assam	56,000	5,600,000
	143,000	49,350,000
4. Cooch Behar, Sikkim and Hill Tipperah	8,000	800,000
	151,000	50,150,000

Lt.-Governorship of Bihar and Orissa

	Area	Population
1. Patna, Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions	44,000	24,000,000
2. Three Districts of Chota Nagpur, *viz.*, Palamau, Ranchi and Singhbhum	15,000 13,000	2,500,000 5,000,000
3. Orissa and Sambalpur		3,500,000
4. Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa	30,000	35,000,000
	102,000	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On August 25, 1911, Government of India, in a despatch, laid down the principle that the Bengali-speaking Divisions should form one province and that "it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal a separate administration." The principle of linguistic affinity as a basis of territorial re-distribution was thus clearly laid down. In the light of this despatch, Surendranath Banerjea claimed, on behalf of the Indian Association, that the Presidency of Bengal should be reconstituted with its five original Divisions together with (*i*) the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara, (*ii*) the district of Manbhum, (*iii*) the Santal Parganas, (*iv*) the Pargana of Dhalbhum in the district of Singhbhum, and (*v*) the portion of the district of Purnea to the east of the Mahananda river.

In the Congress of 1911, the principle was laid down that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lt.-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the Bihari leaders themselves publicly suggested that the portions of Purnea and Maldah to the east of the Mahananda, which is the linguistic and ethnic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santal Parganahs, where the prevailing language is Bengali, should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Parganah Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district were Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal—the rest of the division which was Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar.

The Second Partition

The pledge of a just and fair distribution of territories between the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Assam was not redeemed and the words of the despatch of August 25, 1911 were not honoured. After the declaration unsettling the settled fact, readjustment of boundaries was done in an arbitrary fashion. Bengal was subjected to the second partition by which Purnea, Santal Pargana, Manbhum and Dhalbhum were cut out and joined to Bihar. The two Bengals were united but the seed of communalism was sought to be firmly planted in Eastern Bengal by the establishment of a separate University at Dacca. The proposal for the establishment of the Dacca University was made public in a way which gave rise to suspicion in the minds of the people. Provision of separate representation of Muslims on the Convocation and Council of the new university clearly indicated the real intention of the measure.

This second partition was cleverly effected with the object of weakening the economic resources of Bengal. The successful method of agitation followed by the Bengali Hindus possibly led the British to think that if a solid and united Bengal could gain economic strength it would prove a menace to British Imperialism. Bengal had not at that time become conscious of the vast economic potentialities in her undeveloped western districts. She was also exhausted after nearly ten years of intense agitation. Taking advantage of this situation, her undeveloped western districts were cut away and joined to Bihar in flagrant breach of the Government's own promises. The result was that British interest in tea was handed over to a weak Assam where the planters would dominate, as they really did. The western districts of Bengal where British merchants controlled about 50 per cent of the total Indian coal production, together with valuable minerals like mica, manganese and copper, were handed over to another weak Government of Bihar and Orissa. Fortunately for us, the iron ore of the Singhbhum district, which amounts to about 95 per cent of the total Indian production, came into Indian hands. Only jute and a little amount of tea in the Duars remained for Bengal.

The following are the mineral resources of the ceded districts :

Purneah : Sugar.

Manbhum : Abrasives, asbestos, barytes, building materials, fire clay, china clay, coal, copper, glass sands, gold, iron, kyanite, lead and silver, limestone, manganese, mica, mineral pigments, mineral waters, sand, steatite, apatite, bismuth, corundum, titanium.

Santal Parganas : Building materials, fire clay, china clay, coal, copper, lead and silver, mineral pigments, mineral waters, sand, gem-stones (agate and amethyst).

Singhbhum : Abrasives (garnet and quartz), apatite, asbestos, barytes, building materials, chromite, china clay, copper, glass sands, gold, iron, kyanite, lead-silver, mica, mangasene, mineral pigments, refractory materials (quartz schist), steatite, vanadium, jaspar and quartz crystals.

How these valuable minerals have been exploited and wasted by the British merchants for their immediate gain to the detriment of national interests taking full advantage of the weak government of Bihar and Orissa, will be narrated in a later chapter. Only one instance of coal wastage ought to be illustrative. In a Memoir of the Geological Survey of India, Dr. Dunn tells us about coal losses in mining :

> "These losses may be very considerable, and the life of some coal fields depends on only one or two seams and not on total reserves. Hence only a fraction of total reserves of coal may be available ; it is doubtful whether even 30 per cent can be counted upon.
>
> "If good quality coking coals are considered, and assuming a consumption of four million tons per year, Fox (Sir Cyril Fox, for a long time Director of the Geological Survey of India) estimates the life of the reserves at 400 years, which is reduced to 200 years for an extraction of 50 per cent. But these coking coals are now being used for other purposes besides the manufacture of metallurgical coke, and if this unwise practice is continued, Fox, in 1934, suggested that supplies would be exhausted after about 40 years. This remark applies particularly to the Jharia field."

Any strong government would not have permitted for a single day this sinister practice of a deliberate waste of this vital resource of the nation.

Great care has been taken since the first partition, specially since the second one, to keep the Bengali Hindu out of the administrative and economic field. *Bengalees need not apply*—became a special feature in all advertisements for Government posts. Bengalee Hindu was thus ousted from the administrative field with the result of a serious breakdown in administrative efficiency. Only those Bengalees who were absolutely indispensable in key positions were retained.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bengalee businessmen were also very severely attacked. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal gave a fillip to Indian industry. Non-nationals of this province were quick to seize this new opportunity and immediately came to exploit Bengal. Our Swadeshi sentiment put a high premium on non-Bengali cloth and other products for the simple reason that they were Indian. British business allied with Marwari fortune-seekers in driving Bengalee businessmen out of the jute trade. Bengalee peasants produced jute, Bengalee *aratdars* brought them to Calcutta, but it could not be sold here except through Marwari dealers. A "gentlemen's agreement" operated with full vigour behind the back of the Bengalee Hindu who had been put on the black list of the British trader. Bengalee enterprisers of Swadeshi industries received help from none and opposition from both.

THE THIRD PARTITION

The third partition is coming with a redoubled force whose real object is to exterminate the Bengalee Hindu race. Very cleverly Bengal is being pushed to a tight corner with only two alternatives—either accept whole Bengal as Pakistan or bow down to another partition. We can accept neither and must protest against both. In the name of protection of backward communities the fanning of the fanaticism of Muslim masses began, with the ultimate result that the whole or a greater portion of Bengal is going to be handed over to a body of converts who are backward in every respect to the Bengalee Hindu. Handing over political power to a backward community is the surest way to prevent any progressive movement in Bengal. This trick, if not prevented, will be ruinous for both the Hindu and the Muslim masses. It will retain Bengal as a dumping ground of joint exploitation by the British and the non-Bengalee Hindu-Muslim traders for decades to come.

———:O:———

CURRENT IDEOLOGIES IN POLITICS

BY D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

IT is noteworthy that the age we live in is marked by an increasing interest in political ideologies in preference to religious, cultural, ethical or even sociological and economic ideologies. It is interesting to note that several ideologies which originated as intellectual or cultural ones tend to merge to-day into some one or other of the current political doctrines. As such it may be not only interesting but also instructive to study briefly the broad features of and the principles underlying some of the political theories and ideologies which have of late been not only receiving increasing interest but have actually been influencing people to the extent of making them participate in great movements involving radical social changes.

For greater clarification the current ideologies may be divided into three categories : First, those that may be described as essentially political ideologies under which may be grouped : Democracy, Totalitarianism and Imperialism ; secondly, those that may be described as quasi-political, since their scope is far beyond merely political implications, under which may be grouped : Fascism, Federalism, Internationalism and Nationalism; Nihilism and Anarchism which are largely intellectual may also be included in this group. Lastly, those which are mostly economic in their implications but having a considerable political significance too. Such are : Capitalism, Socialism, Trade Unionism, Syndicalism and Communism.

Taking up the first, namely Democracy, one is at once reminded of that famous saying of the great American President, Abraham Lincoln : "Government of the people by the people for the people." This is alright in theory but in actual practice one is confronted by many difficulties. Democracy as is evolved out of centuries by the experience of various nations—particularly England and America which have always carried the democratic tradition with the utmost care within their homes—when reduced to a practical proposition means only two things : *Freedom of opinion and association, and freedom to exercise the right to vote.* There has been a great deal of criticism against this working formula by several thinkers. Bernard Shaw, for instance, has pointed out that unless the people are politically educated enough to exercise their vote with sufficient knowledge and discretion democracy may result in the virtual representation of people's ignorance. This is to a certain extent true. That is why it is now universally recognised that for democracy to be successful the electorate should be sufficiently educated. An education—particularly political—can be possible only when there is freedom of expression. In India where the large majority of the people are illiterate, it may be argued, what chance there can be for democracy to be successful. But the people even if they do not understand all the details of the different programmes and state policies have none the less an instinctive commonsense and they elect those in whom they have confidence and whom they consider their best friends. This is the reason for the unprecedented success of the Indian National Congress both during the 1937 elections as well as the recent elections to the Central Assembly—which, by the way, proves that even an illiterate electorate may not be wanting in political alertness.

While as a general rule it may be stated that democracy will be successful to the extent the electorate is politically alert it should not be forgotten, however, that democracy is not only a principle but also a growing tradition ; it is not only a system of government but also a method of political training. This is the reason why in countries like England and America democracy is so successful where the electorates are fairly well educated and where the democratic tradition is one of continuous growth. It may be concluded, then, that democracy is preferable to any other known system of government, whether a country is advanced or not, for want of a better alternative.

Coming now to Totalitarianism it may be, at once, stated that it is directly opposed to democracy. Totalitarianism means the embodiment of the state in one supreme dictatorship. While the idea underlying democracy is that the state derives its power from the individual citizens, in totalitarianism the idea is that the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

individuals exist for the state. In democracy the growth and welfare of the individual is the primary concern of the state while in totalitarianism the individual as such has no rights at all; consequently there are no fundamental rights of the citizen here. Neither freedom of expression nor freedom to exercise the right to vote is expected and all power is concentrated in one supreme dictatorship who is the embodiment of the state. If the powerful dictator (a dictatorship in some instances may consist of more than one dictator) is benevolent a totalitarian state may prove advantageous in some respects as prolonged parliamentary debates, adjournments and delays can be avoided. Apart from the loss of political education which parliamentary debates provide the real difficulty with a dictatorship is that there is no guarantee that the dictator will always prove benevolent; and there is no easy governmental machinery to be rid of the dictator when the people want to. More often than not dictators have proved tyrannical. This is the great danger of allowing all power to be concentrated in the hands of one man. It is wise to remember that physical power has always a tendency to corrupt. In this connection it may be mentioned that some have described Mahatma Gandhi as a dictator. This is not only amusing but absurd because Gandhiji's power over the people is derived by his preachings and the moral influence he wields but not by any physical power. In the political concept of dictatorship, the dictator's power has the sanction of the organised physical force of the state behind. It can be seen, at once, how highly misleading it is to talk of either Gandhiji or Vallabhbhai Patel or even the Congress High Command as dictatorships. The Congress as it is to-day is one of the most democratic organisations in the world because it not only recognises the twin principles of freedom of expression and the right of every adult to vote but also because it relies on no physical force behind to coerce any one. Although dictatorship emerging from the doctrine of the totalitarian state will be repugnant to most of the people, as the great danger of its leading to tyranny is ever present, yet, at certain critical epochs people of various countries seem to welcome it, or at least submit to it. Thus, for instance, not only Germany and Italy but Turkey under Kemal Pasha and Japan under the Emperor, Hirohito, could be described as dictatorships. Even Russia under Stalin, although it is carrying on a great experiment to achieve economic equity, may be described as a dictatorship in a way because the freedom of opinion which is to be generally found in democratic countries is lacking in Russia. In London's Hyde Park any one can preach about communism and publicly criticise the Prime Minister's policy but one dare not preach about capitalism or criticise Stalin's policy in Russia. It should be remembered then that a capitalist country can have an absolutely democratic form of government and a country adopting a socialistic economy may have a ruthless dictatorship.

Coming next to Imperialism, it is nothing but the extension of undue political influence by a nation beyond its geographical boundaries which virtually means domination of one nation by another. England, France, Holland, and Japan till it was defeated recently, may be cited as the most imperialistic nations during these two centuries. Imperialism which may be defined as political aggression chiefly for economic exploitation can have little to be said in its favour, as we all bitterly know, except, perhaps, that it can produce poets like Rudyard Kipling who sang,

"East is East and West is West
And the twain shall never meet!"

Coming next to the second category of ideologies, namely, Quasi-political, let us take up Fascism, one of the most discussed ideologies in recent times. Several people believe that fascism is only the manifestation of capitalism in its last desperate stage and as such the enemy of socialism. If that were so it is difficult to understand why Germany concluded a pact with Russia in the beginning of the war that recently ended and waged war against England and France both capitalist countries. One could understand Russia's anxiety to conclude a pact with Germany for reasons of military unpreparedness but what could have prevented Germany from concluding pacts with England and France and attacking Russia directly? Fascism being opportunist and Machiavellian seems to be neither the friend of capitalism nor the enemy of socialism. It may be noted that fascist countries have treated both the employer and the employee with equal ruthlessness and introduced measures which may be taken as steps towards socialistic economy. Fascism is not anti-socialist but is anti-class-war, since from its view-point the doctrine of class-war is a disintegrating influence in national life. Fascism glorifies aggressive patriotism utterly disregarding the rights of other nations. Fascism is avowedly anti-democratic and opposed to internationalism. Fascism believes in the totalitarian state but it should not be taken as synonymous with dictatorship, for while dictatorship is essentially a political concept fascism may be described as a socio-political philosophy (or perhaps malady) resulting from a feeling of frustration and also the writings of persons like Nietzsche, Houston Chamberlain and Rosenberg. While Fascism has evoked qualities like unflinching loyalty and iron discipline it has also been responsible for some of the worst crimes the world has witnessed. Fascism, as it has manifested itself recently, can hardly be called a progressive force being largely reactionary but it should be remembered that the doctrine of class-war is not a little responsible for the emergence of fascism in this century.

Taking next Federalism it is perhaps correct to describe it as a principle rather than an ideology. It is an extension of the democratic principle into a wider sphere. Federalism is applicable not only in the political field but also in such as economic and co-operative enterprises. It stands for decentralisation of power as against centralisation. If India were to have a federal government, for instance, the federal government would derive its power from the provinces which form the federal units and the provinces in their turn derive their power from their citizens.

Internationalism, it may be noted, is closely allied to federalism for the ultimate ideal of a democratic world federation would be impossible unless all nations cultivate an international outlook. To cultivate an international outlook need not necessarily mean that one should cease to be a nationalist. It means only that while nations should strive to attain their fullest growth in the best of their traditions they should be careful to see that their interests are not allowed to come into conflict with the legitimate interests of other nations. One of the greatest champions of the democratic principle of federalism and internationalism is our great

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

national leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It will be seen, then, that while imperialism, fascism and totalitarianism are closely allied on the one hand, democracy, federalism and internationalism are intimately related on the other.

It may be asked how the democratic tradition of England at home can be reconciled with her imperialist policy abroad. This is, indeed, an anomaly ; but human nature itself is anomalous. The only explanation is that while the Englishman believes passionately in democracy at home, when leaving the shores of Britain he seems to leave democracy behind. On the same analogy, as thinkers like Bertrand Russel have pointed out, the possibility of a country being socialist at home and capitalist abroad may not be ruled out. It is interesting to note in this connection that the democratic idea is receiving an altogether new interpretation on a far higher level by the great experiment in non-violence that is being carried on by Mahatma Gandhi who is not only the greatest messenger of peace living to-day but who is likely to be recorded in history as the greatest democrat of the twentieth century.

Coming to Nationalism, it is to be remembered, that the term is far more comprehensive than the term patriotism. Nationalism should not be confused with the blind and fanatical patriotism of the kind "my country right or wrong." Nationalism in its best sense is only a faith in the culture and tradition of a nation and an aspiration to be free to attain fullest expression. National leadership, it may be noted, is far more embracing than mere political leadership. Dayanand, Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra, Tilak, Poet Rabindranath, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya may be cited as some of our foremost national leaders of recent times.

The phenomenal all-round awakening which Gandhiji has brought about in so short a time is, indeed, miraculous and he is, perhaps, the greatest national leader our country has produced during the last ten centuries or more. Nationalism is, unfortunately, a much abused term these days and the nationalist sentiment is so perverted and exploited as to pave the way for it to emerge as one brand or other of fascism. Nationalism in its truest sense, however, helps not only to bring out all that is finest in a country but also to contribute a country's best to the world.

Nihilism which originated in Russia during the later part of the last century is largely the result of intellectual idealism and has been instrumental in spreading anarchist doctrines particularly in the European countries.

Both Nihilism and Anarchism, although they have had their share in influencing the political thought of the last century are, however, devoid of political realism and as such may not be included in a discussion of current political ideologies.

Coming to the last category, Capitalism is too well-known to need much elaboration. Capitalism recognises two principles, namely, freedom of economic enterprise and recognition of the private profit motive. But in actual practice this has resulted in freedom to exploit and as such it has been responsible for several evils. This is largely the result of the unforeseen and uncontrollable forces that have been released by the rapid mechanization of industry and allowing the doctrine of *laissez faire, i.e.,* free and uncontrolled commercial enterprise to exercise its influence beyond the limits of its utility rather than deliberate exploitation or inherent callousness on the part of any particular class society. The old-world conception of capitalism, however, is no more popular and thanks to the influence progressive opinion all over the world, irrespective any class-interest, the nature and scope of capital enterprise is being increasingly modified so that existing gulf between capitalism and socialism tends become narrower and narrower in future.

Socialism, it should be remembered, is not a doctrine but a growing idea and as such tends to different shapes in different parts of the world according to the conditions obtaining in and the needs of particular country. Socialism which is gaining popular every day aims at removing economic inequity by control and regulation of all economic and commerc enterprise. It also aims at eliminating the private pro motive. Socialism, it may also be noted, is not compatible with nationalism while to bring abo international socialism the pre-requisite is the establi ment of a democratic world federation. Socialism as idea has progressed a great deal since the time of K Marx and thanks to the efforts of intellectual grou like the Fabians and thoughtful writers like Bertra Russell and Dr. Bhagwan Das, to mention a few, it much better understood today than it was a few ye ago and irrespective of any group-interest it is becom ing increasingly popular with progressive opinion over the world.

Trade Unionism and Syndicalism owe their inspi tion to socialist thought but they are more or less loc developments and their immediate goal is confined bringing about among workers a consciousness of th strength of organised labour. While Syndicalism ha been popular in France, Trade Unionism and Guil Socialism have flourished in the Anglo-Saxon countries

Coming, then, lastly to Communism, it should b remembered, that it is both a method as well as politico-economic doctrine. The common belief th communism is an extreme form of socialism is some what hazy. The Communist method *i.e.,* class-war an the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship may b however, described as extreme. Karl Marx no doub thought that a class-war would be inevitable but h conclusion was based on conditions obtaining in his da when franchise was very much limited. To-day, how ever, there is no reason why it should not be possib to introduce a socialistic economy purely by democrat and constitutional means unless, of course, progressiv views were to be always the monopoly of only a part cular section of the people. It is said that Marx, on th eve of his death, exclaimed, "Thank God I am not Marxist", meaning thereby that he was not a dogmati which unfortunately cannot be said of his follower today. Had Marx been alive, today, in all probabilit he would have modified his views about the inevi ability of the class-war and the desirability of establis ing a proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist approach to the Socialist pro being neither dispassionate nor comprehensive can hardly be described as objective. The Gandhian ap proach in contrast is refreshingly free from all cynicism and based as it is on love instead of hatred it is the Gandhian way that will triumph ultimately if humanity as a whole is progressive. While Communism is increas ingly coming to be viewed as more reactionary than of Gandhian socialism is slowly but surely emerging a new star of hope from a weary and chaotic world

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STATES IN INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

Though without a following the princes promise to be the second great hurdle in the race for Indian Swaraj. Even in the late forties of the twentieth century the princes have remained so many medieval despots—an anachronism in this age of democracy. As a State Dictator, an Indian prince like Stalin or Hitler could have done immense good to his country. But this was not to be. About the Indian prince Sir John Stratchey observed in 1911:

"He has at his disposal in many cases very considerable resources. Wise and upright chiefs followed by worthy successors might bring their States into a condition of almost Utopian prosperity."

But unfortunately the princes have cared more for their personal gains than for their people's benefit to the consequent material backwardness of the States as compared to the provinces. Many princes like those of Indore and Nabha have been deposed for misrule, but the real remedy for such misrule lies not in such deposition but in the democratisation of the States.

On the strength of their treaties and agreements made with the Crown the princes have ever insisted on their right of exercising despotic power and having direct relationship with the British Crown. But the British Indian constitution evolved by the All-Parties Conference of 1928, however laid down that

"The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to and discharge the same obligations towards the Indian States arising out of treaties or otherwise as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged."

This Conference, however, otherwise welcomed a perpetual federation of States and provinces. But soon the States Enquiry Committee (Butler Committee) appointed at the instance of the princes reported in 1929 that

"The Princes should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature and that in future the Viceroy as distinguished from the Governor-General in Council should be the agent for the Crown in regard to all dealings with the Indian States."

In the Round Table Conference, however, the princes declared themselves in favour of

"A Federal Government and a Federal Executive embracing both the British Indian provinces and the Indian States in one whole associated for common purposes, but each securing control of their own affairs, the provinces autonomous and the States sovereign and autonomous."

Thereafter in the India Act of 1935 we find a scheme of a federation of States and provinces, the inauguration of which has been made contingent on the safety valve of the accession of at least so many of the States as would comprise at least half the total States population and be entitled to at least half of the total State representation in the Upper House. To allure the princes, the following extra priviliges were also given to them: (*a*) 125 and 104 seats out of 375 and 260 seats of the Lower and Upper Chambers of the Federal Legislature which works out at 33½ per cent and 40 per cent respectively though the States population of 9 crores out of 38 crores justifies 23 per cent only; (*b*) transference to the federation of 14 subjects less than those to be transferred by the provinces, separate sovereignty of the princes remaining over their non-transferred subjects; (*c*) allowing the above State representation to the princes as opposed to their people; (*d*) non-revision of State representation without consent of the princes. And further the offices of the Viceroy and the Governor-General were also separated in 1937.

A decade has passed since then, still the required number of States have not acceded to the Federation to enable it to be inaugurated. The State objection to this Federation has been based not on non-sovereignty of the Federation (born of Viceregal control of foreign and military affairs and interference in others) but on the princely fear of having to transfer even a part of their autocratic power to this Federation. The States people are, of course, ever eager to join an all-India federation of States and provinces, both being organically connected with the common racial, cultural, linguistic, economic and strategic structure of India.

Now the attitude of at least some of the princes seems to have improved a bit. The Chamber of Princes (which comprises only 236 smaller States out of 562 States of India) passed a resolution in January last saying that

> "The States share the general desire in the country for immediate attainment by India of her full stature and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional question."

Many princes, as the Premier of Patiala said at Ottawa on December 6, 1945, are prepared now to enter a federation of States and provinces. But, it is said, still they want to have their sovereignty in spheres not transferred to the Federation, *viz.*, territorial integrity, succession, custom, law and usage, the existing form of State Government, etc.

Now what are pre-eminently required are: (*a*) the scrapping of this so-called princely sovereignty and the establishment of popular democracy in the States, the princes remaining as constitutional heads; and (*b*) accession of these States into a federation of States and provinces with no exclusive sovereignty left to the States beyond the general purview of the Federation and the Federal Court.

The necessity of essential uniformity of component units in the Indian Federation also requires that the States should be democratised. The federation of two unlikes, one an autocratic State and the other a democratic province, is bound to result in certain deadlock and create economic conflict because of their antagonistic interests. Sir A. B. Kieth observed:

> "I should have preferred federation only for units which were themselves under responsible Government and have admitted the princes only on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

condition that they gave their States constitutions leading up to responsible Government and that their representatives in both Houses of the Central Legislature were elected by the people of the States."

When the Joint Committee define a federation as "a number of governments autonomous in their own spheres combined in a single State" they may have in their minds democratically autonomous and autocratically autonomous States federating together. But when like others Prof. Newton says that a federation is a "perpetual union of several sovereign States" he means States of the same political type more or less.

Further an all-India union and democratisation of the States is enjoined by the obligations of the U.N.O. Charter. India comprising both States and provinces has been made a permanent member of that world organisation of free nations on the understanding given by the sovereign authority of both States and provinces that India (comprising both States and provinces) would be vested with independence without delay. That obligation cannot be satisfied by democratising only one part, namely, the provinces. This requires the States to be democratised (just like the provinces) as well as an all-India union of States and provinces to be formed, which alone, and not States and provinces separately, is recognisable by the U.N.O.

While the U.N.O. is out to destroy world imperialism and autocracy, it can not allow this princely autocracy to go on unchecked under cover of some old treaty with Britain, Chapter XVI of the U.N.O. constitution clearly laying down that

> "In the event of a conflict between the obligations of members of the United Nations under the present charter and any other international obligations to which they are subject their obligations under the present charter shall prevail."

Now the princely objection to this democratisation, based on their treaty rights and *sanads*, is hardly tenable. The States people have (just like the inherent right of self-defence) the inherent right of freedom. Any treaty or usage repugnant to it is null and void to the extent of this repugnancy.

Further, these so-called treaty agreements were made with the princes not absolutely in their individual capacity but as representatives of their States whose resources and allegiance they could command. Only the authority that has that command is entitled to those State rights, and that authority is not the princes now but mainly their subjects. The States people are thus the *defacto* sovereign of the States entitled to this protection of the Paramountcy.

The Crown's promise of protection of the States does not mean the perpetuation of princely autocracy but protection of the real State power which means the people now, as shown above.

But on January 21, 1946, the Viceroy assured the princely order thus :

> "There is no intention on our port to initiate any change in your relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements without your consent."

What is this but a perpetuation of the existing princely autocracy and British suzerainty over the States and a hindrance to the attainment of Indian Swaraj ? Does it not give some clue to the recent deposition of the Maharaja of Rewa for his attempt at democratisation his State ?

Recently Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, is also reported to have opined that the new Government at the Centre can not inherit any right of paramountcy, and if British India attains freedom the States will emerge fully free, the States in that case to have fresh treaties with the new India Government on the basis of equality.

Does it not mean that the States as sovereign units hereafter are entitled to do anything they like ? But the Crown has absolute suzerainty over the Indian States as was made clear by Lord Reading's famous direction to the Nizam. And as such the States cannot legally prevent the new India Government being invested with this suzerainty over the Indian States through the transference of that suzerainty right by the Crown to the new India Government. Can a treaty ever debar the transference of the superior rights of an overlord to another ?

It is with British India's men and money that these States were subjugated. And legally speaking it is with the Indian Government of the Crown that these so-called treaties were made though the Indian Government of the Crown at that time was more unified with the Crown's Government in Britain. If so, how can the new inheritors of this Indian Government of the Crown (whether a Republic or a costitutional monarchy of the Dominion type) be prevented from inheriting this right of State suzerainty of its predecessor ?

It is curious to find people hold fast, out of self-interest, to old theories and positions even in this post-war surge of democracy. The present-day world demands a reorientation of outlook and approach. In consideration of these factors the best solution of this State tangle lies in an immediate sovereign federation of States and provinces, the States immediately acceding to it irrespective of the wishes of the princes. And the States can have no separate sovereignty in any sphere after they have entered this Federation, the States and provinces alike being under the common suzerainty of the common Federation. Customs and currency essentially being all-India subjects, these shall have to be surrendered by the States and all non-federal subjects in States shall also remain under the purview of the Federation and the Federal Court just as in provinces.

For framing this federal constitution a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult franchise of States and provinces may appear to be the ideal process. But in view of the time that it will take and the party feud that it will evoke it would be advisable to have for the purpose a small constitution-making body elected on population basis by Legislatures of provinces and States and the States People's Conference where the States do not have Legislatures (only 30 States having Legislatures) so that the new constitution can be inaugurated within six months hence.

In the mean time the British India Government can through convention be provided to be run from this month by a coalition cabinet of all Assembly parties or failing that by the majority party cabinet, all powers being transferred to this interim Government with the safeguard of Viceregal intervention in foreign and defence affairs in case of emergency. No minority obviously can be allowed to veto any decision of the majority in all this.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SPIRIT OF HINDU CIVILIZATION

By BUDHA PRAKASH, M.A.

I

"He who perceives one eternal substratum in all elements, the Indivisible in the divided, acquires true salutary knowledge. The wise and the learned see equally the Brahmana, possessed of learning and discipline, the cow, the elephant, the dog and the degraded Chandala."—*The Holy Gita.*

How concisely and beautifully the above verses sum up the spirit of Hindu civilization! Civilization—the word is formed from the Latin word *civitas* meaning the state. The idea of the state implies an accommodation of the rights and interests of the individual with the rights and interests of society. The more happy and harmonious this accommodation is, the more perfect the state becomes and the more civilized the people are called. Hence civilization is that attribute of human mind, in virtue of which man sacrifices and harmonises his interests with the interests of his fellow-beings and realizes a fundamental unity of interest amidst the diversity of individual ends and requirements. This characteristic—the quest of unity amidst diversity—is the keynote of Hindu civilization. Of course, every civilization possesses this feature, but it is as distinguishing a hall-mark of Hindu civilization, as moral fervour is of the Hebrew scriptures, the sense of beauty and rhythm of Periclian Greece and the love of law and government of Ancient Rome. Every aspect of Hindu life and thought bears the impress of this grand principle. The conception of Adipurusa in sociology, from whose mouth, arms, thighs, and feet sprang respectively the four classes of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, picturesquely symbolizes the idea of social reciprocity and interdependence. Furthermore the assertions that from the mind of the same Adipurusa sprang the moon; from his eye, the sun; from his breath, the wind; and so on and so forth, suggest the essential community characterising the whole universe. Similarly, the ideal of a Chakravartin or Bharat sovereign, combining the ideals of autonomy and centralization[2] is the corner-stone of Hindu politics. In philosophy Brahman or his Buddhist counterpart the Alaya Vijnana[3]—the one being the cause and the other the consequence of the psychological process—holds the field. By far the most interesting and unique manifestation of the Hindu spirit is the legal institution of the joint family. In it a man acquires a vested interest by birth which remains undefined and indeterminate all along and which he has no right to alienate, pledge or mortgage except with the collective consent of the family. The community of interest and unity of possession is so much ingrained that even the Karta or the manager of the family has no power to transfer by will or *inter vivos* the joint assets. The devolution of estate is determined by survivorship rather than succession and the idea of partition is throughout tabooed. Equally characteristic is the economic organisation of the guild or the *sreni*, whose corporate existence is not affected by the recalcitrance or resignation of the members composing it. Above all the Hindu spirit expresses itself in the domain of religion in a very peculiar phenomenon, which Prof. Maxmuller called 'Kathenotheism.' Each god—Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Pusan—is separately worshipped and exalted above all others, with the result that a mere onlooker is bewildered with this strange contradiction. But to a Hindu it is not at all difficult to conceive or appreciate, for, to him these gods are the different nuances of the same Essential Absolute, looking variously in the foil of diverse moods and states of consciousness. The Veda itself explains this multiplicity in the following words :

> "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni and that celestial noble-winged Garutman. Sages name variously that which is but one ; they call it Agni, Yama and Matarishvan."[4]

Indeed, the Hindu God is not a personal Being, creating and ordering the universe at his own sweet will and determining the destiny of man according to His own pleasure and predelictions. He, in some respects like the 'sitticheit' of Hegel, represents the eternal cosmic force of which the universe including man are various manifestations as well as component ingredients. He is not independent of Karman—the principle of action and retribution—which must of necessity evoke a response from him. Thus man, far from being subservient to the arbitrary dictates of a Superior Being, is the creator of his own, the architect of his world, which he is gradually shaping by his action in accordance with his comforts and necessities.

Generally a Hindu starts from unity towards diversity. The concrete thought and phenomenal conscience, *Buddhi* and *Manas,* comprehended under Prakriti and propelled by the impersonal and neuter subconscious force, the Purusa, evolve ceaselessly from an indistinct or subtle state (*Avyakta*) to the gross state *i.e.,* from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous in

---

1 सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।
अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्विकम् ॥
विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥

2 Vide the *Raghuvamsha* of Kalidasa :
"न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः पवमानः पृथिवीरुहानिव ।
स पुरस्कृतमध्ययमविक्रमो नमयामास नृपाननुद्धरन् ॥

3 On the homogeneity of the concepts of Brahman and Vijnana, see Mm. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya : 'The Evolution of Vijnanavada' Ind. Hist. Quart., March, 1934.

4 The text is :
इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथोदिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥
The Rig Veda I, 164, 46.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

perpetual movement towards differentiation and individualization (*Ahamkara*). This is the substance of the Sankhya doctrine. But the Hindu is equally conversant with proceeding from diversity towards unity. Conscience, from this standpoint, results from the psycho-physical processes.[5] This accords with Marxian principle of Being preceding consciousness. Thus starting from any point and following any way of inquiry—monism, dualism or pluralism, the Hindu reaches the same goal. A Sanskrit text places these words in the mouth of God :

> "Some prefer monism, others like dualism. But they all know My reality which is beyond dualism or monism."[6]

We now come to another characteristic of Hindu civilization, which it hardly requires mention follows from the one we have just considered, *viz.*, the conciliation of individual and community. On the one hand there is unbridled individualism tending to throw the world into chaos and confusion ; on the other is the strangling rigidity of social order, which stifles the real and peculiar individuality of man in an attempt to force it in the social framework. The modern world has not yet been able to provide a way out of this Scylla and Charybdis. The Hindus approached the problem in their own way. As Manu says :

> "Sacrifice yourself for your family ; the family for the village ; the village for the State ; and the State for your conscience."

It means that the State is the custodian of common good and everyone should be ready to sacrifice his interests for those of the state. But after all the sovereignty of the State is a function of the quality of life that it makes for the individuals. The only state to which one owes allegiance is the state in which one discovers moral adequacy. The first duty of man is to obey his conscience. Hence if one feels convinced that his conscience is being killed by subservience to the state he is entitled and also duty-bound to go against the state and follow his conscience. This principle lies at the basis of the contractual conception of Hindu soverignty according to which the king is the paid officer of society to avoid chaos and Matsyanyaya. History informs us that even the great Asoka was dethroned when he proposed to give his empire to the Buddhist Sangha[7] and as late as the seventh century, the sudra Gopala was elected by the people as the king of Bengal.[8]

Such conflicts are not likely to arise where the spirit of humanism and toleration give ample opportunities for the fullest display and development of individual potentialities. Even in civilized Greece, Socrates was poisoned for preaching a new doctrine and the religious history of the world is red with the blood of martyrs. But in India different cults and creeds diametrically opposite beliefs and practices, conflicting religions and ideologies existed side by side in an atmosphere of peace and amity. The Buddha, his contemporaries and his followers tore up the very fabric of Vedic sacerdotalism, by denying the Vedas, God, soul and sacrifices and by levelling the caste distinctions on which the citadel of Hinduism chiefly rested.[9]

Thus India has been a crucible of races and cultures, amalgamating them in common humanity. The Dravidians with their doctrines of caste and transmigration and their Saiva and Krishnaite cults have become a part of Hindu society. Their cacuminal dentals have become a peculiarity of Indian languages.[10] Traces of Munda dialects have survived in a great number of geographic names from Kashmere up to the heart of the Peninsula[11] and the aboriginal fetishes still survive in the elephant face of Ganesha. Similarly the Greeks, puffed up with Hellenic culture, bowed before the spiritual might of India. The Besnagar inscription of Heliodoras, the Nagari remains of a *yajnasala* constructed by Demetrius, the caves and inscriptions of Kanheri on the Western Coast, the *Milinda Panha*, the Martanda temple in Kashmere, the little Iconic temple of the Parthian period at Jandial and above all the Gandhara School of Indo-Hellenic art, where Buddha appears in the garb of Apollo—all suggest the close amalgamation of the two cultures. Likewise, the barbaric Yen-chi tribes of Central Asia were thoroughly Indianized. The representation of Siva on the coins of Kuzula Kadphises, the interest taken in Buddhism by Kanishka, the self-contained, walled-in and rectangular *sangharama*, with kitchens and dining-rooms, of the Kusana period found in the North-Western regions and lastly the marked Mongoloid features with tangential eyebrows of the Buddha statues of Mathura—amply demonstrate the change which overtook the Kusanas. Later on the Abhiras, Hunas,[12] Jats[13] and many other outlandish people were admitted to the fold of Hinduism. The myth of the Agnikulas, invented to explain the origin of many Rajput families simply shows that they were converted and gradually Indianized. Last but not the least in importance are the Mohammedans. Generally it is believed that they remained untouched with Indian influences, but the most cursory glance at medieval history is sufficient to dispel such belief. Under the influence of the Hindus the Mohammedans of India strayed so much from the orthodox Islamic fold, that Taimur regarded them as heathens and considered his Indian invasion as a real *jehad* against

---

5 Cf. कायादेव ततो ज्ञानं प्राणापानाद्यधिष्ठितात् ।
सर्वदर्शन संग्रहः chapter on चार्वाकदर्शन

6 Cf. अद्वैतं केचिदिच्छन्ति द्वैतमिच्छन्ति चापरे ।
मम तत्वं विजानन्तो द्वैताद्वैतविवर्जितम् ॥
—कूलार्णवतन्त्र

7 Cf. *Divyavadana*, Ed. Cowell, p. 426.

8 Cf. *Manjushrimulakalpa*, Ed. Jayaswal, p. 56.

9 Cf. a remark of Dharmakirti—
वेदप्रमाण्यं कस्यचित् कर्तृवादः स्नाने धर्मेच्छा जातिवादावलेपः ।
संतापारम्भः पापहानाय चेति ध्वस्तप्रज्ञानां पंचलिंगानि जाड्ये ॥
—प्रमाणवार्तिकस्ववृत्तिः

10 Meillet : *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues Indo-Europeanes*, p. 11.

11 Sylvain Levi : *Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidien daus l'Inde* (1929).

12 Dr. P. C. Bagchi in his presidential address given to the Ancient History section of the Indian History Congress (Aligarh) has proved on the basis of Chinese phonology that the Hunas became the Gurjars, present Gugars.

13 Dr. K. P. Jayaswal held that the Imperial Guptas were Karaskar-Jats.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

what he calls the infidels and polytheists of India.[14] Similarly another orthodox ruler Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak made it a point to punish the Mohammedans of India, who were generally adopting the customs and practices of the Kafirs.[15] But despite all his attempts the tide of Indo-Islamic cultural synthesis could not be checked. Samsus-siraj Afif informs us of a Brahmana who perverted the Mohammedan women of Delhi and led them to worship a wooden tablet "covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects."[16] The Hindu fashion of pilgrimages found favour with Mohammedan women for as Firoz Shah writes :

"On holy days women riding in palanquins or carts or litters or mounted on horses or mules or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs."[17]

Al-Badauni tells us that Emperor Akbar used to recite the hundred names of sun-god with face turned towards it.[18] Sir Thomas Roe noticed that on his birthday, Emperor Jahangir used to touch curd and the rohita fish on his first entry in the *darbar*.[19] Even Aurangzib consulted the astrologers in his Deccan-campaigns and once in Kashmere he carried out the supposed heir of the prophet in a grand procession.[20] Gujarat we know was the seat of the Sufis, who presented the teachings of Vedanta in Islamic garb. Besides Saikh Nizamuddin Aawliya, Saikh Salim Chisti and others—an illustrious series of Mohammedans, *e.g.*, Kutaban, Majjban Jayasi, Noor Mohammad, Raskhan, etc., wrote fine poetry in Hindi. In Deccan Hindu metres and Hindu poetical motifs very early entered into the Muslim vernacular literature and an Adil Shah wrote dhrupads, a Qutab Shah acted in his palace the antics of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindavan. Marsia and Ras-Lila and spring carnival (*Vasanta*) were equally popular as themes of poetry and equally yielded a prolific crop of verses in Rekhta.[21] Thus Hinduism, though quite decadent, did not fail to affect the Mohammedans.

(*To be continued*).

14 See *Mulfuzat-i-Taimuri* (Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 426.

15 See, *Fatuhat-i-Firozshahi* in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

16 See, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

17 *Fatuhat-i-Firozshahi*, Ellio't translation, *op. cit.*

18 *Muntakhat-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by Low, Vol. II, p. 332.

19 Purchas : *His Pilgrims*, Vol. IV, p. 376.

20 For details see Sir J. N. Sarkar · *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V.

21 Sir Jadunath Sarkar : *House of Shivaji*, p. 4.

———:O:———

FORGOTTEN CAPITALS OF MEWAR

By Prof. G. N. SHARMA, M.A.

I. Nagada

Nagda or Nagahrada of inscriptive records or Nagadraha of bardic literature was the first capital of the Guhilots of Mewar. It is nearly fifteen miles north of Udaipur, its ancient site comprises Nagda proper and Eklingji of these days ; for during those days there was no separate existence of the Eklinga village. Much of it vanished under water when Mokal constructed Baghela tank. The place under review affords a deserted sight with scattered ruins of monuments, though from variations in design we may still locate different parts of the city such as palaces, market-places or workmen's quarters.

It was founded in the sixth century by Nagaditya. The justification of its name Nagadraha is attached to the mythological story of the burning of snakes by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit. A class of Brahmins still call themselves Nagda, as their ancestors conducted the entire proceedings of this Yajna of snakes. The story referred to above is also associated with the Yajnapura, now called Jahazpur and the river Nagdi, near the modern town. Khyata writers ascribe the importance of Nagda to the birth of Bapa (son of Ramlavati) who was entrusted to a Brahmin Vijayaditya. Several MSS. of Sanskrit literature record its foundation by Takshaka, the lord of serpents who paid his visit to God Eklinga. There is a Taksha Kunda to commemorate his visit.

Nagda happened to be the capital city of Mewar right from the sixth century A.D. to the thirteenth century A.D., though sometimes Aghatpur or Ahada and Chitor also enjoyed the credit of being the seat of Imperial Guhilots.

As the first capital of Mewar happens to be in the heart of mountain ranges, it had not to face so many invasions as other capitals had to do. The only important invasion mentioned is the invasion by Altutmish who was boldly faced by Jaitra Sinha.

There are two kinds of structures to be seen in a fairly good state of preservation ; one of Jain and another of Vishnu. The existence of the first kind clearly shows that Nagda must have been a most flourishing part of the country from the point of view of trade and commerce, as the trading classes, usually Jains, inhabitated this locality. Shivite temples and Vishnu temples appear to be largely the enterprise of the rulers or others who mainly belong to the Shiva Cult.

Padmavati Temple : In the northern side of the deserted capital there are several ruins of which the Padmavati temple is the most striking. It is partly built into the rocks and partly into the open. The only image in the shrine is of Chaumukha. The two small inscriptions of V.S. 1356 and V.S. 1891 indicate the time of its construction.

The Tank : It is the main tank of the village

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which had the entire habitation on its three sides. There are two important temples of Vishnu, one of a simple kind and the other of ornamental design, in which there are a large number of images collected from the ruined shrines of the locality.

Adbhutji's Temple : It is a Jain temple with lesser antiquity. The only interesting object is the image of Shanti-Nat, nine feet high. It was built by Saranga during the reigning period of Kumbha in V.S. 1494.

Khuman Raval's Temple : Just near Adbhutji there is a temple with series of smaller shrines of Parsanath, built in V.S. 1486 by a certain trader of the Porwad community, though people wrongly call it Khuman Raval's Devra.

Sas-Bahu Temple : These two temples are associated with Sas and Bahu, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law ; the smaller in the north is called Bahu's temple and the larger one in the south is called Sas temple with a Hindola Toran or a swinging arch in the front. The former is plain in design while the latter is profusely decorative. Their period of construction is about eleventh century.

II. Ahar

Ahar or Aghatpur of the inscription is the second most important capital of Mewar. It is near Udaipur Railway Station in the north-eastern corner of Udaipur city. The ancient Aghatpur appears to be very extensive as its colossal ruins can be seen scattered ten miles around the modern town which has developed during the last two hundred years. Of the many of such materials taken out of the ruins are the inscriptions of Allat of V.S. 1008-1010 at Sarnath temple and two of the inscribed slabs used as staircase or steps in one of the Jain temples and Hastimata temple. Numbers of beautiful sculptures, images and carved screens and stones have been used indiscriminately in the body of several modern constructions of temples, houses and wells in and around the modern town.

Gangodbhav : It is the most ancient of the remains of Ahar. It comprises a platform, where formerly stood a four-columned Chhatri, and a reservoir of water running round it. But the whole locality referred to above has been deprived of its antiquity by modern repairs, though the materials used for its repairs here and there give the idea of an ancient style of sculpture. Such pieces are the images of Shiva and Parvati, Surya and Vishnu in the profile. Several stories are still repeated about its antiquity. One is that the river Ganges bubbled up here through the strength of the devotion of a lady who was left here by her father-in-law. Since then it is termed as Gangodbhav. In memory of the sacred river every year people throng here to take a pious dip in the water of the reservoir. The other version is that it is a memorial spot of Gandharva-Sen, the father of Vikramaditya.

Shiva Temple : Just in its south there is another reservoir sufficiently smaller, though bearing antique appearance with a Shiva temple constructed partially over a bridge. It is in a depressed area with galleries on three sides of narrow width where several images of Shiva, Parvati, Surya, Brahma, Varaha, etc., finely sculptured appear. Though this part has undergone repairs not in recent days, but centuries ago, it affords a better antiquated look for the lovers of fine art, though much of its beauty has been lost on account of its smoky appearance and ungainly objects, as this part is used as a kitchen by the devotees, who come to pay a visit to this sacred place.

Cenotaphs : The eastern parts of these reservoirs consist of the royal cenotaphs area commonly called Maha-Sati or 'Great Place of Sati', set aside, since the abandonment of Chitor, for cremating and erecting cenotaphs in memory of the Maharanas, members of the ruling family, and some of the nobility and principal officials. The first of such cenotaph belongs to Rana Amar Singh, who was the first of his line to die at Udaipur. Udai Singh, in whose time Chitor ceased to be the capital of Mewar, died in the Aravali Mountains at Gogunda, while the next Rana, the famous warrior Pratap Singh, Amar's father, expired in the wild country of the Bhils at Chawand, his last act being to make his nobles swear that no palaces should be built in Udaipur until Chitor had been recovered. As one goes up a few steps and passes through a door, the Chhatris of Jagat Sinha I and Karan Sinha I appear, whose names are worth remembering for the construction of Jagdeesh temple and cementing friendly relations with the Mughals in 1615. Passing a narrow doorway one's sight is attracted by the cenotaphs of Sangram Singh II, Amar Singh II, Raj Singh II, Pratap Singh II, Swaroop Singh, etc.; of all these structures, the fifty-six pillared cenotaph of Sangram Singh II is the finest. By the side of these edifices there appear some huts usually called 'bungalows' in which the ashes are always kept for two days after cremation before being sent to the Ganges.

Dhul Kot : Further, there are mounds and ruins of a village called Tambravali Nagari. A narrow path passes through it leading to a neighbouring village with heaps of dust on both sides which constitute collectively a small hillock of sand. It is believed that it was a flourishing town during Vikramaditya's time. In and around the mound occasional discovery of large stone bricks, pieces of sculpture, and fragments of pottery, coins, etc., confirms the existence of a rich store of historical objects enveloped underneath the great heap of the ruined habitation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE WORLD FEDERATION AND THE AUGUST RESOLUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : *By Maurice Frydman. Aundh Publishing Trust. Distributors, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pp. 33. Price twelve annas.*

Readers of the *Harijan* and of Gandhiji's Seventy-fifth Birthday volume hitherto knew Mr. Maurice Frydman as a practical engineer and a thinker, in that line, of distinction. But in the present very valuable pamphlet, a new light is thrown upon his mind and activities. During the fateful days of 1942 and 1943, he had consistently been trying in his own way to educate Indo-British public opinion with regard to the true nature of the Congress demand for Independence, which was to form the basis of a voluntary inter-dependence between states enjoying equal status. Mr. Frydman accordingly addressed letters to various people, and also issued pamphlets ; and the present brochure contains a reprint of some of them, as well as his correspondence with an important member of the mercantile community in India.

The letters of that British gentleman makes strange reading. On the one hand, we find Mr. Frydman tries again and again to draw the attention of his correspondent to one most important aspect of the August Resolution, and the need of expressing through some tangible step Britain's sincerity of purpose with regard to India's future status. On the other, his correspondent goes on repeating that the heart of Britain is all right; all that is needed is a unity betwen the Hindus and Muslims of India ; while, outside, he feels that the time is not yet ripe for either English or American public opinion to vote for a dissolution of sovereign states, and their merging in a world-federation. We have, according to him, to yield to the reality of the present situation. Nobody can quarrel with that. But the most curious fact is that where war-interests are concerned, and when Britain needs certain things for her Empire's safety, public opinion as expressed in the Congress's Quit-India resolution or the popular disturbances when the Congressmen were put behind prison bars, does not seem to count with him at all. Then his 'public' dwindles into an insignificant number of interested supporters of the *status quo*. Then it becomes necessary not to look for direction of future events in publicly expressed opinion, but to gag it and *shape* things in a way that the ruling class, who are responsible to nobody in India but to the British Parliament, thinks best. 'In the meantime', writes the correspondent in one of the letters, 'we must at all costs (and I mean all costs) keep the classes who supply recruits to the Army as happy as possible and this consideration must in my opinion take precedence over all others.' (P. 24).

This, we believe, represented the real British attitude during the War and does so even today ; a plea for democracy when that comes in handy, and a determination to see that Empire interests will remain unjeopardised, public opinion or no public opinion.

Mr. Frydman was right in his persistent attempt to educate British Indian public opinion ; but we believed then, as we do now, that something more is needed to break the crust of selfishness which screens the truth from British eyes. The people of England are not inherently selfish ; only the crust of selfishness which the institution of Empire has built round their mind, needs to be broken before the door is opened for an appeal to reason. That way does not lie through punishment or fear, the War has already proved the futility of the violent method for those who have eyes to see. The door must therefore lie through an appeal to the nobler sentiments as evoked through non-violent non-co-operation. In the meantime, educative propaganda, as exemplified by the present very valuable pamphlet, should be carried on with untiring effort.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PRACTICE AND PRECEPTS OF JESUS : *By J. C. Kumarappa, with a foreword by M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1945. Price Re. 1-8.*

If religion has been unfortunately, and to the great sorrow of mankind, a factor in mutual recrimination on many occasions, undeniably it is at the same time a cementing bond, and if we ignore the fact of formal conversion, we may take note of the changes of heart in so many ways in all time and throughout the earth caused by the saints and prophets who do not live and move for any particular community or narrow sect. From this viewpoint a religious book emerges into greater prominence than is given to it at first—it becomes a book of universal importance and we are again and again reminded of the saying : *ekam sat vipra vahudha vadanti* (The One is, the Brahmins speak of Him as many).

Shrijut Kumarappa's book has done the same service for Christianity. He has thought aloud on the lessons of the life of Jesus and his pronouncements, the supremely valuable guidance he has given to men at crises of life. These valued observations and comments in the light of modern ideas and today's needs deserve widespread publicity—and they come very pat on the hour. The liberal and revolutionary teaching of Jesus., standing against all exclusiveness and racial arrogance, will benefit the world in its present condition.

Shrijut Kumarappa's preface, recalling his mother's way of treating her sons (the book is dedicated to her in reverent memory), is touching. It has an independent interest, and so has Gandhi's foreword, revealing a glimpse of his life in South Africa.

The book is printed on handmade paper ; a printing error on the very first page and in Gandhiji's foreword was not expected of the Navajivan Press.

P. R. SEN

THE LATEST FAD (Basic Education) : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. With an autographic Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd..3*

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Second Edition. January, 1946. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1-8.

Mahatma Gandhi is the most dynamic personality in India today. He occupies a unique position in the domain of Indian politics for his neo-ideology and methodology in the struggle for India's freedom. His life has been dedicated to the cause of political liberation of the country and regeneration of the people achieved through non-violent means. True to his spirit Gandhiji has evolved a comprehensive programme of fight and constructive work for the guidance of the individual and the nation. As the author writes: 'Beginning with truth and non-violence in political life Gandhiji has evolved his scheme of *charka* and *khadi*, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, emancipation of women, . . . the revival and introduction of new village industries.' From these he has proceeded on to his new scheme of education. Education has come last. And hence in a lighter vein it has been styled by Acharya Kripalini the *Latest Fad* of Mahatmaji. But contrary to suggestions that the title of the book is likely to inspire in the minds of unwary readers, the learned author is serious about his job and has brought into play his wealth of scholarship and inimitably racy style in vindication of the *fad* of the 'old man at Segaon.'

The novel aspects of the scheme are emphasis on craft and manual work and financial self-sufficiency of Basic schools. The scheme upholds that all education should be woven round a craft and that the produce of the craft should be economically remunerative so as to meet the teachers' salary. With ample reference to educational reformers from Rousseau down to John Dewey the author has shown that the first idea, *i.e.*, learning through activity is psychologically sound. As for the second idea, it adds zest to the whole working of the Basic School and points to a solution of the big problem of finance in organising universal national education for the whole of India.

The preface to the second edition is of particular interest as herein have been culled, in fragments, the results of experiments with this scheme carried on in some Indian provinces and States. Facts and figures assessed and complimentary observations made on their basis by educationists have added weight to the arguments of the author. For an ounce of experimental truth is worth a ton of hopeful theory.

In the last and longest chapter the writer has elaborately discussed the place of Basic Education in Gandhiji's philosophy. The expositions are brilliant, cogent and logical. According to the author, Basic Education is in complete consonance with Mahatmaji's aims, ideals and life-mission: it is a part and parcel of his constructive programme as an organic whole, nay it is the 'coping stone of Gandhiji's socio-political edifice.'

The publishers have done a distinct service to the country by bringing out the book at a time when post-war educational reconstruction is in the offing and clarifications of Gandhiji's ideas on national education are so greatly needed.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

THE RELIGION WE NEED: *S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Benares Hindu University. Pp. 25. Price eight annas.*

This is just the sort of a book that was called for by the need of the hour. By disproving some of the dogmas that had passed for religion, science has undoubtedly reduced the hold of traditional religion on the minds of the people. "It has become a sign of good breeding to avow disbelief in traditional religion."

Some have tried, while admitting that God is a fiction, to defend religion on the ground of its utility. 'We can *use* God though we cannot know him' is their view. But as the learned professor rightly observes, "We can not believe a thing simply because we wish to. We can not worship what we know to be a mental fiction." Nor is it possible, as the Fundamentalists would have us do, to turn our back on all advancements in the sphere of science and stick to our old beliefs blindly for the sake of enjoying religious bliss.

None of these ways of escape is however necessary. The scientific temper will help rather than hinder the understanding of true religion. The author's belief that "the growing dissatisfaction with established religion is the prelude to the rise of a truer, more spiritual, and more universal religion" will be shared by all thinking men. The transformation we have witnessed in the lives of some of the modern intellectuals like Aldous Huxley points to the same conclusion. Scientific quest about all that happens in this universe brings us at last to a point where science fails to throw further light. Almost all who have reflected on the implications of evolution agree that there is a mysterious reality at the back of it all. It is the desire to come into contact with it that is at the root of all religions—from lowest fetishism to the highest absolutism. In the concluding portion of the booklet Dr. Radhakrishnan analyses the nature of the true religious life and shows how, unless self-perfection, which is the aim of religion, takes hold of society as a whole, the world is not safe for civilization and humanity. This is a fitting reply to those who would relegate religion to the position of a private affair between man and his Creator. "The world is in dreadful need of these heroic spirits (religious souls) who have the courage of their vision of human oneness to assume new leadership."

What with the richness of its contents, what with the clarity of its statement the booklet is bound to make a great appeal to our young men who share the anti-religious feeling of the age.

P. B. SANYAL

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR: *By Rev. Fr. I. Daniel (Cheppad, Harippad, Travancore). Published by the Diocesan Press, Madras. 1945. Price Re. 1.*

In this book, the author, a priest in Holy Orders of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, has given in a condensed form the principal facts relating to the growth and development of the Syrian Church from its foundation to the present day. He traces its origin from St. Thomas (52 A.D.), and characterises the traditions and legends relating to the Apostle as genuine. He also quotes historical evidence from the writings of early European travellers to the East, like Cosmos Indicopluestes (547-60 A.D.), Marco Polo (1288 A.D.) and others, who have made reference to the existence of Christians on the Malabar coast in the early centuries of the Christian era. He has thus endeavoured to prove an apostolic origin to this ancient church in South India.

The Syrian Christians are, at present, split up into various sects, such as, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Orthodox and Reformed Syrians, besides there are also numerous Roman Catholics and a good number of Protestants. The author has enumerated the schisms that took place in the church resulting in secession from the parent body, as well as in the formation of minor sects distinct from the Syrian Church. To one who is familiar with the various forms of Oriental Christianity, a romantic glamour surrounds these forms, and he would therefore be pre-disposed to peruse the book of Fr. Daniel with great expectations; if he did so, his pleasurable anticipations would, indeed, be well fulfilled.

An easy readable book, of good typographical execution, it ought to be welcomed by all interested in the history of the Indian Church. Rev. Fr. Daniel de-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

serves congratulations for this short history of his church so well presented.

P. O. MATTHAI

A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS : *By V. S. Bendrey. 8¼ × 6¼. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2, 1944. Pp. 197, (exclusive of foreword and preface). Price Rs. 7.*

It is a useful work that V. S. Bendrey has done by sorting out, summarising and arranging chronologically the inscriptions published in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (1907-1938). It is divided into two parts, of which the utility of the second part, (being the summary of the inscriptions) would hardly be questioned by anybody but whether the first portion containing the author's whimsical and rambling discussion on sundry points connected with the study of inscriptions, *e.g.*, location, dates and dating, transcriptions and transliteration, names and titles, translation, kinds and nature, application of evidence, would be of guidance and use to the reader, is doubtful.

From the notice of works mentioned under the author's name at the end of the book, it is evident that the author's study ranges over a very wide field from *Raja Ram Charitam* to *Dandanitiprakaranam*, shorthand and stenography. This diversity of interests and sweep across various fields of study probably account for the lack of coherence, clarity and precision of language in his windy introduction which covers 92 pages. There is no need to say anything about the author's quaint idiom and style after the remarks made in *J.R.A.S.* of 1945, but suggestion to cut down the first portion and recast it thoroughly in the second edition with the help of scholars like Mr. P. K. Gode mentioned in the preface is gratuitously offered.

N. B. ROY

EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY : *By Paul Lafargue. Published by Sreekali Prakasalaya, 14-B Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4.*

This is an Indian reprint of Lafargue's famous work on private property. In it, Lafargue shows how property actually arose from a state of primitive communism, how its forms have gradually changed from ownership of chattels to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism, which has destroyed the crude and simple communism of the early times. Lafargue argues that in spite of this apparent victory of capitalism over communism, the former contains in itself the germ of the latter and the inevitable tendency is towards an international communism. He asserts that communism exists in a latent form in the bourgeois society and that unforeseen circumstances will cause it burst forth for re-instatement as the inevitable form of the future society. The book is one of the classics of the socialist literature of the world. The publishers deserve thanks for bringing out an Indian edition of this valuable work on social science.

D. BURMAN

LIFE OF W. C. BONNERJEE : *By Miss Sadhana Bonnerjee, 66, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.*

The life of W. C. Bonnerjee, first President of the Indian National Congress is of special interest to every Indian. Miss Bonnerjee, a grand-daughter of the first President, has done a service by bringing out a handy volume on the occasion of the first birthday centenary celebration of this great man. W. C. Bonnerjee was born in the year 1844 and died in 1906 in London where he settled after having retired from practice at the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Bonnerjee sacrificed a good deal of his time and money for the cause of the Indian National Congress at its earliest stage. As a lawyer, he occupied a place in the Bar, which no one before him had occupied. He was the first representative of the Calcutta University at the Legislative Council (1894-95). In the words of Gokhale, "In a self-governing country, he would, without doubt, have attained the position of Prime Minister." He presided over the Indian National Congress twice—in 1885 and 1892—and thus received the highest honours from his countrymen. Dr. Kalidas Nag has written a preface to the book.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

RAY RAMANANDER BHANITA-YUKTA PADAVALI : *Edited by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, Lecturer, Calcutta University. To be had of Messrs. Sen, Ray & Co., 15, College Square, Calcutta. 1352 B.S. Pp. 26 + 66. Price Rs. 2.*

Ray Ramananda is a famous name in Bengali Vaishnava literature. He was a minister of State of Prataparudra Gajapati of Orissa. He had become an intimate companion and devoted follower of Chaitanya in his later days. Ramananda was a good scholar and critic of music and dramatic art. He was the author of a Sanskrit drama ; a Brajabuli poem by him is quoted in Krishnadas Kaviraja's biography of Chaitanya. The poems published by Mr. Sen narrate Krishna's daily activity in Vraja. The story narrated closely follows the *Govindalilamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj. It is quite true that such *Dandatmika Lila* was known before Krishnadas. Still it cannot be gainsaid that some poems at least definitely presuppose Kaviraja's work (*e.g.*, vide, p. 11). Mr. Sen in his learned Introduction has attempted to show that there is nothing in the poems that precludes the authorship of Ramananda Ray. But somehow the tone and the style is not old enough. The poems are written in Bengali and show quite a number of Oriya forms and inflections. They were written by an Oriya who knew Bengali thoroughly well or by a Bengali from Bengal-Orissa border. For aught we know Ramananda Ray was a Bengali. We know that two of his grand-nephews, Nityananda and Manohara, had settled in Radha when they had lost their lands in Orissa. It may be presumed that Ramananda's father Bhavananda originally hailed from Bengal.

The Sahajiyas or esoteric Vaisnavas utilized the name of Ray Ramananda in furtherance of their creed, as they did with the names of Vidyapati and Chandidas. I have in my possession a small Sahajiya tract bearing the name of Ramananda Ray as the author.

Mr. Sen has done good services to the medieval Vaisnava literature by editing and publishing this interesting little volume. The glossary of selected words appended at the end will be helpful in understanding the text.

SUKUMAR SEN

RAJNARAYAN BOSE : *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitamala 49. Published by Ramkamal Sinha, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pages, crown 16 mo. 1—112. Price twelve annas.*

Rajnarayan Bose was a great son of Bengal. He was a man of ideas and ceaseless activities. His contributions to the life and culture of Bengal in the nineteenth century were manifold and important, though not widely known and remembered. He was one of the pioneers who tried to infuse among the people of the country a spirit of nationalism in every sphere of life. Mr. Bagal who was made a special study of Bengali life of this period has given an interesting and valuable account of the work done by Mr. Bose in different fields, educational, literary, social and religious.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDI

JEEVAN KE TATTWA AUR KAVYA KE SIDDHANTA : *By Lakshminarayan Sudhanshu. Yugantara Sahitya Mandir, Bhagalpur City. Pp. 337. Price Rs. 3.*

Life is poetry. But, is poetry also life? The author of the book, under review, has attempted an answer to this poser. It is an intriguing analysis of what is, more or less, not amenable usually to any analysis; namely, the source and spirit of poetry, or, for the matter of that, of all art. In ten chapters he has lifted the veil over this great mystery and explained critically and comprehensively as far as possible the several stages, interesting between the artist's experience or intuition of the pith of the penorama or poetry of life and its being clothed into such a style of expression as conveys delight to oneself as well as to others and through the window of that delight lets in the light of truth. The last chapter is an interpretation of the spirit and style of the poetry of some of the leading modern Hindi poets. The author has achieved, indeed, a difficult task in a praiseworthy manner. His book has filled up a great and gaping void in critical literature in Hindi.

G. M.

RASHTRABHASHA KI SAMASYA AUR HINDUSTANI ANDOLAN : *By Ravishankar Shukla. Published by Ganga Granthagar, Lucknow. Pp. 248 + 45. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The growing vehemence of the demand *Quit India* in India's political field is being synchronised with a similar cry of 'Quit English' in the field of languages. Most of us are one that English should be replaced as a common or inter-provincial language by a language of our own. But few agree as to what should be the nature and form of *our* language, the *Lingua-Indica*. Till recently Hindi has enjoyed the unique privilege of being called and propagated as *Rashtrabhasha*. Its claim to this position has been indisputable looking at the vast tracts of the country in which it has been read, written and spoken. The number of people speaking Hindi or some form of it has been the greatest in comparison to any other single language-group. But since the inception of the appeasement policy of the Congress under the guidance and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, a move has been afoot to give concessions to the Muslims even in the field of language. But Gandhiji's advocacy of Hindustani, which is the direct result of this tendency, has gone a long way to confuse matters rather than simplify them. The type of Hindustani he advocates and presses for adoption as *Lingua-Indica* is not accepted by the Hindi-writers nor by those of the Urdu.

The book under review exhaustively surveys the whole field of the language question and suitably supports the cause and case of Hindi. But where the advocacy of Hindi has been a little more anxious than scientific, the criticism of Hindustani and its supporters has been somewhat overdone. Yet the book contains a lot of information for the general reader.

M. S. Sengar

MARATHI

AMCHEEN AKRA VARSHEN : *By Leela Patwardhan. Published by Y. G. Joshi, Poona 2. Price Rs. 4.*

The name of 'Madhav Julian' otherwise known as Prof. M. T. Patwardhan is one to conjure with in the world of modern Marathi letters. He was a poet of rare merit as also a literary critic. His wife, Mrs. Leela Patwardhan, has described his domestic life with quite intimate, humourous touches in this book covering their married life of eleven years. It makes quite absorbing reading for all who are acquainted with the late poet-critic's literary and intellectual achievements. Some of his idiosyncracies and eccentricities also make amusing reading, because in a man of his calibre the reader is in a tolerant frame of mind.

PALAKANSATHI (four booklets) : *By Mrs. Tarabai Modak, M.L.A. Published by Padma Publications, Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay. Prices ten annas, twelve annas, Re. 1-8 and Re. 1-4.*

In these four booklets an experienced woman teacher of Maharashtra has packed practical instructions for the edification of parents and guardians. Replies to questions like why children are quite often obdurate, why they become turbulent, how even they have pride and self-respect are sympathetically given with the skill of an experienced psychologist and psychiatrist.

T. V. Parvate

KANNADA

GALGANATH : *A critical estimate of the late Venkatash Tirako Kulkarni Galganath, pioneer novelist of Karnataka. Published by Karnataka Vidya Vardhak Sangha, Dharwar. Pp. 3+59+13. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of four essays written on the occasion of a symposium arranged under the auspices of Samyukta Karnataka Sangha of Bombay on 22nd April 1945. Prof. Jagirdar's preface has added to the utility of the book in that it gives a lucid exposition of Galganath's contribution to the development of Kannada. At a time when Kannadigas were oblivious of their great literary and cultural heritage Mr. Galganath appeared on the horizon and by his steadfast devotion to the muse for over three decades inspired people with a love for their language and literature. Since then his method of winning public approbation for his literary output has become a matter of envy for the reputed writers of today. The four critical essays in this book bring out the salient features of Galganath's greatness as a man of letters. Mr. V. M. Inamdar has tried to probe into the background of environmental impulses that influenced and moulded the pattern of his writings. Mr. Neglur has attempted the analysis of his greatness as a writer and an individual and has ended it by saying that Galganath lived a life of dedication to the Kannada muse and self-culture. That the writings of Galganath bear the indelible imprint of indigenous Kannada life and culture is the critical verdict of Mr. Kallur. His works reveal his noble personality is the estimate given by Mr. Patil. The book like its hero appears to be small in size but is indeed great in its influence over the outlook of posterity in understanding the past. The essays are attuned to the intellectual capacity and taste of modern students of Kannada literature and are worth a perusal. The price appears to be rather disproportionately high looking to the size and utility of the book. The style of the essays is easy and limpid.

V. B. Naik

GUJARATI

GHAR NI AG : *By Ramanik A. Mehta. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1944. Cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 3-12.*

Ever since 1886 the weekly *Gujarati* has been presenting its readers every year with a historical novel. This is the sixty-first. Its writer is familiar with the aspects of Indian history and he has chosen for his subject, the political condition of Rajputana from about 1786-87 A.D. The distrust that prevailed amongst Hindu Rulers themselves is portrayed here and it was this internecine state of affairs that led to India's downfall. has been made clear by means of excerpts from various historical works. The close and wide study of the writer is shown by the Bibliography and extracts taken from documents bearing on the subject. How the Marathas and specially the Brahmin officers of the Peshwas robbed and looted their own Hindu brethren and their religious places, need not be related but the burden of the song sung by the author is their behaviour. It is a graphic picture.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IRON MUSCLES and STEEL NERVES



Physical Exercise is the best way to develop such a system.

If... however, you are weak or run-down and not fit enough for exercise, *make yourself fit* by taking a course of

CALCHEMICO'S

VIVINA

Ask for our medical literature.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA

DRINK
SNOW VIEW
DARJEELING TEA
SOLE DISTRIBUTORS —
Kamalalaya Stores Ld.

For

ALL
YOUR
REQUIREMENTS,
AND ON
ALL OCCASIONS

Let

KAMALALAYA
STORES, LTD.

MEET YOUR
DEMANDS

156A, Dharamtolla Street,
Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says** :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office:—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours:—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone: B. B. 3685.

Branch Office:—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone: Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE:—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS**, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Need for Development of University Schools of Geography in India

Geography, as its name indicates, is the scientific study of the Earth and its inhabitants which should include not only men but animals and plants. *Science and Culture* observes :

It is this science that synthesizes the findings of other allied sciences like geology (structure of the Earth's crust), pedology (science of soil) and hydrology (study of water) to provide us with a clear picture of our present and potential resources of all kinds and also tells us how best the country's resources could be utilized and conserved in the national interest. India is on the threshold of revolutionary changes, and in order to build up a new India, a prosperous India, it is essential to have a clear picture of the elements which form the different geographic environments in different parts of the country.

The concept of regionalism is a distinct contribution of geographers. For example, the block of land surface which covers Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, with its rich deposits of coal and metallic minerals, possesses a distinct regional personality, and hence its economic development should be planned conjointly in spite of artificial division into provinces. In India, we have through ages, and even in modern times, failed to realize the importance of regionalism in our national life with the result that the growing ideas of Indian nationhood show signs of early disruption due to the cancerous growth of feelings of provincialism and communalism. If this is allowed to grow in free India, our national progress will be crippled. This is the time to have a clear blue-print drawn up on scientific lines for a territorial re-grouping of India for administrative convenience, based on the regional concept.

In any plan of economic regeneration, geographers have distinct role to play. Geographers can help to visualize the extent and distribution of different classes of land available for different uses and can trace out the causes of low yield per acre in respect of most of our cultivated crops. For want of a proper geographical knowledge, some 70,000 square miles of arable land (nearly forty-five million acres) still remain to be brought under the plough in India. In a country like India where over 70 per cent of the population get their living from agriculture, these are vital problems.

Geographers will also be useful in drawing up plans for the rational location of industries, for the purpose of achieving maximum efficiency at a minimum social cost.

And until that is done it will be very difficult to transform India from a backward agrarian country to an important industrial country. Rivers of India blessed with abundant rainfall during the monsoon season and considerable breaks in the *thalwegs* ought to have been harnessed not only for storing water for irrigation, but also for navigation, flood prevention, and for generating cheap power both for cottage industries and large-scale industrial establishments. Very little has been done so far on these lines, and we have even failed to collect sufficient basic hydrological data relating to the topographic characteristics, and maximum, minimum and average discharge of our rivers, a knowledge of which is the *sine qua non* of any scientific planning.

We are also losing some of our mineral resources like manganese, illmenite at such an alarming rate that when the time will come to utilize them in national interest we may find ourselves completely bereft of our rich heritage. It is for the geographer to focus the attention of the general public to this ruthless exploitation of some of our exhaustible but irreplaceable national resources like coal which not only makes us poorer as time passes on, but also has a devastating effect on agricultural operations by giving rise to soil erosion and overburdening the drainage channels with sands and gravels.

The transport system of India also needs a thorough overhauling from the geographic point of view. In Bengal alone, thousands of miles of trunk roads which once connected all the historic towns and trade centres are today in disrepair; many a river like the Damodar and the Ajay in West Bengal or the rivers in Central Bengal, which used to carry merchandise in the past, have become unnavigable today. On the other hand, the railway system which was developed at the expense of roads and waterways hardly serves even one-third of the populated areas in most of the provinces and States, and the railway embankments in a low-lying province like Bengal have unnecessarily interfered with the natural drainage channels, causing untold sufferings to the millions who live in villages In fact, the rivers of Bengal and people of rural Bengal were sacrificed in the atar of capitalistic Mammon which brought the railways to existence, and though the Mammon has given way to State-ownership, the evil remains.

In social and political spheres we also need the help of the geographer.

In the social field, geographers have a special part to play in effecting a balance between urban and rural aspects of our national life. In the political field the geographer's job is to bring about a consciousness among the people of India about the ideal geographic position of the country in relation to the countries and seas bordering it. A specialized geo-political study on the German or American lines can reveal strength and weakness of the Indian State in relation to world powers, enabling our political leaders to plan beforehand.

India's Unity in Diversity

In every aspect, Indian national life has been, through the ages, a synthesis and an integration of different parts into a single whole. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar writes in *The New Review* :

India is a sub-continent of different races, tribes and peoples. She is a land of different religions and philosophies, different languages and dialects. She is also a land of varying climates and temperatures. But with all this diversity, there is an underlying unity in her. This unity is something wonderful, arresting, continuous and thought-provoking. This unity is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fundamental one, a puzzle to the foreigner and a paradox to the superficial observer.

Let us first take up the geographical aspect of India.

India is a vast country stretching nearly 2,000 miles either from the north to south or from the east to the west. In spite of these huge distances, she has through the ages continued to be, a geographical unit. Encircled by impassable barriers of mountains on the North, Northwest and Northeast, and surrounded by the sea on other sides, she is a geographical unit. The Common talk of the people was to regard India as one indivisible whole by the expression *a-setu himacalam* meaning from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. It has been well known in Hindu literature as Bharatavarsha and Bharatakhanda. Even today in the Hindu *sankalpas* which are preliminary to our rituals of various kinds, we describe a geography of India, beginning with Bharatavarsha and Bharatakhanda.

In addition to these, the mountain systems, the river systems, and the position of towns and cities went to give a finish to the geographical unity which was already there in relief. The Hindus speak of important hill-ranges as Kulaparvatas. The Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Malaya Hills among others were great mountains to which the whole nation paid reverential homage.

Besides the great hills, the majestic rivers of India have their tale to tell in rousing a national conception of the whole motherland. The Vedic Indian burst into patriotic fervour when he sent forth his prayer to the rivers of India of which he had a knowledge. In the post-Vedic period it was the common prayer of the Hindu bather, whether of the south or north, wherever he bathed whether in a river, a tank or well to invoke the great rivers of India to be present at the bathing place so as to attain purity physical and mental. The well-known verse invoked is

Gange ca Jamune caiva Godavari Saraswati
Narmade Sindhu Kaveri Jalesmin Sannidhin Kuru.

The southerner wanted very much to go to Benares and have a dip in the sacred Ganges or the still more sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. In the same way a religious spirit pervaded the northerner to visit Ramesvaram and Kanyakumari in the southernmost part of India. The Kaveri was the noblest of rivers.

A critical study of India's history bears full evidence to the fact that India was not only a good geographical but also a political entity.

India realised a democratic form of government from the very earliest times.

That the Vedic king was no arbitrary ruler is proved by numerous facts—his election to the throne by the people, the oath at his succession to the throne and the advice and guidance he received from the Samiti, the popular assembly. The Sabha which is said to be a sister of the Samiti was another popular assembly which had judicial and other functions to perform. It is said that the Vedic king went to the Samiti and Sabha for consultation and deliberation. It may be noted in passing that these two assemblies were presided over by a President, a man of unique ability and character. Possibly he was a non-official president.

The same state of affairs continued in an advanced state in the epic age. The Sabha and other popular assemblies continued. The political institutions had much developed and we hear of a cabinet in which the major communities were represented.

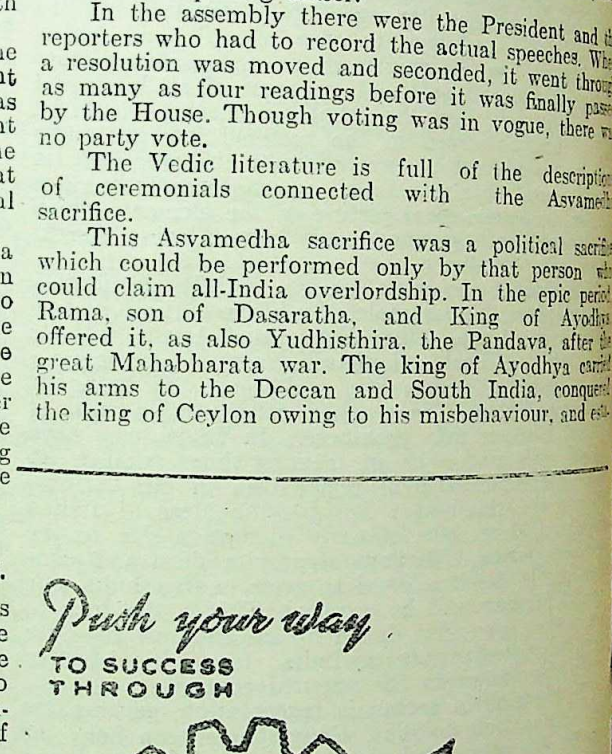
In that age there was also a new departure in the political evolution. This was the republican form of government inaugurated and worked with signal success.

Fortunately for us the Buddhist books have preserved the detailed working of the different republics in ancient India. Among them the Licchavi republic seems to have been very ancient and this constitution appealed to the Buddha so much that he introduced that organisation in his religious Sangha and at the same time encouraged these political republics, laying stress on full assemblies to be convoked frequently and to vote nothing that went against the established usages and conventions. Most interesting in this connection is the procedure. Each assembly had its hall and voting was secretly done on pieces of wood, and there was a polling officer.

In the assembly there were the President and the reporters who had to record the actual speeches. When a resolution was moved and seconded, it went through as many as four readings before it was finally passed by the House. Though voting was in vogue, there was no party vote.

The Vedic literature is full of the descriptions of ceremonials connected with the Asvamedha sacrifice.

This Asvamedha sacrifice was a political sacrifice which could be performed only by that person who could claim all-India overlordship. In the epic period Rama, son of Dasaratha, and King of Ayodhya offered it, as also Yudhisthira, the Pandava, after the great Mahabharata war. The king of Ayodhya carried his arms to the Deccan and South India, conquered the king of Ceylon owing to his misbehaviour, and esta-



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

blished his overlordship from the Himalayas to Ceylon. This was also the case with Yudhisthira after the victory in the war at Kurukshetra. The political unification of all India was an accomplished fact in the time of the Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The monarchy as a form of government gained strength. It became a constitutional monarchy where the king should rule the land as a father would behave towards his children; he was *Chakravarti*, meaning an emperor. He was guided by checks, like the *paura* or citizen assembly and the *janapada* or the assembly representing the interests of rural parts. Hence the whole of India was politically known by the technical term *Chakravartikshetram*, as is definitely seen in the Kautilya Arthasastra. This was the idea underlying the very significant passage in the Ramayana put into the mouth of Rama speaking to Vali : *Iksavakunam ayam bhumi sa-saila-vana-kanana.*

Thus Rama claims an all-India overlordship and justifies thereby his punishing all with death. It includes the whole of India with its mountains, forests and plains. In the passage in the Arthasastra (9th Ch.) the term is *Tiryakcakravartiksetram* or the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the Ocean. This is India proper, *tiryak* apparently denotes east to west.

The concept of an all-India empire and consequently the political unity of India is envisaged by the Arthasastra.

In the historical period the first all-India empire was under the Nandas, then were the empires of the Mauryas, the Sungas, and the Guptas. Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, Pusyamitra, Samudragupta were all imperial kings. Some of them performed *Asvamedha* sacrifice.

The Guptas were historically speaking the last imperial sovereigns of Hindu India. The latter kings attempted to perform the horse sacrifice and to wield high-sounding titles, but their sovereignty was limited to smaller areas, and no longer was India a political unit until we come to the great Mughal emperor, Akbar, and his immediate successors.

Even the hardest of critics has to admit the cultural unity underlying India's vast and varied history spreading over millenniums.

To start with, unity of culture is to a great extent based on language. There was in India one sacred language, and one sacred literature. This language was Sanskrit or Sanskrit, and the literature was the Vedas. All India paid homage to this language and this literature and zealously preserved them through the ages, carrying them literally by oral tradition from the master to the pupil. Thus the Sanskrit language and the Vedic literature led to a common mode of thinking and the growth and development of common ideas and common ideals.

Thus the unity of India, as has been already said, has its origins in ancient Hindu culture. People may speak different dialects but they attach a national significance to Sanskrit as the sacred language and attach divinity to the huge mass of Vedic literature. Hindu life is regulated by the injunctions laid down in this literature.

The singleness of the mother country was stressed by the distribution of rivers, mountains and sacred places of pilgrimage. The distribution of these centres was arranged in such a way that one's purpose in life was not complete if one had not visited them, worshipped at their shrines and bathed in their river ghats. Religion proved the surest way to the goal of national unity. The pilgrim felt that to whatever place he went, it was truly his home.

In this land, centuries back was sung the soul-stirring line :

Janani Janmabhumisca Svargadapi Gariyasi
(Mother and motherland are greater than heaven).

The conception that society is an organism in which the various functional groups are the limbs was well realised in ancient India. One group actually supports and supplements the other groups and by so doing helps all the groups to visualize a fundamental unity within diversity. The society was built then on a religious foundation of mutual aid, mutual understanding and mutual advantage. If men had not lived as brothers and if men of higher castes had always treated the lower castes with inhumanity and cruelty as is being pictured today, civil wars would have overtaken this vast land and left black pages in her history. The absence of these shows that peace and contentment and the consequent prosperity generally reigned in the land.

Whether religion instilled patriotism into Indian minds or patriotism got itself refined into religion, the fact is that both operated in such a way as to bring about one mode of thought and one form of life among the masses.

There were other factors of equal importance which brought together the diverse communities for common purposes stimulated by common ideals. There were the national festivals, national forms of entertainment as reflected in the music and dancing.

Again music and dancing had their religious touch apart from the secular. It is the divine music of Lord Krishna that enchanted the then Indian world with beaming love, while the eternal dance of Siva as Nataraja sent a thrill from the Himalayan Kailasa to South Indian Chidambaram, filling one and all with fervent devotion.

This takes us to examine another aspect of Indian civilisation, the marvel and glory of India's heritage, *viz.*, architecture and sculpture. The majority of classical ruins are concerned with carving in stone the incidents of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, besides the legends transmitted in the Puranas. One finds on the different panels of the huge temples, on their walls and gopurams, the national heroes and their heroic deeds sculptured. The mute monuments of India bear witness to the solidarity of an Indian nation. Royal craftsmen of Magadha and the master craftsmen of all India joined together in erecting huge edifices scattered from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Our builders did not lose their individuality as a nation, even when they left for alien countries in search of territory and settlement for purposes of trade.

One can confidently ask whether we could have flourishing centuries of unbroken art-tradition in this

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office :

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN :

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

land if we had had century-long struggles between one community and another or between the north and the south, if we had not lived by common consent, and if we had no political unity.

Thwarting Nature

Vaikuntha L. Mehta writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

At the last meeting of the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research approval seems to have been accorded to schemes for the introduction of power farming and for an extension of the use of tractors for purposes of cultivation. Provincial Governments have been advised to purchase and own tractors for being leased to cultivators. Before any such step is taken it is to be hoped that these Governments will examine the economics of tractor cultivation in general and for its suitability to Indian conditions in particular. When they do so they may well ponder over the observations contained in Sir Albert Howard's *An Agricultural Testament*, the fourth impression of which has been published lately. According to him, it is doubtful in the first place, whether ordinarily the turning over of the soil of the type which tractor ploughing involves is helpful to the soil in preserving its fertility. The urine and the dung that the plough animals yield are invaluable constituents of the farmyard manure which, more than any other single factor, is essential for keeping the fertility of the soil. Besides, as he puts it, if we speed up growth we must accelerate decay.

In recent discussions on agricultural improvement, the experts, official and non-official, set much store by the use of chemical fertilizers. Sir Albert Howard's thesis is that the application of artificial aids to production impairs the fertility of the soil, which can be retained only by ensuring conditions in which humus flourishes. Nature has ordained that the soil must live and the mycorrhizal association must be an essential link in plant nutrition.

Renewal of humus in the soil is ensured by the adoption of methods of cultivation such as those in vogue in China and India which supply to the soil the dung and the urine of plough cattle and enable large quantities of farmyard manure to be collected without much trouble and cost.

With the spread of artificials and the exhaustion of the original supplies of humus carried by every fertile soil, there has been a corresponding increase in the diseases of the crops and of the animals which feed on them.

Equally emphatic is Sir Albert Howard in his condemnation of the artificial methods employed lately in processing and preserving foods and fruits. The Food Department of the Central Government seems to contemplate the encouragement by the State of industries for food processing and the preservation of fruits and vegetables. By dehydration, canning, and resort to similar methods, food may be preserved for a time but none pauses to inquire what the effect of the use of these foods is on the life of the community over a long period. The use of white bread, canned fruit, tinned salmon, dried milk—all sophisticated foods—creates conditions which lead to infant mortality and general debility such as can be countered only by reversion to the right kind of food—natural, fresh, home-grown and hand-processed.

MARXIST-LENINIST BOOKS

SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF MARX AND ENGELS :

500 pp. Cloth bound. **Rs. 5**

The character and contributions of two correspondents give this book an extraordinary fascination. They discuss their practical work in the labour movement, comment on current political events, elaborate their REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, and discuss in outline their fundamental books.

A TEST BOOK OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM :

By DAVID GUEST. 90 pp. **12 As.**

Written by a brilliant young English philosopher who was killed in Spanish Civil War in 1938, the book deals briefly and lucidly with such aspects of dialectical materialism as the general nature of dialectics, dialectics and society, and the philosophical struggle today. It also includes suggestions for further reading.

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION :

By R. P. DUTT. 390 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 4-8**

This is incomparably the best book on Fascism that has yet been written. It is not too much to say that it is the duty of every anti-fascist in the world not only to read but master thoroughly every word of it.

V. I. LENIN :

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

Prepared by

Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.

284 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 3-8**

This is a text-book of Marxism as put into practice by Lenin and can best be compared with the "Short History of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevics)". It will appeal to the academic mind which wants to make a thorough study of Lenin's work. It is a concise, well-documented account of Lenin's life and work as revolutionary leader and man of action, and as thinker and philosopher. It is a piece of research, the work of people who are thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and who are at the source of all information available.

NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY LIMITED, 12, College Square, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Teachers on Strike

The New Review observes :

Thousands of teachers are on strike, and many more thousands are threatening to join them. The case is symptomatic of post-war maladjustment. Yet the case should not be judged according to the ordinary rules. Usually strikes affect producers of commodities, employers and employees ; here the conflict engages not only teachers and school authorities, but it directly affects the pupils who are like an innocent third party, and who have all the rights of little human persons even when they are not vociferous about their right to schooling. Their right is voiced and protected by their parents. There exists a contract between parents and school authorities, a contract directly related to the pupils ; there is then a second contract between school authorities and teachers. A breach of the second contract directly affects the first, and implies damage to a third party, which complicates all strike or lock-out issues.

In the present strikes, it is difficult to say which is more surprising, the long suffering patience of the teachers or the apathy of parents and their elected representatives. Nothing can tell how low we have fallen more than the miserable pay of many full-time teachers. Rs. 15 a month, to be, in a supreme effort of social sense, raised to a magnanimous Rs. 20 ! And the rise is granted without apology. Have the Government, the municipalities, the school authorities, the parents lost all sense of justice and decency ?

A little arithmetic will go a long way to stir our social conscience, and show how far we have to proceed if we want to give our teachers the minimum family wage which is their right. In India the normal family counts five members among which we may assume one is an infant so that family resources must meet the requirements of four adults. The consumption of rice per head per month easily reaches 20 seers, so that this sole item of food amounts to 80 seers a month. Where are we going to get that amount for Rs. 15 ? The expenditure on other staple food would hardly differ. Now from many studies on family-budgets, it may be taken that the total expenditure for families just above the poverty-line is more than double their expenditure on foodstuffs. In short the minimum just family wage should be made to cover the costs of more than 160 seers of rice.

This method of calculating the minimum wage by doubling the cost of foodstuffs to the employees gives an approximation remaining below what we believe to be the human standard of life and may help us to revise the salaries and wages of all who are in our employ. It should be especially welcome by those who know the Papal Encyclicals by heart but feel shy of attempting to give them an arithmetical application. Our estimate of what real minimum wages should be, approximates the standard put forth by Mr. Frank Anthony during the discussion of the last Railway Budget in the Central Assembly ; he claimed Rs. 60 as the lowest wage on railways and suggested that this would be fair basis for wages all over India. The Railway member countered with the objection that the railways could not afford that amount ; the objection will be repeated all round and is probably valid in many cases. It does not dispense authorities from studying a fair redistribution of the national income on behalf of teachers and others. If the Central Government, for instance, did not need the Excess Profit Tax, could they not have changed it into a Primary Education Tax on behalf of our famished teachers ?

And to the teachers, we can only say : 'Have due regard for the school kids, and mind your own ; do not rest until you reach Rs. 60 a month. Those who can't pay you that much owe you an apology and . . . funeral expenses.'



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding). ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,

261-263, Hornby Road,

Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Poet Iqbal—Indian

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Gurdial Mallik writes of one of the greatest of India's modern sons whose death anniversary falls on the 21st of April. Iqbal was a lover of his country as well as of the Divine. A poet, a philosopher, an ardent Muslim, Sir Muhammad Iqbal was also an Indian patriot :

Over half a century ago, at Lahore, at a poetic symposium where poets, probationers as well as past-masters, had foregathered to recite their respective compositions, there was enacted a scene which has been preserved in the memory of the public. After the programme had been well-nigh concluded there sprang to his feet a stripling of hardly twenty summers, who had been seated among the audience. And in a voice that was resonant and with a face wreathed in radiance, he burst forth in an Urdu couplet that, rendered into English, would read :

The drops from my tears of repentance were
picked up by divine grace
And regarded as pearls.

All looked up in utter amazement. The eyes of not a few were wet with tears. But one, advanced in age, experience and aspiration, went over to where the young man stood, stroked his head in token of blessing and said to him, "My lad, you *are* a poet in the true Indian tradition."

It is a thousand pities, indeed, that Muhammad Iqbal—for the youth who had startled the audience at the poetic symposium was none other than he—should have had the Indian aspect of his poetic genius and personality placed in the background, for several years past, by quite a larger number of his admirers who have represented him as the parent of Pakistan.

This essay aims at emphasising the Indianness of Iqbal.

An Indian, whether a pedlar of wealth or of wisdom or a poet who wings his way through life on visions, is a person who has, deep down in his consciousness, a strong sense of his oneness with all Life : more concretely, with his fellow-men. He rejects racialism, religiosity and ritual which impede the unfoldment of this oneness in his ideals and activities. And so sings Iqbal :

He who will make distinctions of colour and
blood will perish—
He may be a nomadic Turk or a pedigreed
Arab.

Again, in his song which has come to occupy the honoured place of our national anthem :

We are Indians.
India is our country.
Religion never preaches mutual animosity.

In world-wide fellowship lies the secret of human fulfilment and freedom.

The arch-enemy that stands in the way of the individual's association with or affection for all is his instinct of separateness in the name of self-preservation. It is this which assumes in the aggregate the nature of nationalism. And nationalism gives birth, before long, to a brood of barrier-building creeds like churchianity or untouchability and credoes like the colour-bar, or race-superiority. What is, then, an antidote to this engineered antipathy between man and man ? It is the sovereign solvent of Love :

If you realize it, the secret of freedom lies
in love,
And slavery is the result of distinguishing one
from another.

It is because the West, he thought, had set up a shop, so to speak, for selling the counterfeits of love—for her many "isms" in politics, economics and ethics have often resulted in the breach, if not the abrogation of the law of mutual aid and aspiration—that he warned her, long ago, that her civilization would commit suicide one day, with the very weapons which she had invented for conquest and carnage. And today, as we survey the scene around us, our eyes can read the writing on the wall.

Now love is a creative principle as well as a power. It is at once daemonic and dynamic.

It is ever a secret, because the source whence it emanates and on which it draws in its work of self-integration, is beyond the intellect of mortal man. It is like the tree, the roots of which are enveloped in invisibility ; one can see only the foliage, the flowers and the fruit.

In the heart of love there dwells the desire to give itself to another, be this other a person's *alter ego* or his community, his church or his country.

When an individual attaches himself with a
group,
The drop in its quest for expansion becomes
an ocean.

And it is to clothe and consummate this self-prompted, self-imposed "bondage" into beauty that man craves to create art, literature and other vehicles of his self-development. If Nature is God's art-gallery, man likes to match it with one of his own. For, love can be made luminous only through the script and symphony of joy "in widest commonalty spread." In the measure in which man is creative, he is a son of God.

One who does not possess creative power,
To us is naught, but an infidel and a heretic.
Thou didst create night and I made the lamp.
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup.

The beatitude of the individual is his uniqueness. His being King in his own right is his greatest glory.

Do not demean your personality by imitation,
Preserve it as it is a priceless jewel.

Love is like the bird's unquenchable longing for flight, away from its limited nest on earth into the illimitable empyrean above. For it, self-sufficiency is death, as stagnation is death for the stream which is ever speeding to meet the sea.

Life is naught but a love for flight,
A nest is not the place for it.

In the syllogism of the Spirit, love and life become convertible terms.

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge :—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall. Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What makes the former fallacious is a derogation or denial of the latter. Truly did the Teacher of Nazareth say, "God is Love" and "Love is God." It is in the integrity of this spiritual equation that man can claim his kinship with the Creator of the Universe. And equally what cancels out this equation is fear in one of its myriad forms, from abasement to awe. What is permissible, perhaps, is "fear of God," in the sense of one's awe of Him, induced by one's intuitive, emotional or intellectual conception of His existence and attributes.

Fear of anybody except God is inimical to action.
It is a robber of the caravan of life.

And it is in the context of this comprehension that even death loses its sting of suffering, or of self-effacement for man. He can smile at its approach and eventuation, for he knows, through his luminous love for God, that every time he dies, physically or figuratively, he is being drawn nearer and nearer to his flaming faith and fulfilment in Him, the Ever-present Eternal. Death, in other words, is to him a call to pledge himself to God and say to Him, "I am ever Thine. Thine for ever and for ever."

I tell you, the sign of a super-man :
When death comes there is a smile on his lips.

And if the last utterance of a man, before he passes out of the body, be any correct clue to his heart's ultimate yearning—as they say it is—then there is no doubt that the strongest undercurrent of Iqbal's self-expression was a seeking after the Supreme Reality. For, it was the winged Word of the ages, "God," that was on his lips as he breathed his farewell to the world in April, 1938.

Thus in his outlook on life, as in his attitude, Iqbal was an Indian in the long line of this country's lovers of God. These have all along set greater store by the transmuting touch of divine grace than by their energy or the achievement of their own exertions. And yet their dependence on that grace has not been akin to that of a slave on his master, but similar to child's love-dictated dependence on his parents. Further, this dependence is of a dynamic type, because Love is an active incentive and inspiration, as it is also aspiration.

Be a lover constant in devotion to the beloved,
That thou may'st cast thy noose and capture God.

Iqbal's ceaseless search was for the Super-man, the Divine Man, the man in whom the beauty of love and the love of beauty shine forth in all their splendour.

It is the quest of the Brahmin for Brahma. (Was it in this spirit that he once referred to himself as "a man of Brahmin extraction, versed in the mystic knowledge of Rumi and Tabriz?") *Apropos* of this, and to conclude, the story (a favourite of Iqbal's and one rendered by him poetically) of the Master with a lantern, roaming everywhere in search of Man may be succinctly told :

The Master said, "I am tired of devil and beast. I desire a man."
"He is nowhere to be found," they replied.
He said, "A thing that is not to be found—that is what I desire."

—



For CHARM and BEAUTY—

CALCHEMICO'S

LA-BONNY THE BEAUTY SNOW

a refreshing and fragrant skin cream for a soft and velvety complexion.

RENUKA TOILET POWDER

a Neem (margosia) Powder which prevents and cures PRICKLY HEAT and skin eruptions, *and ideal as a toilet powder for daily use.*

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED :—

For	one	year	@	4 1/2 p.c. p.a.
„	two	years	@	5 1/2 p.c. p.a.
„	three	„	@	6 1/2 p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—**Honeycomb.** Phone :—Cal. 3381.

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden		*Mill*
Bengal Cotton Estate Tripura	MARCH 1942 — 15%	SONARPUR (B. & A. Rly.)
	„ 1943 — 10%	
	„ 1944 — 10%	
	„ 1945 — 10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED

For 3 years — — @ 7 1/2%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Wells and Shaw : Two Independent Socialists

Victor S. Yarros writes in *Unity* :

Several Anglo-Saxon and American generations have been molded and guided, to a very considerable degree, by Herbert G. Wells, novelist, radical social thinker, and independent Socialist, and by George Bernard Shaw, brilliant, paradoxical, indefatigable playwright, critic, essayist, and independent Fabian Socialist. Neither of these gifted, influential and famous reformers can be claimed by any party, faction, or school. Both have had, and have preached, ideas of their own. Both have freely, sometimes aggressively, criticized their respective comrades and co-workers. Both, however, have done much to promote the evolutionary Socialist movement. We owe them much, but we cannot blink at their weaknesses and aberrations. Both have posed as sober realists, and both have indulged in Utopian dreaming and erratic philosophizing.

Wells has assailed Marxian Socialism bitterly and savagely. Lenin called him, contemptuously, "a little bourgeois." Wells has also ridiculed the Fabian leaders; he has railed at their timidity and dread of insecurity and of danger of social disorder and strife. They are mostly, he pointed out, civil servants, living on small but regular salaries and expecting pensions in old age. Such men—shy, nervous—according to Wells, do not shake the world, do not lead or inspire masses of disinherited and discontented victims of privilege and injustice.

But, while Wells has been a champion of radical changes, of internationalism, of world-government, of thoroughgoing economic democracy, he has never had clear, definite opinions regarding the means, processes, machinery, and type of leadership and generalship required to effectuate the necessary and desirable reforms in economic, political, and social relations. From the people he has said frankly, we can expect no help whatever, since they are too ignorant, too amiable, too gullible, too unreliable.

The truth is, Wells is not a genuine democrat. His own humble birth appears to have given him an inferiority complex, and he admires the British aristocracy while rationalizing his feeling by assuring himself that it is the aristocracy of intellect, nobility, and service that he cherishes, not the actual aristocracy of Britain.

How, then, would Wells transform and elevate the society he condemns, and to what groups does he look for effective leadership ? He has at different periods had different notions. At one time he counted upon the engineers, technicians, and industrial managers who—he thought with Veblen—are not interested in the profit motive, have no low ambition, do not worship success, believe in efficiency of the right kind, and might undertake the reconstruction of the present system for the good of the whole community. He was not long in discarding this hope or expectation. At another time he was disposed to think that elderly and prosperous men of affairs, experienced and broad-minded executives, when contemplating retirement, would resolve to turn over their plants to co-operatives formed by their employees, and rejoice in the opportunity thus granted them of conferring great benefits on faithful employees without sacrificing anything worthy or important. The actual example of an Irish industrialist and peer suggested this solution to Wells, as he subsequently disclosed. But he soon realized that very few men of affairs are at all likely to follow the example of the altruistic and enlightened peer. Finally, Wells reached the conclusion that only in the most liberal and humane kind of education, would social salvation ultimately be found. The race, he has said many times, "is between education and catastrophe," and there is little time to be lost. But now, in his old age and rapidly declining health, Wells has despaired of humanity, and is extremely pessimistic. The atomic bomb spells the end of civilization, he thinks, and all he now recommends is stoicism and resignation. Like Tolstoy, perhaps, he would prescribe universal suicide for the wretched, irredeemable human race.

Wells may not be long remembered as a novelist, as he fully realizes. Yet he has written several very remarkable novels : *Tono-Bungay, Ann Veronica, The World of William Clissold,* and others. In these he has expounded his personal views on society, education, government, the economic system, theology, history, letters, and the ignorant treatment of sex in modern pseudo-Christian civilizations. Many of his specific opinions are as sound as they are vigorously expressed. In fact, his vitality and literary power are extraordinary. He is better as an analyst, a dissector, a challenger and agitator, a destroyer of conventions and superstitions than as a positive and constructive philosopher. There can be no doubt, though, that he has won many converts to Socialism and rationalism.

George Bernard Shaw, another prolific and amazingly versatile writer and thinker, has always been a law unto himself. He has been a sort of *enfant terrible* of



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878

Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the radical reform movement. A co-founder of the Fabian school he has never been a consistent Fabian. He disagreed with some of their beliefs. For example, he has insisted, until lately, upon equality of incomes under Socialism. That is Communism, not Fabian Socialism. In recent years, he has advocated the abolition of gross and scandalous inequalities in income only. His new "practical" test is the possibility or likelihood of intermarriage between classes. The very rich and the poor do not intermarry, he says, and that separation is fatal to intellectual and moral progress. prevents eugenic mating, creates deep class antagonisms. Few Fabians share this view.

Shaw has been for several decades an earnest Socialist, but he has not made many converts. He is too whimsical, too erratic. He has even found merit in Mussolini and Fascism, because these "have done things." He has denounced Parliament and government by discussion because these institutions are slow, uncertain, incapable of dealing energetically with emergencies. He has, by implication, favored dictatorships. He has often played the part of a clown. His extravagances and exaggerations have made people smile or laugh, but he has paid a penalty—he has not been taken seriously.

Even in his perfectly sober moods, Shaw has, as he confesses, "habitually and deliberately overstated [his] case." This, in essays or books meant to be persuasive, is invariably detrimental. Shaw is a keen economist, and no one has written on rent and interest more profoundly than he, but he spoils his argument by lapses into eccentricity and caricature. Wit is not enough. The propagandist of new ideas must never forget the role of good sense in controversy. Shaw has often outraged common sense—especially in his treatment of the first World War. He cannot resist the temptation to bewilder and shock the middle class and the politicians.

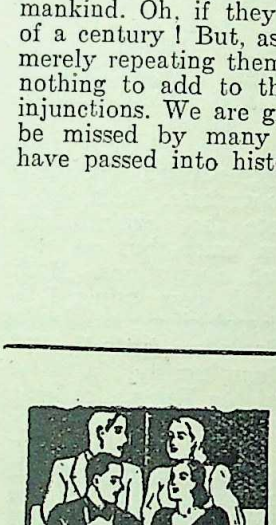
As a playwright, Shaw has been uniquely successful. Several of his comedies—drama he cannot manage—are a permanent feature of the world's theatrical repertory. His *Candida, Pygmalion, Caesar and Cleopatra,* and others, are delightful and flawless. Some are dated rather badly, and others have been too verbose and "talky" to hold audiences. Max Beerbohm called his plays Platonic dialogues. In his plays Shaw never preaches sermons. Where a social moral is discernible, it is not obtrusive or obvious. Shaw cannot be vulgar or coarse. He has never offended against civilized taste. He is essentially a Puritan. He is not a Christian, but his ideas on religion are conservative. He refuses to put the Agnostic label on himself. He believes in the "Life Force," another name for vitalism. He says he is too old to examine critically the newer religious concepts. About his attitude toward marriage and the family there is nothing heterodox or unconventional. He has had no sympathy with the fads and fancies of the recent art schools. He has been a sound critic of music and the drama, and a penetrating one. But his interpretation of the Wagner Ring of the Nibelungen is fantastic and little short of absurd. He thinks it is a Socialist tract, an indictment of capitalism, greed, and commercialism. Few musicians or writers agree with him in this odd notion.

Certainly the Nazis did not agree!

Shaw's dislike of the United States, repeatedly proclaimed without rhyme or reason, is a striking illustration of sheer "crankiness." He finally condescended, after much coaxing by American admirers, to "stop over" in New York for one day and deliver one address, in belated acknowledgment, as he said, of his profound debt to Henry George, the single taxer, whose book, *Progress and Poverty,* it appears, first opened Shaw's eyes to the iniquity of land monopoly and the imperative necessity of getting rid of it as the principal obstacle to human advancement. Now, Shaw never adopted Henry George's theory, never advocated the single tax on rent, never shared George's objections to Socialism. He read George, but he joined the Fabian Society, with which George had no sympathy whatever. Decidedly, here is a double paradox, typically Shavian. But Shaw has boasted of his independence of, and superiority to, logic. What his substitute for logic is we have not been told. It is not common sense. He has so puzzled and irritated people that many have doubted his intellectual integrity and have just declined to take him seriously on *any* question. This is a pity, but he has no one but himself to blame. The radical reform movement can use satire, irony, humor, invective, in addition to sober argument, but it is not aided by trifling and clowning. Shaw complains that no one has really understood him. Has he understood himself?

Both Wells and Shaw have bemoaned the brevity of the human span of life. Both think that they have not said all they have to say and would like to say to mankind. Oh, if they only could have another quarter of a century! But, as a matter of fact, they have been merely repeating themselves in recent years. They have nothing to add to their respective instructions and injunctions. We are grateful to them, but they will not be missed by many forward-looking people. "They have passed into history."

—



BE TALLER

In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½″	2 Weeks
19½	5″	6 Weeks
22	4″	18 Weeks
28	1½″	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen REGD.

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14 Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

(Copyright)

Other Products :—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kaethe Kollwitz

She became the voice of misery, the unshed tear in the eye of every mother who cannot feed her child. She protested the devastation and ruin of war. She is the voice of the voiceless and the champion of the downtrodden —and her art is timeless. Dorothy H. Klein writes an introduction about the art and career of Kaethe Kollwitz in the *Jewish Frontier*:

"What about Kaethe Kollwitz?" I added. I looked around the room and was surprised to find everyone looking as if they were asking "Who is she?" I was surprised because in the room were people discussing the Breughel-Goya-Daumier "school," and they did not know of Kollwitz, who certainly deserves mention with these artists.

Kollwitz has long been recognized as a master in Germany and Russia. Her influence on Chinese modern art is great, and in Palestine almost every collective has one of her works hanging on the wall. Why she has remained in comparative oblivion in America? Her first exhibit here was held at the New York Public Library in 1912, but it met with a cold reception. I think the only explanation can be found by examining the fashions in American culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which were established by local standards. The trend was to shy away from any object-centred significance, let alone social protest. The trend was towards technical perfection, towards formalism. Kollwitz's art rejects formalism. She uses method and form to enhance meaning and her entire work is concerned with the righting of social wrongs. Thus, though she was recognized in Europe as early as 1897 as a vital force and influence in the art world, it was only in the past decade, when she was nearing seventy, that she became known in this country, through too few exhibits of her work.

ONWARD MARCH

ONE STEP FORWARD

NEW BUSINESS COMPLETED

IN 1944 over Rs. 1,67,00,000

IN 1945 over Rs. 1,86,00,000

INCREASE OF OVER 19 LAKHS

This is clear proof of the growing faith of the public

IN COY'S INTEGRITY.

BEST COMPANY TO INSURE WITH OR TO REPRESENT

Western India Life Insurance Company Limited, Satara.

"Ofcourse you've heard about NOVUM - but HAVE YOU TRIED IT?"



BEFORE you spend your time in needless worry, over difficult days and fear of delays, why not try Novum. A high-grade ethical product with an open formula. Recommended by doctors and nurses. Complete relief. Quick sure and effective.

Made in 3 strengths.

Price: per container of 21 capsules of ordinary strength of NOVUM, Rs. 12-8-0; per container of 63 tablets, of strong NOVUM (Forte) tablets, Rs. 21-0-0; price per container of 21 red capsules, special extra strong strength, Rs 50-0-0.

Also available in "special injection form" for advanced and unyielding cases of female complaints.

Take 'Novum' at the first sign of delay—and see how comfortably you sail through your difficult days!

Available at all druggstores.

ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR describing a few of our outstanding products and our "Free Medical Advice Department":

NOVUM

A Product of

HERING & KENT

P. O. Box No. 323.
Opp. Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay. Phone: 24297

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

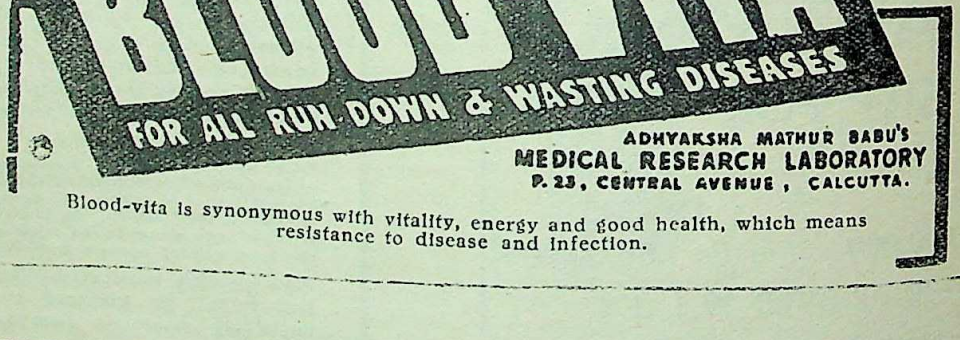
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kaethe Kollwitz was born in 1867, the daughter of a master mason and an artist mother, in East Prussia. She became interested in the downtrodden of the earth at an early age and devoted her life to portraying their misery in numberless drawings and prints. She became the voice of misery, the unshed tear in the eye of every mother who cannot feed her child. She protested the devastation and ruin of war, lashed out against the slums in Berlin, against syphilis, alcoholism, for equality and justice. She is the voice of the voiceless, the champion of the downtrodden—and her art is timeless. Kollwitz is never afraid to look death or revolt in the face, yet her tenderness and love for humanity is clearly evident in her drawings of mothers and their babies. When she was sixty-five, she tried a new medium—sculpture, because her eyesight was failing and she could not do the close work that graphic art entailed. It is interesting to note here that her choice of medium, lithography, woodcuts, and charcoal drawings, and her choice of line and form, simple and unadorned, makes reproduction very easy and we like to believe that this was deliberate, that she wanted to have as widespread a circulation of her work as possible among those who under ordinary circumstances cannot afford to own prints.

During this month, there is being held a memorial exhibit of Kollwitz's work at the Galerie St. Etienne, located at 46 West 57th Street, New York. It is a fairly complete and representative exhibit, with more than sixty pieces of her work.

The exhibit is not arranged in any period order, but one might start with an etching done in her early youth, as a part of the series *Ein Weberaufstand* (The Revolt of the Weavers). She created six etchings in this series between 1893 and 1897 when, as a girl of seventeen, she was inspired by Hauptman's *Weavers*. Of her work, Hauptman wrote: "A cry of pain such as was never heard in ancient times." These six etchings are a story of German cruelty, violence, and horrible death. In 1898, she was awarded a gold medal for the *Weavers*, which, one year later, Wilhelm II vetoed. We pass before *Storming the Gates* and see the mass of people, their thin, weary arms and their gaunt but purposeful faces—see the hope, the faith, the compassion of Kollwitz for the dignity of man.

We moved to the etching *Prisoners* of her second series *Bauernkrieg* (The Peasant's War) based on the Peasant's War of 1524-26. These are seven etchings in this series, which she did between 1903 and 1908. We see the mass of people, yet each figure is an individual bound to the next by one purpose, a purpose which has been arrested before it was spent. We see the despair in some of the faces, the beaten look of defeat, and yet we are reminded of the old story about the bundle of wood—there is strength in solidarity, and even as these prisoners are bound by cord, so are they bound to their belief, their faith, their determination for a better life. *The Call to Arms* might be any of our present-day guerrilla bands in violated countries; *The Battlefield* looks like a scene in modern Greece or Yugoslavia where women searched by night among the massacred for their sons and husbands after the Germans had passed.



Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.



Sole Agents:
KALAPI STORES
BOMBAY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশচন্দ্র চক্রবর্ত্তী প্রণীত

"স্তোত্র গীতা"

মূল্য—আট আনা মাত্র

এই গ্রন্থ পিতৃমাতৃ স্তব হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া সমস্ত দেবদেবী এবং মহাপুরুষের ৩৪টি স্তবে সম্পূর্ণ। মহামহোপাধ্যায় শ্রীযুক্ত কালীপদ তর্কাচার্য প্রভৃতি পণ্ডিতগণ কর্তৃক অশেষ প্রশংসিত।

প্রবীণ পণ্ডিত সীতানাথ তত্ত্বভূষণ লিখিয়াছেন…স্তোত্র গীতার স্তবগুলি এমন মধুর যে আমি সমগ্র গ্রন্থখানা শেষ না করিয়া পাঠে নিরস্ত হইতে পারি নাই।… 'যুগান্তর'…কতকগুলি স্তোত্র অল্পবয়স্ক বালক-বালিকাদিগকে শিখানোর উপযুক্ত এবং সবগুলিই সুখপাঠ্য।…

ত্রিবেদীর "ত্রিসন্ধ্যা" মূল্য চার আনা মাত্র।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান—গ্রন্থকার, ১২০।২, আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF

Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)

Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad

(with 30 rare illustrations)

Price: Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World

The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.

Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1 or 5 Dollars.

The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,

120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Of her next series of seven woodcuts, *Krieg* (War) created between 1920 and 1923, we stop before *The Volunteers* and at first glance it seems to be too black but then we notice that the emphasis is deliberate. Kollwitz was communicating a high pitch of emotion—there are no grays in the defeated Germany she pictures. Here too there are faces emerging with startling clarity from the blackness—faces that have suffered, but faces with purpose.

And we see some of her self portraits (for some reason which we have not yet been able to fathom, she executed a self portrait each year from 1897 to 1927). As we look at them, we see a life filled with close contact with human tragedy and anguish ; see her pride, her stoicism, her humanity ; her dedication to righting wrongs by belief in man, by her love for man.

We were charmed by her charcoal drawings and lithographs of mothers and children, for here we saw her tenderness, her glorification of motherhood. Here her lines were brief and pure. As we looked at her *Mother and Child*, we thought : Is this a Jewish mother? a Russian mother? a Chinese or French baby? And we found an answer—these are the faces of all mothers who want a brighter world for their babies, a brighter world which may at the moment be symbolized by a cry for milk, for bread. Her children are all babies who do not know the joy of sunshine and food, whose faces have the somberness and peakedness of birds. Her figures are weary, tragic, because there is no joy in the hungry. Her faces are the faces of all of us who want shelter, who want sunshine for our children in overcrowded filthy slums of New York, Paris, London, Berlin. But she never draws with mere pity, Kaethe Kollowitz. There is always hope in her faces and figures because Kollwitz believed in man, in his right to live ; and in her compassion for the downtrodden, she gives them voice and strength and purpose.

After World War I, she was elected to the Prussian Academy, the first woman to receive this honor, and she became one of the leaders of the social revolution in Germany in 1919.

In 1928, she was made director of graphic arts in the Academy, a post she held until the advent of the Nazis. For some reason, however, the Nazis permitted her to live and work in Germany, even permitted some of her work to leave the country. What the explanation of that is, I think only a psychiatrist can give, I think they were anxious to keep their "Aryan" artists in Germany and wanted her to "play ball" with them. But after seventy years of combating just those things that the Nazis represented, she did not want to learn new games and fled to Switzerland where she died in July at the age of seventy-eight, probably at her drawing board, for though her eyes were failing, her hand never faltered and her life's vision had to be recorded for the generations that would come after her.

Her death received little notice. She was mourned in Palestine, where articles about her appeared in *Davar* and *D'var Hapoalet*. The rest of the world? Well, the world was busy fighting a war to eliminate just those things that Kollwitz had been crying out against.

Closely as Kollwitz's work is bound to her subject matter, it is always art, never mere propaganda. She demonstrates how art may deal with reality and be a powerful weapon for social change, yet lose no aesthetic merit. We didn't turn away from what we saw shudderingly, as we do at some other artists' violent representations. On the contrary, we were forced to study and deeply ponder their implications.

Kollwitz's protest is passionate. Her art is real and magnificently human. Her art is alive because it is life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	As
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, 4, 5, 8 & 9 out of Stock*) each No. at	4	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji each Vol.	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Eminent Americans: Whom Indians Should Know— Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland	4	8
Emerson & His Friends— ditto	4	0
Evolution & Religion— ditto	3	0
Origin and Character of the Bible ditto	3	0
Rajmohan's Wife—Bankim Ch. Chatterjee	2	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	3	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
History of the Reign of Shah Alum— W. Franklin	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	0	8
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4
Indian Medicinal Plants—Major B. D. Basu & Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar—Complete in 8 Vols. [Authoritative Work with numerous Superb Plates]	320	0

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, Upper Circular Road, CALCUTTA

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	২৲
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ— রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	৵০
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	৵০
চাটার্জির পিকচার এলবাম (১, ৪, ৫, ৮ ও ৯ বাদে)	প্রত্যেক ৪৲
চিরন্তনী (শ্রেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা দেবী	৪৷০
উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ	২৲
সোনার খাঁচা— শ্রীসীতা দেবী	২৷০
আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ	১৲
বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ	২৲
উত্থানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী	২৷০
কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক	৪৲
গীত উপক্রমণিকা—(১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) প্রত্যেক	১৷০
জাতিগঠনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ—ভারতচন্দ্র মজুমদার	১৷০
কিশোরদের মন—শ্রীদক্ষিণারঞ্জন মিত্র মজুমদার	৷০
চণ্ডীদাস চরিত—(৺কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সেন) শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র রায় বিদ্যানিধি সংস্কৃত	২৷০
মেঘদূত (সচিত্র)—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	৪৷০
হিমালয় পারে কৈলাস ও মানস সরোবর (সচিত্র)— শ্রীপ্রমোদকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়	৪৲
পাথুরে বাঁদর রামদাস (সচিত্র)— শ্রীঅসিতকুমার হালদার	১৷০
জল্পনা—শ্রীহেমলতা দেবী	১৷০
খেলাধূলা (সচিত্র)—শ্রীবিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার	১৷০
বিলাপিকা—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	১৷০
ল্যাপল্যাণ্ড (সচিত্র)—শ্রীলক্ষ্মীশ্বর সিংহ	১৷০

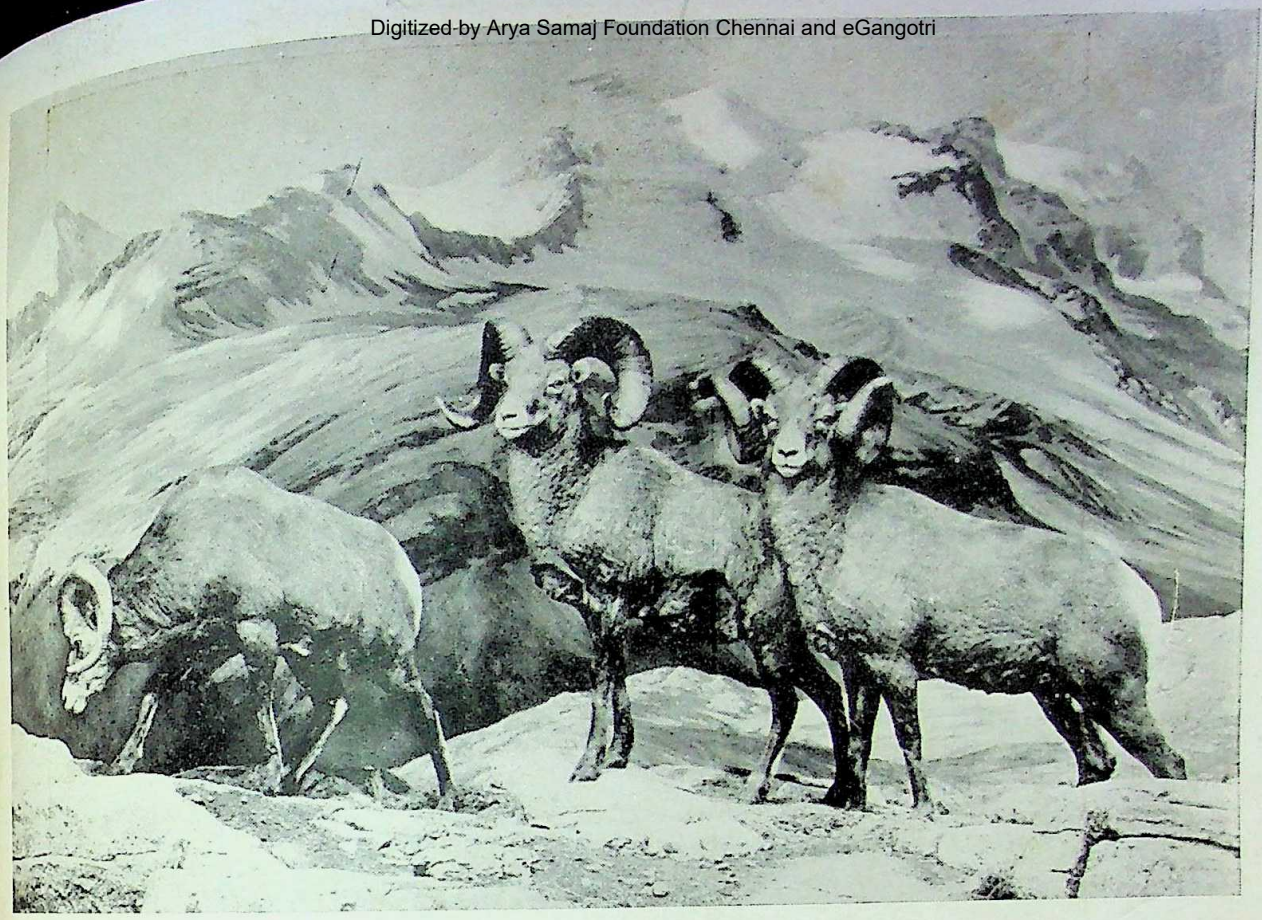
ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়
১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

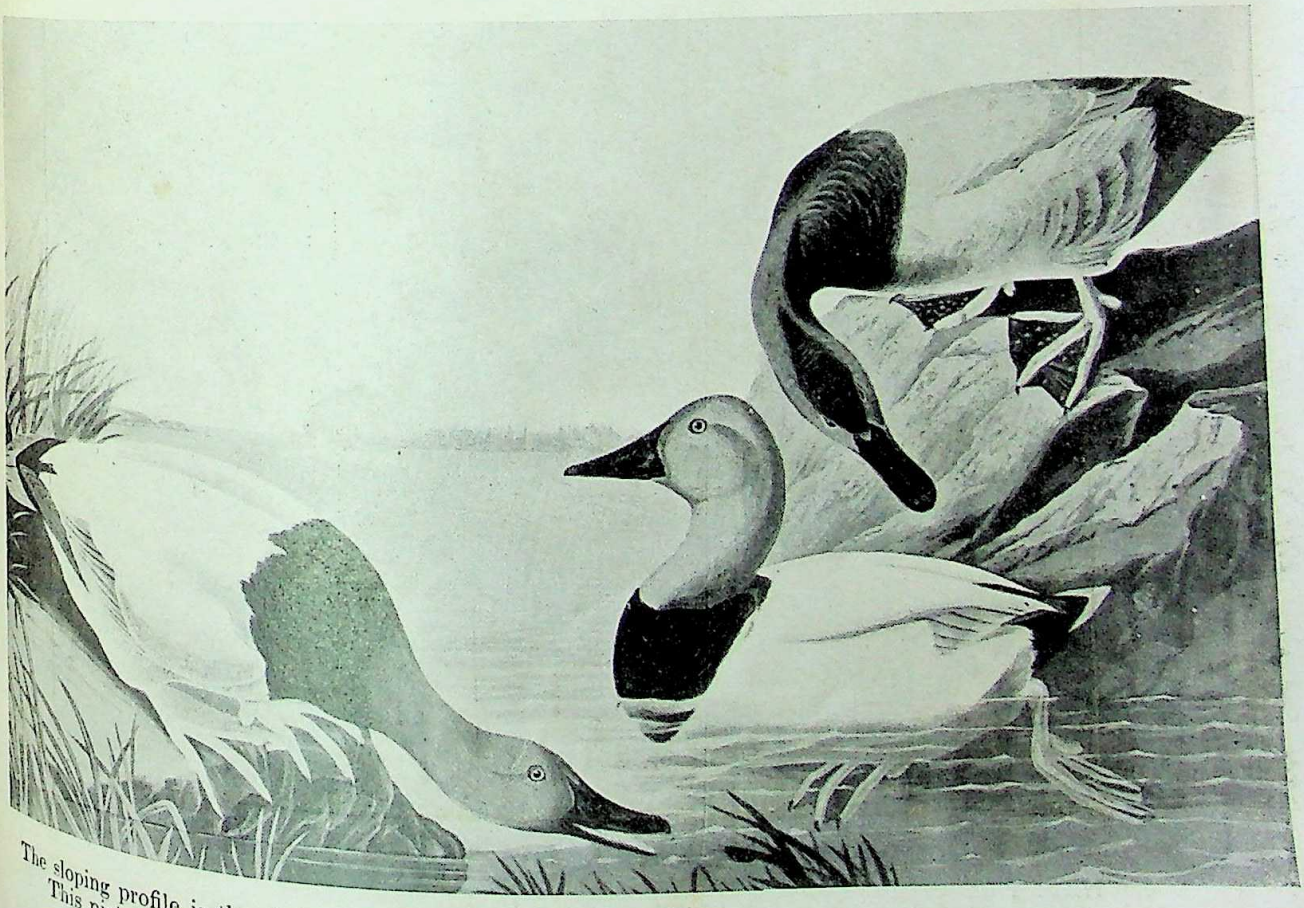
Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Pradasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



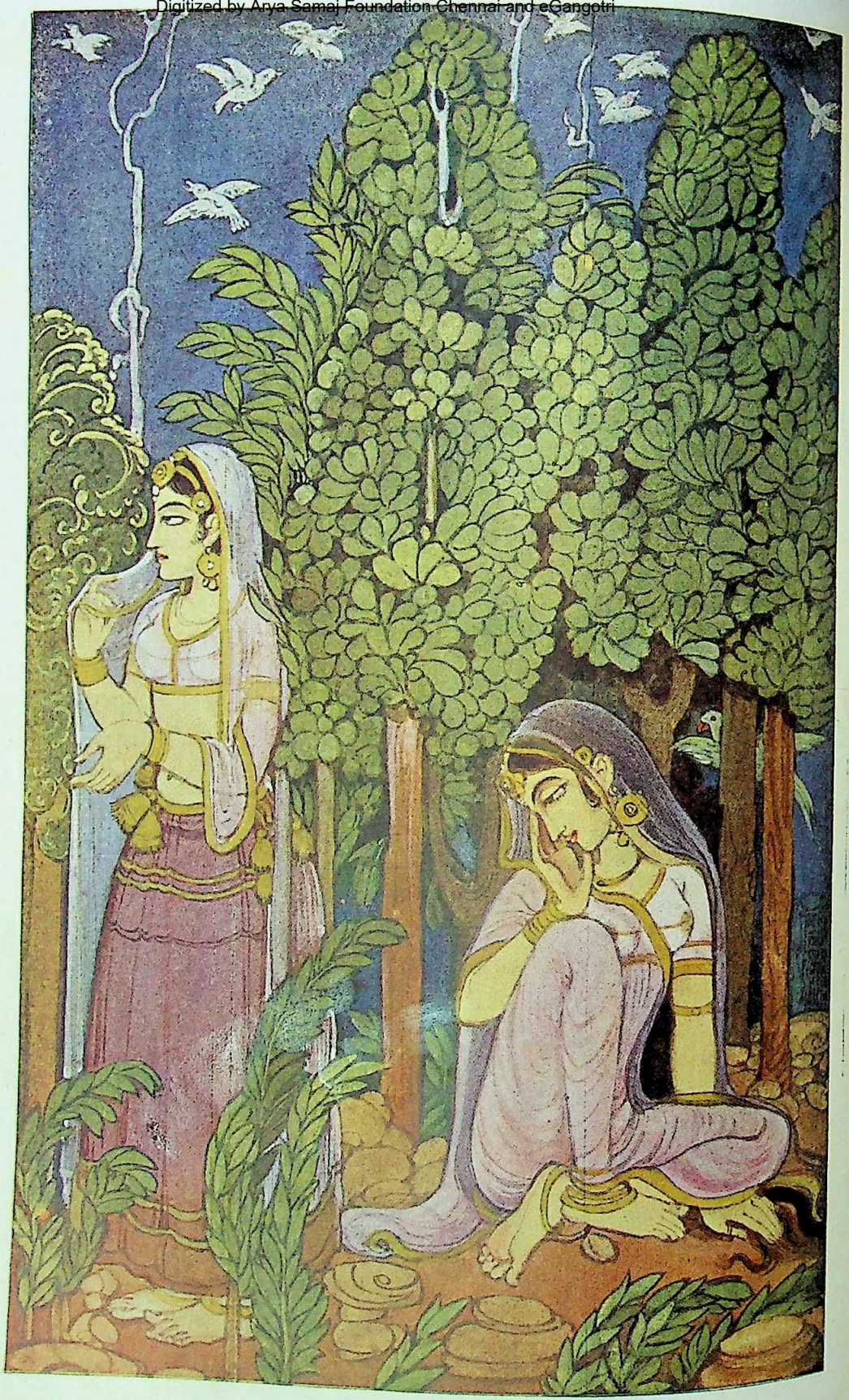
Posed against a mountain slope are wild Rocky mountain sheep, popularly known as the bighorn, because of their immense horns, which curve backward, outward and downward in a majestic spiral swoop



The sloping profile is the distinguishing feature of the canvasback duck, the wild North American waterfowl. This picture is a painting by John Audubon, the famous American ornithologist of the 19th century

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



RAGINI PATAMANJARI
By Ramgopal Vijaivargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1946

VOL. LXXIX, No. 6 WHOLE No. 474

NOTES

On the Threshhold

India is at the cross-roads. We are now at a period of our history when the utmost of realism and deliberation is called for. The question before us is, "Are we prepared for freedom or are we not?" This is no time to indulge in the fineries of the quibbling legal mind—which has brought more lasting sorrows on mankind than any plague—rather it is the time for taking stock of our resources, mental, physical and material. Responsibilities are about to devolve on us, the like of which we have not been accustomed to shoulder for centuries past, though it is true that it was not so because of our own volition. Are we ready with our plans for the Army, the Navy, the Airforce, and other warlike means of defence; the tariff barriers for halting the economic aggression of International finance with its cartels and mergers; the plans and blue-prints of a programme by which this country can march forward without getting involved into internal or external strife; the extensive and exceedingly complex organisation of international politics and diplomacy necessary for maintaining foreign relations, and so on and so forth? In short, are we prepared to lift our gaze beyond the narrow limits—mostly provincial or communal—to which it is accustomed?

Take the case of the armed forces, for example. What are our plans for controlling, directing and maintaining a standing army, very many divisions in strength with the exceedingly complicated machinery for continuous training and limitless adaptation of latest technique and the latest arms to keep the fighting forces up-to-date. The Science of War means Specialists for every branch and a highly trained General staff composed mainly of tried veterans. And the same is true of the Navy and the Air-forces. There is no shortage, it is true, of staunch and intelligent men and officers in this country. The fighting record of the Indian army in this war has proved that to the hilt. But what about the specialized training needed for mechanization, artillery and the manifold branches of modern warfare inclusive of higher strategy? What about the production of armament and its safe-keeping and the guarding of defence secrets?

We have had sufficient training in the matter of internal affairs and some provincial administrations under the Congress were considerable successes, but the case is quite different in the matter of foreign affairs. It is true that the coming of freedom cannot be halted by these or any other consideration, since all these would take considerable time, but is it not time to think how we are going to take over and to plan for a transition without leaving any part *in vacuo* and without causing any chaos in the affairs of the nation? That the transition period is at our door we have no doubt, despite all idle and frothy talk, for the Cabinet Mission's willingness to treat for the handing over seems to be transparently sincere to the best of our judgement and observation.

Features of the Declaration

The Cabinet Delegation's Declaration has been received in this country with mixed feelings. The Congress and the League have reserved their official views, which will be known in a few days' time. The utmost importance is, however, attached to Gandhiji's opinion on it. He was in touch with the negotiations all through and he had the best of opportunities to learn the British mind. He believes in Britain's sincerity about the proposals and thinks that the Declaration contains seeds which, if properly nursed, can transform this land of sorrow into one of prosperity and happiness. We fully agree with Gandhiji's view and believe that Indian statesmanship has been put to test. Posterity will judge how they have utilised this Great Charter for securing full freedom for 400 millions of human beings.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Documents provide a basis for building up the constitutional system of a free and independent India. Final judgment has been pronounced on the reactionary demand for dividing India into two sovereign states. The Declaration makes it clear that Britain will enter into Treaty negotiations only with the Central Government of a United India.

The principle of MacDonald Award has also been rejected. The Constituent Assembly will be elected on a population basis, one representative for one million of the people. No weightage for any community has been proposed. The newly elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies will be the electoral colleges for the Constituent Assembly. The idea of electing the Constituent Assembly on adult franchise has been dropped in view of the fact that it will take much time to bring the Assembly into being.

The proposed Grouping of Provinces has come in for the largest measure of criticism. Some have seen in it a backdoor to Pakistan. Two things must be kept clear: the provinces have been classified into three Sections for the purpose of drafting the provincial constitutions and after that is done they are free to form groups among the members of these sections only if they so choose. Belonging to the sections for the purpose of constitution-making has been said to be compulsory but it has been made quite clear that formation of Groups is absolutely voluntary. The proposal for framing of provincial constitutions in three sections has taken the realities into account but at the same time has blunted off the edge of Pakistan dagger. Had the provinces been given the power to draft their own constitutions, the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Bengal, the Punjab and Sind would have been at the mercy of the League. The separate grouping of eastern and western Muslim zones into sections have made it impossible for the League to combine these two zones under any system of administrative Group. A close study of the B and C sections will show that this device has increased Congress strength.

Adequate provision for the safeguard of the interests of smaller minorities has been made by setting up an Advisory Committee which will go in detail into all minority questions and present its report first to the Union Constituent Assembly. This full session of the Assembly will decide whether minority protection should be left to the Centre or to the Provinces and how the allocations will be made.

The question of the States has been left for future negotiations, but the fundamental issue has been made clear. The British Government has declared that paramount power will no longer remain with them, but at the same time, they do not propose to surrender it either to the Indian Government or to the States themselves. The States, therefore, cannot claim to remain as so many Ulsters in India but must join the Indian Union and become part and parcel of a United India. The details will be worked out by a Negotiating Committee.

The procedure of the Constituent Assembly has come in for some amount of criticism by the Congress. The Congress wants that in the preliminary session of the Assembly, the powers of the Union Centre should be defined. This will simplify the constitution-framing to a great extent. The powers of the Union Centre will be primarily three, *viz.*, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications and powers to raise finance or meeting the expenses of the three. This finance [illegible] obviously ought to be currency and tariff. If the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly decides about these knotty problem, much complexity will be simplified. If the sovereign power of the Constituent Assembly is recognised, this alteration in the procedure of constitution-making should provide no difficulty.

The Congress had demanded Fundamental Rights and Planning as Union subjects. The proposed alteration in the procedure of constitution-making may clear up this issue. The inclusion of Fundamental Rights in the constitution itself ought to be a proper safeguard if the remedy be enforceable at law with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. It is better to leave Planning to the Centre, and if that is not agreed upon an Inter-provincial Planning Commission may be set up on the model of the U.S. Inter-State Commerce Commission. If eight Congress provinces push forward the recommendations of a National Planning Committee others cannot certainly stay off.

Finally, there is the problem of an Interim Government. It has been demanded that the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly must be viewed together and not as separate entities. To this we agree. The interim Government must function as the Provisional Government with unfettered powers to guide constitution-framing. If the desire to transfer power be genuine, there ought to be little difficulty in declaring the interim Government as Provisional Government of Free India responsible to the present Central Legislature. The question of the withdrawal of British Army has, we believe, been set at rest after the last declaration of the Cabinet Mission clarifying certain issues raised by the Congress and the League President. We hope the Interim Government will come into being by the middle of June and we see ample signs for believing that both the Congress and the League joining it. The policy of going in to the wilderness should now come to a final end. The Document provides ample basis for working out the salvation of this country of ours.

International Bill of Rights

Attempts are now being made to set up an organisation for safeguarding human rights all over the globe. The United Nations Charter itself calls for universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Social Security Sub-Committee of the UNO has recetly discussed this important subject. Means must now be found for mobilising the peoples of the world in the cause of human rights.

During the first World War, the American Civil Liberties Union grew up and it has flourished ever since. The union was supported by small contributions and it became famous for the law suits it conducted, dramatising the sacredness of civil liberties as they are laid down by law. The Civil Liberties Union defended parties it thought to be right before the law, regardless of the popularity of the defendant. Its policy is set forth in five brief objectives:

(1) To defend civil rights by legal aid, publicity and organised protests to officials.

(2) To proceed against public officers violating these rights.

(3) To test ordinances or laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of civil liberty.

(4) To organise protests and publicity on every significant issue of civil liberties.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(5) To promote legislation to extend civil rights and oppose legislation restricting them.

One sociologist has written that Civil Liberties Union was the only truly non-partisan impartial organisation fighting for civil liberties between the two wars. Now, however, such organisations are numerous, numerous enough to call for a congress to unify the many campaigns now being waged.

In Bengal, during the thirtees, a Civil Liberties Union, supported by small individual contributions, had been established at an intese sacrifice by its promoter. It was short-lived but during its short career it was of immense service to India. It was through the efforts of this Union that the rest of India came to know of the staggering repression and ruthless suppression of civil liberties in Bengal during the revolutionary movement in this province in the thirtees. It has also been proved through this valuable experiment that a Civil Liberties Union cannot flourish in a subject country.

The Cloth Shortage

The Textile Commissioner issued on May 17 a directive to the textile mills and power-loom factories ordering them to stop the production of cloth for export purposes forthwith and not to resume it till the end of July. According to the Press Note issued in this connection, the measure has been taken in order to meet domestic requirements. This makes us pessimistic about the prospects of cloth production. In all likelihood, it seems, a serious cloth crisis has come upon us. Our apprehension becomes even more stronger by the Textile Commissioner's decision to cut down regional cloth quotas by 10 per cent.

But why this serious cloth shortage? In one of its special articles, the *Eastern Economist* discusses the problem with elaborate details. As a matter of fact, it was only about two months back that Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, contended that the supply of cloth available for domestic consumption had been restored to pre-war levels. A few days later Mr. K. M. D. Thackersey gave a similar assurance. He said:

> The net available supplies of mill-made cloth for civilian consumption in 1945 amount to 3,883 million yards as compared with 3,794 million yards in 1944. Including handloom production it is estimated that the cloth available for the civilian population of India in 1945 is approximately 14 yards per head per annum for India's population of 400 millions. In 1946, I will not be far wrong in forecasting that if the production of Indian cotton mills continues on the same scale as in 1945—which it is hoped it will—the quantity of cloth which will be available per head of the population of India will be increased, following a reduction in the Government takings against military requirements, which are not likely to exceed 100 million yards as compared with the takings in 1945 of 417 million yards.

It was only less than two months back when the above speech was given. Why is it then that within two months' time there should be a serious cloth crisis? The production of the Indian cotton mills in the first four or five months of 1946 has failed to keep to the 1945 level; very likely it has declined sharply. In the present circumstances, the suspension of exports is a most wise step. But care must be taken to stop the sinister traffic by which cloth is illicitly smuggled out of the country over its land frontiers in the east and the north. The *Eastern Economist* has made also another suggestion for tiding over the cloth crisis which we consider to be essential at the present juncture. The chairman of the Textile Control Board estimated that Defence Services requirements would fall to 100 million yards in the current year. We do not know if this expectation has been satisfied. In any case the Defence H. Q. must revise their indents in a downward direction to the utmost extent, and at the same time the disposal of surplus military stocks should be hastened in order to relieve civilian scarcity.

But what are the reasons for this decline in textile production. Irregular arrivals of coal must have seriously affected the work of the mills. There is another reason which has been dilated upon in the said article. The frequent outbreaks of strikes in the various textile centres and the high degree of absenteeism have been largely responsible for the meagre production of textiles. In Bombay city alone, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar points out, 577 million spindle-hours and 13 million loom-hours were lost on this account in the calendar year 1945, involving a loss of production approximating to 78 million yards of cloth and 24 million pounds of yarn. The situation in this respect has not improved since, it has rather become even worse.

This illustration of absenteeism is very disquieting. It shows that labour politics in Bombay has been grossly mishandled. It is a fundamental principle of economics that with the standard of living remaining the same, if wages go up absenteeism will increase. It has been alleged by *Commerce,* Bombay, that the textile workers there are probably the highest paid at the present moment. The reasons for Bombay labour unrest have been dealt with in a separate note. Here we want to draw the attention of the Congress authorities to the very important revelation of Sir Vithal Chandavarkar. It should immediately be ascertained whether it is a fact that real wages in Bombay have gone up disproportionately with the present standard of living. We certainly support increase in wages but what we want to emphasise is that increase in wages must keep pace with a rise in the standard of living. In the event of a more than proportionate increase, absenteeism is bound to appear. Such increase in real wages do not help the worker, but injures the country by reducing production.

U.S.-India Lend-Lease and Surplus Property Agreement

The U.S. State Department has announced that an agreement was signed on May 16 by the representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of India on U.S. lend-lease to India, reverse lend-lease by India ard U.S. surplus war property located in India.

In view of the approximately equal benefits received by India and the United States from this interchange of mutual aid, it was agreed that no payments would be required from either country in the settlement of obligations, except that India will return the 160 million dollars worth of silver which the United States had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

advanced to her during the war for coinage and industrial purposes.

The following is the text of the announcement supplied by the *USIS* :

Representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of India signed on May 16 an agreement representing an overall settlement of lend-lease, reciprocal aid, and surplus property questions between the two countries. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Government of the United States by the Acting Secretary of State, the Hon. Dean Acheson, and on behalf of the Government of India by the Hon. A. A. Waugh, Member for Industries and Supplies in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Discussions between the Department of State officials and the Government of India lend-lease delegation have been in progress in Washington since the first week of April. The agreement with India is a comprehensive and final settlement for lend-lease, reciprocal aid and surplus war property located in India, and for the financial claims of each government against the other arising as a result of World War II.

India served as a supply base for the Southeast Asia Command during the war and, while a great volume of lend-lease supplies were shipped to India, the larger part were for the use of the British Government in India and Southeast Asia. India supplied reciprocal aid liberally to the United States both in the forms of supplies and services to United States armed forces in India, and in raw materials shipped to the United States for war production.

In view of the approximately equal benefits received by the United States and India from this interchange of mutual aid which aggregated over 1,000 million dollars in value, it was agreed that no dollar payments would be required in the settlement between the two governments and all obligations arising out of lend-lease and reverse lend-lease were balanced against each other and cancelled, except for the pre-existing agreement under which India will return to the United States 160 million dollars in silver received during the war for coinage and industrial purposes.

Under the agreement the United States receives full title to all articles received from India during the war under reverse lend-lease and unconsumed. India agrees to cancel the outstanding obligation of the United States to pay about 45 million dollars in cash for supplies delivered to the United States armed forces in India after V-J Day.

Surplus U. S. Property Turned Over to Government of India

The agreement further provides that India receives full title to all articles in the civilian lend-lease inventory as of V-J Day and to a relatively small quantity of articles which were in the lend-lease "pipeline" for delivery after V-J Day. The articles in the Indian military lend-lease inventory which were acquired by the Indian forces when serving with the British Army, and other articles delivered to the Indian Army by the British forces in India, are retained by India subject to a right of recapture by the United States. The United States, however, has stated that it does not intend to exercise generally such right of recapture.

The agreement replaces the previous understandings relative to the disposal of United States Army and Navy surpluses in India. The title to all unsold United States surpluses passes to India, and India agrees to dispose of them on an equal basis with war surpluses of Indian and United Kingdom origin.

As part of the over-all settlement, the United States will receive one-half of all proceeds in excess of 50 million dollars realized from such disposals. The United States share of such proceeds will be available for the acquisition of real estate and buildings for United States Government agencies in India and for cultural and educational purposes of mutual benefit to the United States and India. In the disposal of United States surpluses by the Government of India, United States veterans, Government agencies, businesses, and UNRRA will be accorded the same priorities as are accorded to other buyers in India of a like character.

The bulk disposal of United States surpluses to India has greatly speeded the final evacuation of United States troops from India. It will also result in very substantial savings to the United States by elimination of the operating costs of the United States Army in India at least a year earlier than would have been the case if the United States had handled the actual sales itself.

This settlement is especially significant because it is the first formal agreement between India and the United States, and its harmonious completion is an auspicious opening for relations between the United States and an India now on the verge of independence. The successful conclusion of these negotiations augurs well for the future relations between the United States and India.

Indian Food Plan

A comprehensive five-year plan to overcome the Indian food deficit has been proposed by the National Planning Committee. The Committee says, "India can easily be made self-sufficient in the matter of food-grains if proper planning is advised and carried through." The Committee rightly concludes that import of foodgrains need not be necessary in this country if our own resources are properly developed. The proposed programme lays considerable stress upon the formation of agricultural co-operatives particularly for bringing uncultivated land under the plough, upon improving agricultural and fishing techniques and upon planned breeding as a means of increasing the supply of animal foods. The Committee also envisages the elimination of "parasites like zemindars, talukdars, absentee landlords and mere rentiers of all kind and description."

The programme is as follows :

(1) Bringing additional cultivable land under cultivation which now lies uncultivated.

(2) Adding or improving facilities for adequate regular water supply for lands already under tillage or those to be brought under the plough.

(3) Providing better manure so as to add to the quantity and quality of food crops, this to include artificial fertilisers where necessary and practicable.

(4) Better seed with a view to increasing the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

yield and quality of hybridization and other development.

(5) Introducing better implements or machinery for tilling, sowing, harvesting and the like.

(6) Improving the technique of cultivation by better tools and implements, power-driven machinery, suitable rotation of crops and similar measures.

(7) Reforming the general organisation of all land in cultivation on the co-operative basis so as to avoid the needless waste of available land in the shape of barriers and make the labour devoted to land more productive per unit of cultivation.

(8) Consolidation of holdings "which are today excessively fragmented and scattered, and so gravely impede economic tillage or increased productivity."

(9) Control of pests, weeds, etc., which reduce the yield per unit as well as in the aggregate.

(10) Protecting the soil against floods and erosion.

(11) Review of the cash revenue demand which is open to periodical revision and enhancement by the State so as to approximate and revenue to income-tax, with exemptions from any revenue demand of such units as raise only the minimum needed for the subsistence of the cultivator and his family.

(12) Organisation of proper storing, grading and marketing facilities to guard against periodical failures of crops as well as to provide exchange of surplus or speciality.

(13) Reduction of the unproductive debt burden of the cultivator by a wholesale reorganisation of the nation's banking service.

(14) Proper adjustment between the commercial crop or raw materials of industry produced from agricultural land and food crops.

(15) Proper attention to the development of horticulture, fruits and vegetables, or market gardening, in order to supplement the standard diet, and provide indispensable vitamins.

Noting that the use of cattle for ploughing, haulage and transport as well as milk production has resulted in "breeding for mixed purposes which serve neither object satisfactorily," the Committee proposes proper organisation of cattle breeding for specific purposes and particularly for increasing the milk yield.

The agricultural reclamation plan is estimated to cost about Rs. 50 crores. It has been proposed to find this money through a Government-sponsored national loan spread over a ten-year period under the proposed programme.

The most important feature of the plan is its unitary character. The Committee proposes that all the various modes of adding to the food supply from agriculture "must be tackled simultaneously and not one by one." Every State or Provincial Government would prepare its own programme for carrying out the general policy under the Plan as formulated by the Central Government and given effect to as laid down in the basic national programme. In the Committee's view, the State should assume as a common obligation the supply of water by irrigation, the large-scale collection and distribution of manure and measures for protection of soil against erosion, floods, pests and the like.

Food for India

While the food situation in the country continues to deteriorate at an alarming rate, the authorities seem to be still tinkering with the problem of adequate food allocation. A rapid survey of the last month's food allocation talks will convince one of the sinister political game that the Combined Food authorities are playing with world's food. In the confusion of this game India's plight is worsening miserably.

On May 2, the Combined Food Board recommended a second quarter rice allocation of 146,000 metric tons for India in announcing sharp curtailment of supplies available for export during the current quarter. The Board said that only 581,000 tons of rice were available from all sources for export during April, May and June, compared with the essential world requirements of 2,100,000. The Board explained their inability to make greater allocation with an account of the widespread crop failure. The curtailment of supplies was indeed a shock to the hungry millions. Speaking at a Press conference Sir J. P. Srivastava asserted that "the Combined Food Board has not kept its promises." Sir Robert Hutchings added: "I am not complaining about the Combined Food Board but surpluses should have been known to them." Sir J. P. Srivastava further warned: "We will be in the hard grip of famine by July if we are unable to get what we have asked for." But the strongest criticism was made by Sir Manilal Nanavati who, speaking at a conference in London, said: "The Americans are not behaving themselves." He added, "The Americans feel that India suffers from starvation and famine so frequently that this year's famine is nothing new and it does not matter if a famine overtakes India once more." In Washington, the Indian officials told the Combined Food Board in a formal memorandum that any attempt to cut May wheat shipments to India below the requested half million tons would imperil the country's rationing system by the third week of June and expose "by one stroke" 100,000,000 people to a sudden and catastrophic threat of total starvation by the end of that month. Even Mr. La Guardia, UNRRA Director-General, accused the Board of "trifling with human lives."

A few days later it was learnt that India had informed the C. F. Board that she flatly rejected the tentative May wheat allocation of a little more than one-fifth of the originally requested 500,000 tons. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao informed the Board that his government considered such allocation entirely inequitable and unfair. The Board increased the allocation to 265,000 tons, but Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai commented, "This allocation falls far short of our legitimate and minimum requirements."

However, at last President Truman spoke out and gave one of his old sops. In reply to Lord Wavell's personal message, he assured the Viceroy that India's crisis was "thoroughly recognised" by the U.S. and was receiving "the most sympathetic consideration on the highest levels of the Government." In the report he submitted to President Truman, Mr. Herbert Hoover estimated 2,886,000 tons as "Indian Ocean Area's" minimum cereal requirements in the critical period from May 1 to September 30. He listed the following imports needed in the various Indian provinces affected by famine: Bombay 330,000 tons; Mysore 114,000 tons, Madras 890,000 tons, Travancore

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

58,000 tons, Cochin 36,000 tons, Deccan 119,000 tons, Bihar 93,000 tons, U.P. 144,000 tons, Bengal 302,000 tons, other provinces 250,000 tons.

In spite of these criticisms, statements and assurances, shipments for India did not improve at all. A decisive step was taken by the British Government when Mr. Herbert Morrison was sent to America on a food mission. In a broadcast on May 15, he categorically stated : "Famine is not inevitable. It is in our power to prevent it." Referring to India he said that if the Anglo-U.S. powers failed to keep India's food distribution system from actually breaking down, India would become a prey not only to famine but to political extremism. Mr. Morrison's efforts produced some good results. India had so long been regarded as a British responsibility. Now during Mr. Morrison's conversations it was agreed that India should be treated as a separate entity in the world food programme. Returning to London, Mr. Morrison stated that allotments of wheat to India which the United States and the Canadian Governments had agreed to support, would secure to India shipments in 1946 at a very much higher rate than in any previous year despite the acute world shortage of all cereals.

However, it augurs well that through the efforts of the British mission, the U.S. authorities of the C. F. Board are showing at least some consideration for India's plight. But even now we are far from being optimistic about outside help. Sir J. P. Srivastava revealed that the Government of India had been advised that loadings of wheat and wheat supplies for May and June would total 314,700 and 182,200 tons respectively. Sir Robert Hutchings further gave the dark warning that if the promised food supplies from abroad did not arrive in time, rationing in India would break down in August for lack of supplies.

U. S. Aims at Exporting 10,700,000 Tons of Wheat From Its 1945 Crop

President Truman, in a message to the opening meeting of the special session on urgent food problems convened by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, appealed to the countries in a position to help to heighten their efforts to avert the food crisis threatening the world in the critical weeks just ahead.

Following is the text of the President's message :

In meeting at this critical period you have heavy responsibilities and great opportunities. What this conference accomplishes or fails to accomplish will make its mark not only in areas where people are hungry as an aftermath of the war, but in all parts of the earth and for a long time to come. Any step toward feeding the world's families better and making the fullest use of the products of farms and fisheries is a step toward winning and securing the peace. Food touches everyone in the world directly and more keenly than most boundary settlement and other primary political actions that are often local or regional in their effects.

It is not necessary in a message to this group to go into the details of the serious world food situation. Everyone realizes now that the world-wide scarcity of cereals cannot be completely overcome with the 1946 harvest and that deficits in livestock products will continue for a long time. The remaining weeks before the 1946 grain harvest in the northern hemisphere are especially critical, and the United States and other countries in a position to help must continue and heighten their efforts.

In this country we have raised progressively our export programs as world needs became more urgent, reducing progressively, at the same time, our own consumption of wheat. In this wheat marketing year we already have shipped more than 300 million bushels (about eight million tons) of wheat, which is close to 40 per cent of the total world exports of wheat. Our export program covering 400 million bushels (about 10,700,000 tons) of wheat for the entire marketing year represents over a third of our total production from the 1945 crop. The people of this country have shown an admirable willingness to do their share in the great humanitarian task of preventing famine in other lands.

During the war we have learned valuable lessons in co-operation with the rest of the world. What the people of this country have done is ample evidence that they recognize the necessity for progressive and effective action in achieving for the world freedom from want, that they are conscious of the world's needs and are ready to co-operate in a program to meet them.

In my message to the conference at Quebec where FAO was established last fall, I said that my country's delegation came "prepared to work together with the delegations of other nations for the good of all, and to bear their full share of the responsibility for a successful outcome." We bring the same spirit to this conference, which I view as the first great test for FAO.

Can India ask what proportion of this 8 million ton export has been directed for saving million of famine victims in this country ? The unsympathetic and niggardly treatment that India received at the hands of the Truman Administration will not be easily forgotten. India will remember that her resources have been fully exploited for saving Europe and America from disaster, but when she herself was in need, she was basely deserted.

Indonesian Rice for India

The combined effect of red tape, bureaucratic inefficiency, and political self-interest was responsible for the unnecessary delay that has been made and is being still made in accepting the rice offer made by Dr. Shariar, the Indonesian Republican Premier. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has long been trying to derive the full benefit that is likely to accrue from the new communion and unity among Asiatic nations. When Dr. Shariar made the offer, the Dutch Government persistently maintained that Java had no surplus to offer to India. But Dr. Shariar emphatically stated that Java had surplus food which she would be glad to send to India in exchange of textiles for herself.

The India Government showed little enthusiasm about this rice offer but after repeated comments in the Press made a move for carrying on talks with Indonesian Premier. Soon afterwards it was announced that Dr. Shariar's talks with Mr. K. L. Punjabi, a British India civil servant had reached a stage in which it was now up to India to provide the necessary transport and exchange of goods for 500,000 tons of rice offered to India by Indonesia. As far as Indonesia was concerned, the first shipment could be made towards the latter half of June, Dr. Shariar said. The delivery of the entire 500,000 tons would take five months at the rate of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

100,000 tons monthly. In a letter to Pandit Nehru Dr. Shariar asked him to visit Indonesia to negotiate on textiles and machinery in exchange for the promised rice or to send a personal representative on the same behalf.

Dr. Shariar has cabled that the rice is ready for shipment. Now it is a question of India Government making proper arrangements for shipping facilities. We are afraid a lot of delay will be made because of transport difficulties. One is constrained to observe in this connection that there would have been no such difficulty had it not been the consistent policy of the British Goverment to oppose Indian mercantile marine in its attempt at expansion. If the Indian shipping companies were given a fair opportunity for growth, they could have rendered signal service at this moment of crisis.

However, we hope rice from Indonesia would soon reach India. Apart from the invaluable help that this act of exchange will offer to the famished millions of India, it will also be a token of the future relation between the neighbouring countries of Asia. Pandit Nehru has rightly observed : "It is by such acts that nations and people are bound together. Indian people will not only feel grateful but will remember this in days to come. I hope and trust it will be precursor of closer friendship between the two nations and advantageous to both." After the overthrow of the foreign bondage India will be the centre of this new Asian awakening and unity.

Famine in Bengal

Bengal is once again in the hard grip of a terrible food crisis. In one of our previous editorials we showed how due to the neglect and inefficiency of the Bengal Government, the spectre of a second Bengal famine was casting its shadow over the land. Our apprehensions have come true. People in the district of Bankura, to take a single example, are already drawn to the last straits of their miserable existence. Hungry and naked, a large section of the famished population is slowly making imperceptible steps towards the fatal end. And, if one example would suffice, a mother tried to kill her child to avert the painful process of slow death that was coming upon it. The whole picture is reminiscent of the tragedy of 1943.

But what is the attitude of the Bengal Government. It poises one precariously between laughter and agony when one hears Mr. S. K. Chatterji, Bengal's Director-General of Food, declare over the radio as late as on the 30th May : "Government wish to make it quite certain that there shall be no famine this year." He wanted to explain the rise of price as a result of "local panic." But, may we ask, did the people get panicky with no sufficient reason for panic ? The whole discussion would mean arguing in a vicious circle. But empty discussions apart, one thing is quite certain. The panic was caused first because of the abnormal rise of prices and secondly because of the lesson the people learnt from the disastrous bungling of 1943.

The Food authorities have declared that there will be only 7 per cent shortage this year. But we are afraid this estimate grossly errs on the side of optimism. There is no reason whatsoever why there should be such an abnormal rise of prices at this time of the year with only 7 per cent shortage. Last time it might have been due partly to the lack of proper rationing. But this year the prospects are much the same even in spite of the elaborate rationing system.

The Government maintained that the situation will be kept under control through the machinery of control and rationing. We do believe that when the price of rice soars up in a locality the only way to combat the upward rise is to sell rice from Government stocks. But will it be ever possible for the Government to fight black-market prices with the help of the reserve that the Government maintains at its disposal ?

The procurement policy of the Bengal Government is remarkably defective. Even the Woodhead Commission opined that purchase of rice through agents entails unnecessary expenses. Because of the elaborate chain of profiteering middlemen, a Government agent can easily show that the cost price of paddy originally purchased from the cultivator at Rs. 5 is ultimately Rs. 20. When the Government wants to sell rice at Rs. 15, 'cost price' being Rs. 20 due to this process, there is a huge loss on its part.

The Government has lately introduced a rationing system for six million people of Bengal. The people of Calcutta and other big towns know full well the achievements of this system. Anyway, this apology for rationing is the only system that the Government is maintaining with all its much-advertised departments.

But what about the larger section of the people who live in villages ? There is a curious system functioning in villages which is called "modified rationing." But a typical example of this system will reveal its true nature. The population in a union in Vikrampur (Dacca) is 17,041. The total ration cards in circulation amount to 30,966 units (adult 2 units, child 1 unit). The local Food Committee received the following stuff for distribution through these ration cards during the year April 1945 to April 1946 :

Paddy	675·5	mds.
Sugar	429·3	„
Kerosene	1426	
Coal	505	„
Mustard oil	176·8	„
Coconut oil	3	„
Salt	1192·8	„
Flour	32	„
Saree	3359	pieces
Dhoti	7829	„
Bed cover	16	„
Blankets	18	„
Lungee	100	„
Umbrella	18	„
Shirtings etc.	260211·5	yds.

If the figures given above be truly typical of this "modified rationing," we do not know how we can congratulate the Government Food Department on its astounding success ! The statistics reveal that the people of the above Union received one seer of sugar, half a seer of mustard oil and one seer and a half of coal per head during the whole year !

The Government authorities have admitted on occasions that procurement of rice is not going on in a very satisfactory way. The reasons, we believe, are more than one. For one thing, the people have absolutely no faith in the Government procurement policy. Secondly, the cultivator has reasons to believe, due to the disparity between the price at which he sells the rice and the price at which the agent sells it to the Government, that the Government itself is bent on exploiting the poor folk. Thirdly, it is common experience that although the agents purchase the best rice, the Government distributes the rice of the worst

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

quality. So long as the confidence of the public is not restored, the system of control will not work satisfactorily.

Food and Famine 'Exposition'

The gloomy food prospect of 1946 bids fair to push famine incidents of 1943 into the background. While it is necessary to think of measures for bringing food to those faced with starvation, it is also necessary to supplement the diet of the ill-fed and ill-nourished people so that they may work and earn and thus live more healthy. If the chronic famine conditions, patent to India, are to be removed, agriculture, industry and animal husbandry should combine and make a joint effort for providing better food, including protective diet derived from milk, meat and eggs, and surplus money for the procurement of the barest necessities. The Calcutta Corporation, did the right thing in organising, with the help of the Government of Bengal, an "Exposition" on Food in the Commercial Museum in the second week of May. Exhibits relating to agriculture, industrial hints and products of cottage industries, food preserved by the age-old methods and modern scientific means and several educative charts, characteristic of the Commercial Museum, were features of the Exhibition. Lectures on food and famine were arranged and were delivered by experts of the Provincial and the Central Governments.

Faridkot and Kashmir

There is a strange irony in the recent disturbances at Faridkot and Kashmir occurring at a time when the very structure of the Princely Order is going to be radically transformed. The rulers of these States have not only failed to read clearly the signs of the times but have actually taken up an ostrich-like policy of blinding themselves to the patent facts of the day.

Disturbances started in Faridkot about a month back when a large section of the people began to observe *hartal* against the repression of the State. Praja Mandal workers and non-violent Satyagrahis were beaten and maltreated, civil liberties were suppressed, the national flag was insulted. Even the enquiry committee appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee was banned entry into the State. As Pandit Nehru observed, Faridkot from being just a backward State where the authorities had misbehaved, suddenly became a symbol of misrule and incompetence in the States. The situation reached a climax when he gave a stern warning to the State authorities that he himself would defy their prohibitory laws and enter the State. When the situation remained much the same even after this, Pandit Nehru defied Sec. 144 promulgated at Faridkot, entered the State and addressed a huge gathering of 10,000 people. After two hours' talk with the Raja of Faridkot an amicable understanding was arrived at and it was decided (1) to repeal Registration of Association Act, (2) to withdraw orders under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. and 56 of the Defence of India (Faridkot) Rules, (3) to release the remaining twelve undertrials now in custody and (4) to constitute an impartial public enquiry by the Chief Justice of Faridkot State into excesses, if any, committed against law during the last movement.

The happenings at Kashmir are more ghastly and shameful. Whatever might have been the origin of the trouble,—people's attempt to secure responsible government or Mr. S. M. Abdullah's personal intrigues to make the Maharajah quit Kashmir—the struggle took the form of a popular resistance against the brutal repression of the State. And it seems that the slogan of *Quit Kashmir* was not devised to serve the personal interests of Mr. Abdullah, it was the voice of the oppressed people of Kashmir who wanted to see the overthrow of the stooge of the British Government now that the Government itself is being asked to quit India.

However, the excesses knew no bounds. Police and the military opened fire on unarmed processions and the actual death-roll was much higher than that given in official statements. What is more shocking, the people were forced to utter humiliation and were made to clean the streets with their turbans and to shout *Maharaj-ki-Jai* at the point of the bayonet. It has been alleged that even mosques were occupied by the military and this was likely to foment communal trouble. In a long statement on the events, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru strongly warned the authorities and said that no State could exist with these disgraces clinging to it.

Grave turmoil continues in Kashmir. Death-roll has already mounted above sixty. A number of policemen were taken in custody because of their refusal to lathi-charge on their "brothers and sisters." This significant development should have been an eye-opener to the authorities. Do they feel very complacent about their might pitted against the stubborn resistance of the people which may burst out in a revolutionary outburst?

Assam Eviction Policy

The agitation against the eviction policy of the Assam Government has been intense and wide. While we were not completely free from misgivings as to the real nature of things prevailing at the spot we maintained from the beginning that the cause of encroachers had been made a nice peg for Muslim League propaganda against the Congress Ministry. The recent Press *communique* issued by the Government of Assam will bring the issues into a clear relief and show that the eviction of encroachers is neither a new scheme nor an unreasonable one. The statement gives a terse history of the whole policy of eviction and its relevant antecedents.

The surplus population, mainly Muslim, of neighbouring Bengal districts like Mymensingh has been pouring into Assam in search of land for the last few years. The interests of the indigenous population naturally suffered to a great extent from this influx of immigrants, who were neither conspicuously peaceful nor particularly adaptable to new modes of life. So restrictions had to be imposed and boundaries were marked beyond which the settlers should not be allowed to penetrate. The operations were described by the phrase "Line System."

Describing the encroachment on grazing reserves the *communique says*:

> Very considerable areas, amounting to lakhs of bighas have been settled with immigrants in the last twenty years, but the demand for land continuously outstripped the progress or ordered settlement, and the immigrants have for long been encroaching on and in some cases completely occupying lands set apart from settlement as professional grazing reserves, where the graziers (who pay grazing tax to Government at Rs. 3 per buffalo), keep the large herds of animals which was essential for the milk supply of the province as well as for the provision of draught

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

animals. The district authorities found it very difficult to cope with these mass encroachments, and during the period of war emergency, when the growing of as much food crops as possible was a vital necessity, no decisive steps were taken to clear the reserves, and the then Muslim Ministry was unwilling to incur the odium of undertaking a vigorous policy of eviction of persons who are mainly their co-religionists.

The Coalition Ministry which came into office in March, 1945, decided to stop the encroachment on grazing reserves but concessions were granted to those who had been in occupation of land in the reserves since 1938 or earlier, and those who had lost their land either by reason of military acquisition or by erosion. The Congress Government is now only pursuing the policy of the Coalition Government and the policy is also being implemented in practice. The clearing of the "unprotected" encroachers from professional grazing reserves in Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong has begun. The *communique* also states that the programme of eviction of encroachers which will affect some two or three thousand encroachers in all, will not be continued during the monsoon. The whole operation is expected to be complete before the end of the next cold weather. It also adds that the Government have instituted enquiries as to the amount of waste land available in the province and when these have been completed, they propose to plan an ordered settlement of these waste lands, in which immigrants will be allotted a share after making due reservation for the needs of the indigenous population.

This statement on behalf of the Congress Government is exhaustive and outspoken. It lays down the policy and history of eviction which, we think, has become an indispensable item of reform in view of the requirements of rehabilitation of the people of Assam. The irresponsible spokesmen of the Muslim League are spreading fantastic reports to excite the fanatics of the Muslim community. Even Sir Sadullah has lent his malevolent voice to this concert of organized slander against a policy which was followed even by his own ministry. Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi has plainly stated that this eviction policy was originally started by the Muslim League Ministry of Assam. He has also stated that the immigrants observed no bounds of law or decency and lived a life of invading marauders on these grazing lands. The League Ministry gave secret support to these turbulent people.

As a matter of fact, the influx of Muslim immigrants had been started as a definite item of League programme against the Hindu majority of Assam. The Muslims thought that by adding to the Muslim population of Assam and thereby counterbalancing the existing ratio they would be able to make a strong case for Pakistan. Their scheme has been partially successful so far. The population of the Assam Valley (excluding the Garo Hills) in 1911 was 355,320. The number shot up to 585,953 in 1921, to 943,252 in 1931 and to 1,303,902 in 1941. In the light of these statistics it is not difficult to see the game the Muslim League is playing.

Railway Strike

The General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation decided on May 5 to give the Government of India a notice on the 1st June that railwaymen on all Indian railways including the Indian States would go on strike on the 23rd unless their demads are conceded by that date. In its resolution, the General Council strongly condemned the attitude of the Government in not acceding to the demands of the Federation and in refusing to settle the dispute by the appointment of an adjudicator to go into the main points in the dispute, namely, (1) no retrenchment, (2) revision of scales of pay, (*a*) unskilled Rs. 36—3—45, (*b*) semi-skilled Rs. 40—4—60, (*c*) skilled subordinate and administrative Rs. 60—5—100—10—200, (3) adequate dearness allowance as per the recommendation of the Rau Committee and (4) three months' pay as bonus for all.

The resolution further stated that although an adjudicator to go into the question of leave rules and working hours had been appointed the situation remained unchanged because the decision only side-tracked the main issues. Therefore, it resolved to non-co-operate with the adjudicator until the Government agreed to refer the vital points to adjudication.

The meeting directed all Unions to build up the following machinery to conduct the strike : (1) To raise a strike fund. (2) to establish station shops and departmental committees, (3) to form a voluntary corps, (4) membership drive, (5) election of strike committees on each railway, (6) wherever more than one Union of action should be formed, and (7) regional committees in each area.

We do not know if the efforts at reconciliation will be successful before the announced date. The disaster can be averted only by a cautious and wise move for settlement from both parties. Maulana Azad has written to Lord Wavell urging upon him to intervene in the matter and avert a serious crisis which a strike of railwaymen at the present juncture is bound to cause. He has also urged upon the Viceroy to prevail upon the Railway Board either to meet the demands of the railwaymen or at least agree to refer their demands to adjudication so as to reassure the men that their demands are not being neglected. Mr. V. V. Giri has made a similar request to the Viceroy in a letter written after the decision had been taken by the General Council.

But the strike threat did not cause any surprise in the official quarters in New Delhi. And the statement issued by the Railway Board on the resolution of the A.-I. R. F. is disappointing and not much convincing. The most deplorable evasion is the unwillingness to refer the vital issues for adjudication. Regarding the most important question, namely, the revision of scales of pay, the Board admits that this "complicated matter" has been under consideration "for a long time." The effects of red tape and bureaucratic inefficiency are scandalous, and the delay shown by the Government makes one doubt the *bona fides* of the authorities. The Railway Board has assured the public that the revision of scales of pay is to be considered in respect of "all" Central Government servants. As a matter of fact, this is the invariable answer which the Government of India has given to all sections of its employees as an excuse to refuse the demands of all severally and collectively.

The Rao Committee recommended a D.A. of Rs. 45 per month for those drawing pay up to Rs. 250 per month. The demands of the Federation have gone no higher. But the Railway Board has tried to cloud the issue by raising the question of the total expenditure. But the question cannot be avoided by talking of crores of rupees. Even the figures presented by the

CC-0. Shree Vidyanand Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Board show that the average Railway employee in the lower scales of pay draws not more than Rs. 26-8 to 34-8 per month inclusive of everything. Lastly, the Railway Board has raised the bogey of increased establishment cost and the consequent necessity of raising rates and fares to something like 40 per cent. The Board knows full well that they can counteract people's sympathy for the railwaymen only with the menace of increased fare.

The moment of crisis is approaching and the time for decision may be lost in vain by the Railway Board. But while we reiterate our full sympathy with the cause of the railwaymen, we make no apology in sounding a clear note of caution and tact. It cannot be denied that in the present context of India's political development any serious disturbance may retard the progress of our emancipation. Apart from the exigencies of political tension, there is also the overriding issue of the terrible famine ahead. Suspension of communication and transport will vitally affect the food situation and by one stroke will throw the famished millions of India into the pit of actual starvation and death. Maulana Azad rightly observed in a statement issued on May 3 :

> The railwaymen of India should, however, remember one thing. They are a part of the nation and, therefore, what concerns the nation concerns them equally. They know that at present delicate negotiations are going on for a settlement of India's political problem. They must realise that there can be no real solution of their own difficulties till the country is free. They also know the acute food situation in the country. May and June threaten to be the most difficult period and any dislocation in transport during this critical period may prove to be disastrous.

Some have argued that famine would occur even if there be no strike and the strike does not much worsen the case. This is indeed puerile logic. It will be folly to take any precipitate action at this stage and we hope that the railwaymen wil not sacrifice reason in a frenzy of emotional excitement. The people will naturally think that those who could wait during the six years of war, when they did not strike for even one hour to protest against the mass-slaughter of their innocent countrymen, can certainly afford to be patient for a few months more.

Labour Problems in Bombay

Commerce has given a graphic account of the Bombay Labour politics and the unrest in the Bombay Cotton Mills. It says that one of the strange developments that have occurred in the sphere of industrial labour soon after the Congress returned to power has been the spread of the strike wave. Bombay witnessed one of the worst strikes—the sweepers' strike—practically on the very next day of the assumption of office by the Congress Ministry. It is now threatened with a strike of the textile labourers who, the *Commerce* says, are probably the best paid at present. This threatened strike is already having a very bad effect on the already acute cloth position of the country, a 10 per cent cut on the very slender supply of cloth has been announced.

On an examination of the undercurrents, the *Commerce* gains the impression that the sole motive behind these moves is not a genuine desire to raise the economic standards of the workers. There appears to be a clear move on the part of the Congress elements to gain the affections of the labourers by trying to do something spectacular for them and thereby outwit the communists who have been endeavouring to gain the loyalty of labour by putting forward extravagant demands and have, in fact, won successfully with the Congress in Bombay in the recent provincial elections. From its own knowledge and observations, *Commerce* believes that recent instances in Bombay provide sufficient ground to warrant such a conclusion. Many other observers will also incline to the same view.

A little detailed study may be necessary to understand the position. There are two labour associations in Bombay, namely, the *Rashtriya Girni Kamgar Sangh* (also known as *Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh*) and the *Girni Kamgarh Union*. The former body has its leanings towards Congress while the latter owes allegiance to the Communist Party. Between the two, the *Girni Kamgar Union* is known to have a greater following among the workers than the *Mazdoor Sangh* and this fact was more or less established at the last election to the Bombay Legislature in which, Mr. S. A. Dange, the representative of the *Girni Kamgar Union* was elected. Both the Unions, however, have no *locus standi* under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act as neither of them possesses the requisite minimum membership. Strictly speaking, therefore, neither of the unions can put forward demands on behalf of the workers. In the absence of any recognised trade union, if the workers have any grievances, they should be presented by the workers themselves to the employers and a dispute will arise only if the employers refuse those demands after a reasonable time-limit. Such, it should be noted, is the position under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act which is a measure passed by the Congress Ministry in 1938.

The *Commerce* has traced the origin of the present dispute and has used the word dispute within quotation marks because according to a strict interpretation of the B.I.D. Act there is no dispute between the workers and the employers. No specific grievances or demands have been placed before the employers as required under this Act. Even if it is assumed, such has been done, albeit in a round-about manner, no reasonable time-limit has been given to them to consider the demands, and the employers have not said "no" to any such demand. The Congress Ministry assumed office on April 3. Two days later, on April 5, the *Mazdoor Sangh* sent a representation to the Commissioner of Labour, Bombay, putting forward certain demands in regard to revision and standardisation of wage rates in the cotton textile mills of Bombay, payment of adequate dearness allowance, and of unconditional and adequate bonus. The representation also stated that the Board of the *Sangh* had passed a resolution deciding to give notice under the B.I.D. Act and also a strike notice of fourteen days, but refrained, according to the Government Press Note, from giving such a notice to enable the Government to arrange an early settlement of the matter. No direct demands were addressed to the Mill-owners as required under the Act. In referring the demands of this *Sangh*, the Government have dropped one of the demands, namely, that for "unconditional and adequate bonus."

About ten days after the *Mazdoor Sangh* had sub-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mitted its demands to the Labour Commissioner, the *Girni Kamgar Union* followed suit ; and as is only to be expected, it pitched its demands even higher. The demands of the Union are : Restoration of the 13 per cent wage cut which remained unrestored in 1936-37, payment of bonus equivalent to one month's earnings, increase of 12½ per cent in basic wages, introduction of a living wage standard as recommended by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee, standardisation of wages, and introduction of eight hours' duty without any reduction in the present level of wages and earnings. The Union also demands the immediate introduction of three shifts of 7½ hours each with the same remuneration as for 8 hours in view of the urgent need to increase the supply of cloth and of the necessity to provide greater employment. Yet another demand of the Union is an extra-allowance of 15 per cent of the wages as night-allowance.

The Bombay Government have referred to compulsory arbitration by the Industrial Court only the demands that have been placed by the *Mazdoor Sangh*. The same facility to the *Girni Kamgar Union* has not been afforded and this act of the Bombay Government has been interpreted in some quarters as a seemingly partial treatment. It has also made some feel that the *Majdoor Sangh's* representation might have been a pre-arranged move of the Congress Party to reinforce and extend its hold on the mill-workers.

Apart from the political manoeuvrings of the Labour leaders, for whom, it seems, their own interests in maintaining hold on the workers take precedence over national welfare, the actions of the Government also have come in for a good deal of criticism. The *Commerce* expresses the view that by taking sides in labour party politics, the Government might precipitate labour trouble. What concerns the industry most is the manner in which the Bombay Government is handling the demands of a section of the workers. First of all, the Government have overlooked the fact that the Union which has put forward the demands has no *locus standi* under the Trade Disputes Act. In having done so, it has bye-passed the Act which owes its existence to the very members of the present Government. Secondly, the Government has compulsorily ordered the arbitration of the issues raised under Section 49-A of the B.I.D. Act. This section empowers the Government to refer any industrial dispute to arbitration, without obtaining the consent of either party to the dispute, only under conditions where a serious outbreak of disorder is threatened. There is enough room for doubt whether the situation is so serious as to warrant invoking the aid of this section. Under such circumstances, the question has openly been raised, whether by patronising a particular union, whose claims to speak for the majority of the workers are questionable the Government has not provoked the *Girni Kamgar Union* to put forward extravagant demands in order to retain its hold on the workers. The Government, in our opinion, should not by any of its acts raise the suspicion that it is open to partial treatment. The important question of standardisation of wages has already been examined by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee and its findings are there for the Government to proceed with. Why should not the Government, instead of going to the Industrial Court, discuss the issue with the employers or raise it in the Legislature with a view to implementation ?

Conference on Planning

The provincial ministers in charge of post-war reconstruction recently met at Delhi at a conference on Planning. Great changes are expected to occur in our political life and they are sure to determine the nature of India's post-war economy. But whatever be the future constitution, the importance of co-ordinated and planned reconstruction will never be minimised. So the Planning conference deserves the attention of all economic and sociological experts of the country.

Plans had already been drafted for individual provinces and the object of the conference was to co-ordinate the different plans and to determine the precise nature of the relation between the Centre and the Provincial units, particularly in the exercise of controlling power and the allocation of Central grant.

It has been proposed that the Central Government would grant Rs. 500 crores for financing the first five-year plans. It would grant Rs. 500 crores out of revenue surplus and also raise another 500 crores for financing the plans. Out of the Rs. 500 crores from the revenue surplus, Rs. 300 crores will go to the provinces.

But the most important thing to be decided at the conference is basis of distribution of this Central grant. It seems that the recent Conference at Delhi is in favour of allocation on population basis for initiating the interim schemes. In the meantime Mr. V. Narahari Rao, Secretary, Finance Department, will be studying the Australian system of grants and his recommendations will vitally affect the final decision on the apportionment of grants. The Conference has always laid proper stress on the special needs of the backward areas like the N.-W. Frontier Province and provinces like Assam which have been particularly affected by the war. As a matter of fact, special conditions obtaining in different provinces should naturally mould a uniform policy of allocation on a population basis.

As yet no details regarding the plans of expenditure by the provinces of Rs. 83 crores sanctioned for interim schemes have been published. The new Ministries will, of course, be free to alter the plans of previous administrations. But whatever be the plans of individual provinces, some basic principles of national planning must be always given due consideration. For one thing, the maintenance of the economic unity of India is an essential condition of any effective planning. But unfortunately the economic repercussions of dividing India are not always adequately realised. Vital questions such as communication, irrigation, public debt, sterling credit, national army, etc., should be taken into consideration before any discussion on dividing India. Provinces like N.-W. F. P., Sind and Bengal have received subventions from the Central Government without which they would have been in a bad plight with their provincial economy. Baluchistan is a responsibility of the Central Government. Above all there is the important issue of trade relationship which with its accompanying problems of tariff, currency, exchange, river navigation, coastal shipping, rail and road travel, and commercial discrimination make a strong case for a vigorous Central planning. In nothing was the importance of economic unity of India so evident as in the food crisis during the war.

But a strong national economy does not rule out the possibilities of regional planning and decentralisation of industries. In the U.S.S.R. some of the most ambitious projects were intentionally launched in back-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ward Republics. A basic principle of the third Five-Year Plan was the utmost possible distribution of productive forces over the wide territory of the Soviet Union with industry located near sources of raw materials and consumption wherever possible, to level out national economy and to eliminate unnecessary haulage. Such decentralisation of industries is essential for a country like India where regional planning is necessary to prevent excessive concentration and ensure equitable distribution of wealth. But regional planning never precludes the free flow of different factors of production between regions. India's economic development depends on a strong Central economy with ample elasticity on sound socialistic lines.

Future Ports of India

The Ports Technical Committee which met in Bombay is reported to have made far-reaching recommendations to the Government of India regarding the country's future port policy. The Committee is strongly of the opinion that the following considerations should govern the formulation of an all-embracing progressive port policy for India :

> Economic indivisibility of British India ; evolution of a sound policy of defence for the whole country ; geographical position and importance of India in the Indian Ocean and the strategic importance of India in the development of the world order in the Far East ; desirability of the dispersal of industries.
>
> The committee then recommended that Vizagapatam's east coast should be developed as a sheltered deep sea port which can accommodate ships at least 650 ft. in length.
>
> As regards Madras, the committee recommended that the wet dock scheme for four berths should be completed within the period of 10 years.
>
> The committee further emphasised the need for a major port between Karachi and Bombay in the gulf of Cutch and recommended 'Sika' for the purpose.
>
> The committee felt that the development of Bhatkal as a major port is essential for providing an outlet for the large and rich hinterland of the Mysore State.
>
> Lastly, the committee scrapped a proposal for developing the Cocanada harbour into a major port in the interests of defence strategy and disapproved the proposals for a ship and canal scheme and river training works as suggested by the Calcutta Port Commissioner.

In the meantime, the construction of a thirty-mile ship canal from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour has been announced and it is understood that the work has been taken in hand. We do not yet know under whose authority this decision has been taken ; in the press report of the Ports Technical Committee's proceedings we find that such an idea was disapproved. We are fully agreeable to support the proposed Calcutta ship canal if we are satisfied that such a canal is really needed to maintain Calcutta as a first class port. It appears in this case that the Port Commissioners have ostensibly gone against the recommendation of the Technical Committee and as such deserve no support. The matter is important and urgent. The activities of the Calcutta Port Commissioners have not always been in the national interest. They had persistently opposed the establishment of the Scindia Ship-building Yard in Calcutta and it was due to their intransigence that they had to go to Vizagapatam. We consider it a fit subject for the issue of a *communique* by the Government of India.

Building of a New Egypt

Reuter's staff correspondent from Cairo reports the big national reconstruction plan adopted by Egypt which is admitted to be the biggest in the Middle East.

Egypt's three main enemies—poverty, ignorance and disease—are being brought to battle by a Higher Council under the Chairmanship of Ismail Sidky Pasha the Prime Minister.

The Higher Council is under no illusions as to the magnitude of the task it is tackling. Not much more than 10 per cent of the entire population of about 17,000,000 are literate, and only a small proportion of the fallaheen (peasant) escape the two most common diseases—Bilharzia, caused by a small parasite in the River Nile, and Trachoma.

The plan against PID, the diminutive by which the three enemies are known, envisages many projects.

One of the biggest of these, is the building of 1,200 social centres to care for mothers and children, and provide baths and washing places and lecture halls. Each centre, it is estimated, will cost £7,000 and all are due to be completed within the scope of a ten-year plan. The Government is including a credit of £500,000 in the forthcoming budget to start this £8,400,000 scheme.

Another project is the construction of six centres for industrial workers, including one in Cairo and another in Alexandria, which will have sports grounds, lecture halls, libraries, medical clinics and restaurants. These centres will cost from £40,000 to £100,000.

Malnutrition problems will be tackled by the building of public restaurants in "people's quarters" where nourishing meals will be served cheaply.

Reformatories costing from £40,000 to £100,000 each will be established throughout the country to deal with child vagrancy, a big problem in Egypt.

Already the Higher Council has approved a scheme for workers' insurance providing for medical aid in cases of sickness, old age pensions and compensation on the death of workers.

Government, employers and workers will each subscribe one-third of the cost of the scheme, which will be applied experimentally first in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Suez, Ismailia and Damietta and then gradually extended throughout the country. The Chairman of the Social Insurance, Department of the International Labour Bureau, is expected in Egypt shortly to make a final revision of the scheme and give advice on its application.

Travelling cinemas with instructional films will tour the country to show the people how they can help the Government and themselves in raising their standard of living. Every effort will be made to encourage the fellaheen themselves to participate in the administration of the new scheme, which is one of the biggest and boldest ever launched in the Middle East.

With the withdrawal of British Army from Egypt, she has begun to breathe the fresh air of complete independence and have immediately launched its bold and ambitious reconstruction plan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Technical Terminology in Indian Languages

Modern education in India, especially in scientific subjects, is greatly dependent on Western terminology and it is very difficult to express modern thoughts and scientific ideas through the medium of Indian languages. This difficulty is sought to be removed through the preparation of a comprehensive English-Indian Dictionary for use in the various Aryan and Dravidian languages of India and Ceylon. Thus, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sinhalese, Tamil and Telugu equivalents of English terminologies will be included in the Dictionary. Dr. Raghuvira of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, has undertaken this stupendous work and deserves all support. Prof. V. K. Mathur of the Academy gives the following plan of the Dictionary :

The plan of this Dictionary consists in the substitution of about two million words of Western terminology, covering nearly six hundred special branches of knowledge, by Indian words derived from Sanskrit roots and stems and appearing in four scripts—Devanagari and Bengali for Northern India and Canarese and Tamil for Southern India.

Since time immemorial, Sanskrit has been the fountain-head from which all languages of India have drawn their learned and technical vocabulary and by providing Sanskrit terminology for all the Indian languages, an attempt is made to build up a common and uniform technical vocabulary for the whole of India. The principle followed in forming technical words is mainly to make each word self-expressive, *i.e.*, to make its etymology explain its meaning and connotation. For instance, a number of words of English scientific terminology begin with a proper name. Such words have been translated in Indian languages on the basis of their properties and qualities to make their meaning clearer than it is in English. This feature, coupled with the fact that the students of various sciences will now be enabled to learn them through the words of their own languages, without the need of having first learnt a difficult foreign language will, it is estimated on the basis of experiments, shorten the course of scientific education by three years. Bacteriology for instances cannot be taught to Indian students below the age of 18 in India (16 in Western countries), but they can now be made to start at 15.

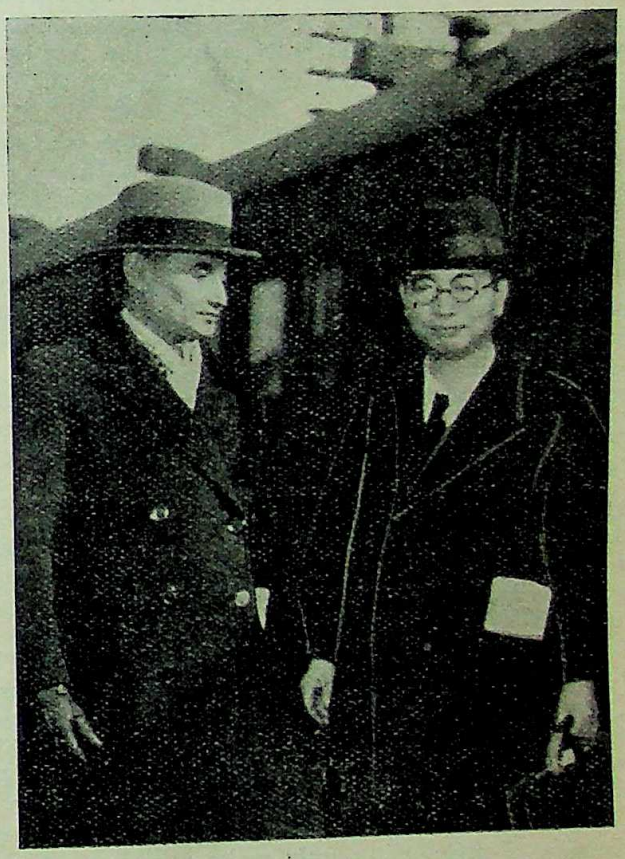
In order to make the Indian terminology as perfect as possible the task is being performed with the co-operation of some of the most eminent scholars of East and West who are specialists in various branches of knowledge. Besides, all possible materials necessary in the building up of the Dictionary from both Indian and Western sources are being exhaustively utilised.

So far the Great English-Indian Dictionary has come out with its first volume on Inorganic Chemistry and the third volume on Chemical Apparatus. The second volume on Organic Chemistry, and allied Sciences is passing through the press ; so also the fourth volume on Chemical dyes. The work is being done on Bacteriology, Biology, Anatomy and other Medical Sciences. The preparation of the entire Dictionary is expected to cover a period of ten years.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose

In the death of Dr. Sudhindra Bose India has lost one of our few cultural ambassadors who made it their mission to work for the cause of India in a foreign country all over their life. For the last forty years he had been in the United States of America working for the furtherance of Indo-American cultural communion as also for the social and political regeneration of his mother country.

Dr. Bose hailed from the district of Dacca and received his early education at Comilla. It might be incidentally remembered that his elder brother late Sj. Satyen Bose was Principal of the Victoria College. The conventional pattern of the life of an average Bengali boy could not satisfy the ardent spirit of Sudhindra who was destined from his birth to build up his own life along an untrodden path. The path was the path of daring adventure, and as early as when he was a schoolboy Sudhin left for America to find his own career.



Dr. Sudhindra Bose and Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa

At Iowa Sudhin settled finally and received his school and university education. After completing his academic course he obtained a doctorate in Political Science.

Even when he was a student there Sudhin made an extensive tour of the western and southern states of America and delivered public speeches on India, her problems and her message. Thus Sudhin earned a lot by these lectures while satisfactorily prosecuting his studies in the University. Again this touring brought him in close contact with every aspect of American life in both rural and urban areas.

Sudhin became a lecturer at the Iowa State University by the year 1914. He used to lecture on the politics of the Far East, the Middle East and the Near East as well as on the problems of Africa and Latin America. These parts of his courses included other general colonial questions too. As a lecturer he was eminently

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

successful and his remarkable grasp of his subjects was recognised in American circles. An episode will show how his scholarship and worth were recognised by the American people. When discussions were going on about the legislation regarding the exclusion of the Japanese, Chinese, Indians and other Asians from settling in the United States, Dr. Bose was invited by the Federal Government at Washington to give evidence. He always worked for international affinity and tried to promote the unity of inter-human relationships.

Sudhin did all he could to create facilities for Indian students in America. He worked a great deal for the establishment of the Hindusthan Students' Association of America. The Association published a journal for the Indians staying in America and the journal became one of the links between people of America and the students from India. It is difficult to estimate the importance of the work that Dr. Bose did for India through the medium of this journal and similar other activities. It moulded to a great extent the American attitude towards India and considerably helped the Americans to have a correct view of the true state of affairs in India.

Dr. Bose used to contribute regularly to Indian journals. His connection with *The Modern Review* was of long standing and he always kept in touch with it even from that distant land. The articles that he regularly contributed to Indian journals, specially to *The Modern Review*, were on the social, economic and the constitutional developments of America and these came out in a book form under the title, *Fifteen Years in America*. It was about 1920.

It was largely due to the efforts of our late Editor that the ban against Bose's entry into India was lifted and he was permitted to visit his motherland.

Dr. Bose paid a visit to India in 1928 as an American citizen accompanied by his American wife. He utilised his visit by gathering the latest first-hand information about India and her problems. He had a mind to make another visit—a wish which was never fulfilled.

The British Government put a restriction on his visiting India and it was after much ado that he secured the permission of visiting it once. However, the work he did for India on a foreign soil will make him remembered as one of the ablest sons of India. His articles published in *The Modern Review* will remain as a record of his deep intellectual attainments. The future historian of India will surely make a proper estimate of the worth, integrity and courage of this exile son of the country.

Bhulabhai Desai

The death of Bhulabhai Desai will be mourned by all; it has inflicted an irreparable loss on our public life. With him passed away one of the ablest lawyers of India and one of the very best parliamentarians of this country. A brilliant speaker, a formidable constitutionalist and a shrewd adviser, Bhulabhai was above all a true patriot to whom the cause of the country as a whole was above the limitations of party, creed or group.

Born on October 13, 1877, at Bulsar in Bombay Province, Bhulabhai started his career as a professor of History and Economics at the Gujarat College at Ahmedabad. After a few years he gave up the academic vocation and joined the Bar in Bombay and built up an extensive practice within a very short time. The record of Bhulabhai's legal career is a glorious one, and he became one of the leading lawyers of India by virtue of his forensic skill, marshalling of arguments and convincing eloquence.

The successful lawyer was flung into the vortex of India's political struggle when he appeared on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli in 1928 and 1931. Since then he made himself one with the cause of the Congress and even if he occasionally differed from the Congress programme as in the case of Desai-Liaquat Pact, his association with the Congress ideal remained as close as ever. He did his last service to the cause of nationalism when he defended the I.N.A. prisoners; and his unforgettable closing address will remain as a monument of magnificent legal acumen.

At this critical moment of India's history the loss caused by the death of a man of Bhulabhai's calibre cannot be overestimated. We record our deep sense of grief and regret at this sad event.

Text of the Statement Issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy yesterday (May 16):

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision."

"I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."

"But if she does so elect, it must be her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India.

After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap beween the parties and so no agreement could be concluded.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of H.M.G. in the U.K.

Unity Of India

3. We have, accordingly, decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being.

We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

Pakistan

6. We, therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas, one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Froneir, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be asknowledged.

The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

Non-Muslim Minorities

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures (latest census of 1941) show:—

	Muslim,	Non-Muslim.
North-Western Area—		
Punjab ..	16,217,242	12,201,577
N.-W. F. P. ..	2,788,797	249,270
Sind ..	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan ..	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62.07%	37.93%
North-Eastern Area—		
Bengal ..	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam ..	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predeminantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

Bengal And Punjab

7. We, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population.

We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition.

Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

Points Against Pakistan

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph sytsems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India.

The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective.

The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

Congress Plan

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element.

To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to these Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

Indian States

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri 76410

during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

The Solution

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislature, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

Constitution-Making Machinery

17. We now indicate the constitution-makig machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution.

The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250.

Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the Provincial population.

After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India—General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (*i*) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

SECTION A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
U. P.	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
C. P.	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
N.-W. F. P.	0	3	0	3
Punjab	8	16	4	28
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India		..	292
Maximum for Indian States		..	93
Total		..	385

NOTE.—In order to represent the Chief Commissioner's Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislotive Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council. To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

IMMEDIATE MEETING

(*iii*) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(*iv*) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (*i*) of this paragraph.

(*v*) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(*vi*) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

COMMUNAL ISSUES

(*vii*) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(*viii*) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fundamental Rights

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. The Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives, and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

Treaty With Britain

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult task that face the Government of India.

Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect of India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary.

The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

Appeal To People

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all this has not been possible.

We, therefore, now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust, will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We, therefore, lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millons of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

Other relevant statements and documents relating to these proposals are given elsewhere in this issue.—Ed. M. R.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SQUARING THE CIRCLE IN PALESTINE

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

Ask anybody, anywhere in the world :

"Of what sport are the English the fondest ?"

Or

"What is the most characteristically English sport ?"

Some may answer "Rugger." Others "Soccer." Some may say "Tennis." Others "Racing." A few may even venture "Hunting."

Most persons will, however, plump for "Cricket." They will immediately proceed to reel off proverbs : "This is not cricket." Or "You are not playing cricket." Some of them will remind you of the Duke of Wellington's famous saying that the battle of Waterloo was won on the cricket fields of Eton.

My own view is different. Slightly different—as an Englishman would say, meaning thereby of course, very much different.

"Squaring the circle" is, I hold, the game of English games. According to the definition they themselves give, it is an attempt to "perform demonstrable impossibility" or simply to "attempt impossibility."

They are at it morning, noon and night. They are at it in their own baby's bib of a land. They are at it in other countries into each of which many a Britain can be put and lost. They are at it even in a land like ours, fit to support the Lord God's foot-stool.

II

Within my sight one such game was begun. Not quite thirty years ago, when it was started, only the prophets could have foretold that it would still be going on and that it would even today prove to be of absorbing interest.

Almost from the very commencement it has not been going on very well for the English. Every year it, in fact, has been going from bad to worse. So parlous, indeed, has it become that any player would be justified in giving it up in disgust.

Not the English, however. They go on and on, come what may. Theirs is the bull-dog grip that never loosens its hold, once the teeth snap.

Of late I am beginning to discern a disposition upon their part to try to coax another player to lean over their shoulder as they play and to give, once in a while, a word of advice as to the move to be made, if not actually take a hand at it. An ingeniously worded, though a tentative, timorous, invitation has been actually extended to their cousins across the Atlantic. The Americans are, however, a canny people and they may fight shy of attempting to "perform demonstrable impossibility."

III

The board upon which this "squaring of the circle" was begun is known to the world as Palestine. Flisteen, it is called by the people who predominate there—the Palestinian Arabs.

They are in conflict with another people—the Beni Israel, or sons of Israel, or Hebrews, commonly called Jews, who would name this very land Zion, if only they could make their will prevail. This they would do because of a hill in the heart of the principal city in that land—Zurooshalam (Jerusalem). To them it—Zion—is the hill of hills in all the world—a magnet that draws them thither.

This holy hill attracts the Jews as irresistibly in modern times as it did in days of old. They fain would have their life revolve round it as it once did—as it did before the rulers of the day (the Romans) drove them out of the land and the great dispersal of their nation began about 1700 years ago. This tragedy they insist upon ending—ending once for all.

Back to Zion—Zionism, or the Zionist movement—has, therefore, two facets for the Jews whose hearts pine for it. On one side it shows the final scenes of a tragedy. On the other it displays the golden glory of an era of reunion that is ready to dawn.

IV

To turn the gleam of hope into the golden glory of fact, the squaring of this circle was begun in the first week of November, 1917. It was begun in London—not in Jerusalem. So it was, at least, in the first instance.

That moment seemed to be singularly propitious for turning one particular "demonstrable impossibility" into possibility. The problem resolved itself into three parts :

Part I : To make Palestine "a National Home for the Jewish people." This was meant to satisfy the Jewish longing for Zion. That was clear enough despite the very guarded language used. It was clear :

First, because it was something in the nature of a reward for a Zionist—Dr. Chaim Weizmann—who had rendered inestimable service to the British and their allies by finding a way to supply an indispensable ingredient for making the most powerful type of explosives. He would take nothing for himself—neither money nor dignity. Being desirous of ending his people's 1700-year exile from Palestine, he did not, however, object to their profiting from his labours. Such, indeed, was the view entertained by the head of His Majesty's Government—the Rt. Hon'ble David Lloyd George. He should have known if anyone did.

Secondly, the declaration concerning "a national home for the Jewish people" by His Majesty's Government was put in hands that "itched" for this boon to the sons of Israel—the greatest of boons that could be bestowed upon them. Lord Rothschild, the recipient, had given liberally of his substance—no small substance, to be sure—to the Zionist cause.

Thirdly, Zionists all over the world and particularly in the United States of America, accepted the proposition as such.

Part II : Turn Palestine into a "National Home for the Jewish people" yet save it for the Arabs. Save it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by refraining from doing anything "which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

V

How could Part I of the problem be reconciled with Part II? Therein lay the squaring of the circle—the attempting of the "demonstrable impossibility."

The war—World War No. I—was then raging. It was going none too well for Britain and her allies. The pledge for the creation of "a National Home for the Jewish people" was, in fact, expected to unleash forces that would strengthen the allied hand.

Especially in the U.S.A. There the Jews had money. Lots of it. Also influence. Heartened by the declaration, they would pour both money and influence into the prosecution of the struggle. So the optimists fondly hoped.

The revolutionists who had managed to get the upper hand in Russia were, "in the highest stage," Jews. This wondrous pronouncement was expected to have a favourable effect upon them, too.

Both expectations proved illusory. In the fog superinduced by the war, expectations, if attractively tinted, pass however for realities. These did. That is what matters—at this stage of my narrative.

VI

Certainly that first week of November, 1917, was well chosen for rallying the Jews to the allied cause. It appeared, indeed, as if that moment had been specially ordained by the Unseen Powers for this particular purpose. Let me recall the situation to the reader's mind:

The campaign launched in Palestine soon after Turkey joined Germany in World War No. 1, was then nearing its climax. Another few days would see the enemy down on his knees. At the head of the victorious columns General Allenby would triumphantly enter Jerusalem.

The booty belongs to the victor. This has been the rule since man began to contend with man before the dawn of history. With that which he has wrested from his adversary, he has done as he pleased.

VII

At least the victor did so till Pandit Woodrow Wilson appeared on the scene. He was all right when he was teaching political philosophy at Princeton University in New Jersey, not far from New York City. He had, however, ceased long since to fill that chair of learning. At that moment he was at the head of the United States of America. Without the man-power, material-power and money-power of his people, the war in Europe could not be won—at any rate, won by Britain and her allies. Wilson must, therefore, be humoured in his "highfaluting" ideas.

Not all the people in the United Kingdom—very disunited at that moment, for the Sinn Feinners were up in arms across the Irish Sea—were realists. Some were idealists. Even many of the realists prattled about idealism. Had they not said from the outset of the war that they had unsheathed the sword in defence of the freedom of small nations?

It doubly suited Britons, therefore, to fall in with Wilson's idealistic patter. No. They were not in the war to gain anything for themselves. They would not add a single square mile to their territories. Had they not, in any case, an Empire over which the sun never set?

VIII

There was, of course, Haifa. It was exceedingly well-placed by Nature to serve certain British purposes. Its water-front would tempt even a nation not possessing their maritime skill and experience—their vast and varied interests. What better terminus could there be than this for the pipe-line bringing oil?

'Oil.' Yes. There was oil in that region. Quantities of it—quantities not yet assessable, for only the sketchiest geological surveys had yet been made.

Had not Winston Spencer Churchill, with his God-given vision of the future, predicted that oil would be the world's most precious commodity especially during war? Had he not made an immensely rich oil-bearing area in the neighbourhood secure for his people?

Even so high an authority on the Middle-East as Sir Ronald Storrs has publicly stated that the British had their eyes on Haifa. Having been reared in diplomacy since his early manhood, having devoted to it his working years principally in Egypt and Palestine, his language is a little guarded, yet, I think, not unrevealing. "Those who had heard of the Sykes-Picot negotiations in 1916," he wrote in his essay on Zionism and Palestine, "cherished vague hopes of Great Britain being awarded Haifa as a British possession."

That "award" would, indeed, have completed the turning of the Mediterranean Sea into an English lake. Near it was Cyprus, that the Romancist-imperialist, Benjamin Disraeli—Lord Beaconsfield—himself a Jew, had added to the Empire. Then there were Malta and the Suez Canal, in complete British control. At the other end was "Gib" (Gibraltar)—the Rock, constituting the basis of British communications with the Empire—British Imperial strategy—Empire trade and what not.

Control over Palestine would, indeed, secure British imperial communications that ran through it eastwards—and westwards. It would, indeed, enable Britain to close the strategic and economic circuit—to borrow a figure of speech from the electrician's lingo.

IX

But . . .

There was not one "but" only. There were many "buts," in fact.

Certain promises had been made to the Arabs. Not specially to the Palestinian Arabs. But to the Arabs in Arabia. Still there were racial and religious ties between all Arabs. Till the opening of hostilities there were political ties, too. This tie was supplied by subjection to Turkey—subjection common to them all.

There were also the Muslims in India to be taken into account in this connection. They had not hesitated to fight the Turks any more than the non-Muslims from India had done.

In the zeal to please the Jews, nothing must be done to upset any of these elements. This was said and printed in Britain again and again. By all sorts of people. Of that I can bear witness, for, as I indicated before, I then lived there.

X

Here was a circle. A vicious circle it looked in most

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Especially in the eyes of a Jew. Edwin Samuel Montagu was the very antithesis of the other two Jews I have mentioned. Unlike Weizmann (who had been born in Russia and educated upon the continent of Europe) and Rothschild, he was not a Zionist. Left to himself, he would, in fact, forget that, racially, he was different from the fellows among whom he had been born. He had been brought up as an Englishman. As a boy he was sent by his immensely rich father to an English public school at Clifton, near Bristol. He became quite "pally" with Josiah Clement Wedgwood, who was a student there at the time. Thence he went to Cambridge, where he shone particularly as a debator, becoming the president of the Union. Entering politics, he had not the slightest difficulty in obtaining office. Until the summer of 1917, it had been minor office. Then he saw an opportunity to hoist himself into the position of Secretary of State. The opening was made by the scathing minority report that his former schoolfellow Wedgwood had indited as a member of the Mesopotamia Commission.

Montagu seized the opportunity with both hands. He directed a withering fire upon the Government of India. It scorched every vestige of efficiency in which it had always garbed itself.

Lloyd George did the one thing that he could. He invited Edwin Samuel Montagu to step into the breach made in the cabinet ranks by the resignation of Austen Chamberlain. This was regarded as a stroke of genius upon his part. The critic was charged with the task of removing the grounds for criticism.

This was precisely what Montagu desired. Within a short time of taking over the Indian portfolio he went to India. With the Viceroy and Governor-General of the day as his principal companion he perambulated India, met officials and non-officials, apologists of the administration and its critics. Not long after his return to London, with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in his satchel, he had to give his colleagues of His Majesty's Government the benefit of his advice upon this Zionist adventure with which some of them were then fascinated.

XI

Now that the principal figures that started this game of squaring the Palestinian circle are dead and the lapse of time has made it possible for us to view their performance in perspective, we may well ask, did Montagu help or hinder his countrymen—did he save them from falling into peril's pit or did he, in fact, push them into it? To me he talked, from time to time, with freedom unusual for a man in his responsible position. My intimate association in those years with a London daily, presumed to be fed from the party funds under Lloyd George's personal control, and my acquaintance with the Prime Minister and several members of his family have often raised these questions in my mind.

Montagu meant very well, indeed. That was abundantly realised by even those who regarded him as something of a nuisance—L.G. for one and his neighbour across the Downing Street, Arthur James (later the Earl of Balfour), at the time the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for another. They were bent upon supporting the Zionist cause for purposes of their own, some of which I have already mentioned.

It is difficult for me to believe that but for Montagu there would have been no warning. No. The warning would have come from India, if not also from the British Agency in Cairo.

Montagu or no Montagu, the circle would have been there. The British would not have supported —at least supported in the open—the Zionist cause without giving some sort of assurance for the protection of the Arab Palestinians' rights. Montagu's zeal in the Indian interest might have resulted in the placing of a little stronger accent upon the proviso designed for this purpose. Hardly more.

XII

I take this view because of the English—or, I might even write, the British—fascination for checks or counter-checks, or, as some of them themselves would put it, because of their desire for balance, a desire feeding, at least in their own view, upon their sense of justice and fair-play. Cricket, in fact.

Then, there is the disposition of the principal figures to be considered. No one loved quibbles more than did Lloyd George or, for that matter, Balfour.

Phrase-making was L.G.'s strength as well as his weakness. No child took greater delight in lisping his first articulated word than did this great Welshman in turning off a neat figure of speech. What a genius did he have for it, too! With his mind stored during his childhood with the facts and fables chronicled in the two Testaments and the maxims and proverbs scattered through the pages of the Bible, he could always find—find apparently without searching—some name or incident, some episode or verse—that would hit off the occasion and, possibly, make his opponent look cheap in every one's eyes and even writhe and squirm. I have seen him doing it.

Balfour had a finer mind and certainly a better trained one. Philosophy fascinated him. Also philosophers. He delighted in entertaining Bergson. A Jew of course but in some ways the greatest thinker of his time.

I am convinced that Balfour's dialectical skill could draw upon causistry to greater purpose than could the verbal agility of any other contemporary of his—not excepting L.G.'s.

XIII

These master-minds produced, between them, the Zionists' magna charta—popularly known as the "Balfour Declaration." Though I have given its purport already, I now set it down in its entirety, especially because brevity is one of its many qualities:

> "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Was there ever a greater masterpiece of vague phraseology. Delightfully vague at the time of publication. Not destined to be so delightful later on, however.

Why "a" national home? Why not "the" national home? Was it meant that there was to be another

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

home or, perhaps, several other homes, for the Jewish people?

What is a "national home," anyway? Were the Jews transplanted in Palestine to be masters over it? If not, what security would that home have for them? Who was to give them security? The British? Were the British to be for ever Palestine's rulers—at least its overlord? If not, who? How?

On the other hand, what did the phrase "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" signify? Was "civil" used in contradistinction to "military." If so did it include "political" rights?

What of the "military" rights and responsibilities? Who was to shoulder the responsibility for defence? Britain?

Who were these non-Jewish communities? Did they have no name or names of their own? Or else why were they so negatively, so unceremoniously, if not actually somewhat derisively, lumped together? What ratio did their numerical strength bear to the Jews then in Palestine? What ratio would it bear after that land had become "a national home for the Jewish people?"

About the only thing in the "Balfour Declaration" that was not vague was the last proviso in it. It made it clear that "the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country" would remain untouched even after the establishment of this particular "national home" for them in Palestine. They were to gain something—a great deal, in fact—in Palestine without running the risk of losing anything in any quarter of the globe.

XIV

Questions of the kind I have asked here must have occurred to the framers of the Declaration. They did at least to some of us interested in Middle Eastern affairs. We had been told by the British that Germany coveted India—that Germany's road to India lay through this very region. We had seen our soldiers fighting in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and neighbouring countries. We then had no idea that within another quarter of a century they would again be fighting in parts of this region. Confusion and contention in Palestine were, in any case, not merely of academic interest to us. The resultant conflict might easily react upon us—even involve us in sanguinary strife.

The war was, however, on. It was a jealous jade. It would not permit attention to wander away from the mud and blood that were being thrown up.

With the entry of Allenby into Jerusalem in the second week of November, 1917, Palestine became remote to persons not interested in it for some special reason. The phraseology employed in the "Balfour Declaration" was smooth and reassuring. It lulled even intelligent persons into the belief that the problem was solved. For them the only problem was the eviction of the Turk, unless they happened to be Zionists. For Zionists the problem was the entry of the Jews into Palestine and the Zionisation of Palestine.

XV

The Zionists seemed to be supremely happy. They had had their charter. This charter needed the imprimatur of Powers other than the one that had given it. With their riches and influence, support from the remaining allied powers was easily and quickly secured. A Jew, Dr. Nahum Sokolov, was instrumental in having the French and Italian governments adopt the Declaration and even in securing the Pope's blessings for the scheme. He was later to appear at Versailles and have the plan accepted by the Peace Conference. He begged that the mandate over Palestine be given to the Power that had promised to facilitate the establishment there of "a national home for the Jewish people." The mandate was not signed till July, 1922: but Britain had been in effective control all along—the control that comes through the triumph of arms, and not through any "chit" issued by an international authority.

Just what talks Weizmann, Sokolov and other Zionist leaders had had with Lloyd George, Balfour and other British statesmen, for the implementation of this pledge, are not known to me. They seem, however, to have gone about their business as if the eventuation of the Palestine "national home" was only a matter of time.

To them "national home" meant just one thing. It was synonymous with the Jewish State. This State would be run by themselves. Its language would be the ancient Hebrew, kept alive and progressive by the pertinacity of the Lord's Chosen People.

In their mind's eye the non-Jews had already been reduced to a minority. That minority might call itself Arab. Was it not, however, largely Jewish, racially speaking?

I heard many a Zionist make that suggestion. Looking into the future he or she saw that minority content and even happy. While its "civil and religious rights" were respected, it had, for the first time in its history, a real opportunity to obtain plenty of work at remarkably high wages and to enjoy amenities of life that it could not have dreamt of. The work, wages and amenities were theirs because of the money the world Jewry had poured into Palestine and because of the intellectual, scientific and technical resources concentrated by the sons of Israel upon draining marshes, washing salt out of the saline lands, bringing waste areas into cultivation and building up exhausted acreages, harnessing waters for irrigation, hydro-electric and potable purposes, and initiating programmes of multifarious nature.

XVI

It looked for a time as if this vision splendid was in process of translation into reality. Allenby's first official proclamation was couched in Hebrew. Soon afterwards the foundations of a Hebrew University were laid in Jerusalem. The Commander-in-Chief (Allenby) was present on the occasion. The Jewish Commission, which had been in the country for some time, had ordered the Jews to use Hebrew exclusively in every day intercourse.

In this matter zeal certainly overrun prudence and created no little irritation in the Arab mind. To the Arab-speaking Palestinian this regulation looked like an order for the eventual submersion of his mother-tongue. It certainly did not make for good-neighbourliness.

The Muslim attitude in respect of the "Noble Sanctuary" (Haram-al-Sharif) came as a rude shock to the Zionists. Known to them as "the Wailing Wall," its foundations dated, in Jewish eyes, from at least Herod's time, if they did not go back to Solomon's day. Neither money nor diplomacy availed in the attempt upon Weizmann's part to secure ownership

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the wall or the pavement adjoining it. A species of "passive resistance" organised by the Jewish community served no purpose other than to add to the bitterness.

XVII

The promise held out by material improvements following in the wake of capital sent in by the world Jewry lulled the Arabs into quiescence, even into satisfaction—for a short time. The sale of land to these monied people at inflationary rates did bring in the shekels to the Arab owner. The gain, however great, was only of a temporary nature. Even when the sum received was not frittered away, as it often was, the man who had been a peasant proprietor became a landless worker, utterly at the mercy of some small or large capitalist whose chattel he must of necessity remain to the end of his days.

As this realisation came, all joy went out of Arab life. The coming in of money in a steady, full stream lost its charm. The changing of land from hand to hand at unbelievably high prices became as wormwood and gall. The expropriation was not forced. No. Quite the contrary. it was recognised, however, that the lure of the Jew gold was irresistible. Only the good Lord could deliver the Arab from its witchery. And it looked to the Arab as if, for the nonce, the Lord God had gone to sleep.

The Jew and his partisans and propagandists may go on counting and recounting the advantages that had been flowing into Palestine in the wake of the Zionist immigration and settlement, at least so far as the Arab was concerned. There were . . .

True. There was, however, something else too. The Arabs were becoming landless serfs. In ratio to the Jews, with the ever-rising tide of immigration, their numbers were shrinking. What guarantee was there that, in time, there would not be as many Zionists as there were Arabs? Or for that matter, what assurance was there that these people, alien in speech, social structure and culture and resolved to remain aliens, would not, at some date, and probably no distant date, outnumber them—them, whose patrimony Palestine was?

If the Jews could have their way they meant to go on increasing in numbers and in political might. Everything that the Jews said or did conveyed that impression to the Arabs. They, therefore, insisted upon knowing what was to be their status in their own country. They had been there for 1,200 years. Was that fact of history going to be ignored? Or were they to be given political security—the political security that was their due, that in fact was to them overdue.

Or was it intended that the Arabs were to remain eternally adolescents—charges of the Mandatory Power —of Britain appointed mandatory at the express Jewish wish and through Jewish lobbying.

Or worse still, were the Zionists, in time, to preponderate—preponderate numerically and politically? The very thought was revolting to the Arab soul.

XVIII

As stated earlier, nor were the Zionists pleased. Pleased they might have been at one time. Even in the early stages, they, however, were not satisfied. Their population was not growing at anything like the rate they wished. If immigration continued to be regulated —if only a trickle were allowed from the outside—their concept of Zion would remain merely a concept for at least this generation of Zionists and probably for many generations yet to come.

What was there to assure them, anyhow, that Palestine was to be their National Home in the only sense in which they wished it to be? They could see no signs of the laying of even the foundations for the Jewish State. Naught else was good enough for them.

Whatever the Mandatory did in his effort to placate the Arabs as the Arabs became openly rebellious set the Jews on edge. They were enraged particularly by the restriction and later the suspension of immigration.

The proposal to partition Palestine, as the one way of settling the dispute enraged both parties. That proposal was rejected by Arab and Jew alike.

Resentment stopped long ere now finding expression simply in verbal protests. The Jew, erstwhile noted for his slinking, shuffling, submissive ways, took to armed resistance and even to acts of terrorism. What he could not achieve by legal—pacific—means, he began obtaining by violence. He did this despite the admonitory shaking of heads by the elders, who continued to detest the use of force for such purposes.

XIX

No wonder that the Mandatory shied at the American insistence upon the admission of 100,000 Jews, hunted out of home and country and in the last stage of extremity. The nimble-witted Government of the day in London got Washington to consent to a joint enquiry. Two purposes were thereby accomplished:

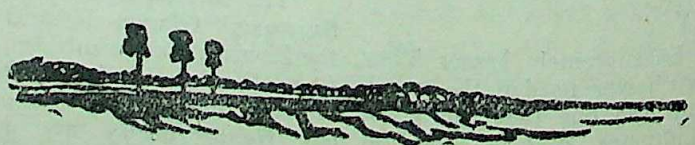
(1) Suspension of the issue for a few months; and

(2) joint deliberation—joint deliberation that might become the fore-runner of joint action.

Will it, however? If I am any judge, there seems to be a disposition in the U.S.A. to regard Palestine as Britain's war-baby. In American eyes it is, in fact, joined on to the British Empire as Siamese twins are.

Still Jewry over there is rich and influential. Some scheme of wet-nursing Britain's war-baby may yet be evolved that many secure relief for the Attleean government, worried—almost anguished—at the way the Palestinian issue is upsetting people all over Middle Asia and India.

All this talk and all the proposals for joint consultation and action show, nevertheless, that Britain has failed to square the Palestinian circle, for all the lightheartedness with which it took up that game in the midst of the first World War.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS AND THE FUTURE*

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.

Watumull Foundation Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University

I

Those who are earnestly interested in getting a full understanding of the role of South-East Asia in world politics should study the much neglected history of the peoples of Asia and their place in the past history of the world. This is imperative, because world politics, like other phases of world history, has a continuity and inter-relations. The peoples of Asia have contributed their share to the world culture and progress; and possibly their share, before the advent of European domination of Asia, was greater than those of Europe even in the fields of pure and applied science. In passing I wish to emphasise that the ancient Jews of Asia, the peoples of the Near East (mostly Semitic in origin), the Persians, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Arabs and the Turks were far more civilised at certain periods of world history than the peoples of the West. This I say, not to claim any superiority of the peoples of Asia over the peoples of Europe; but to remind some of the western peoples and even scholars that the peoples of Asia did build empires, ruled themselves and even subjugated the peoples of Europe and thus they are not inherently inferior to them and they can govern themselves, unless they are deprived of the opportunity through some peculiar civilised devices which are termed as training them for self-government.

Furthermore, it must be also remembered that because the peoples of Asia have been subjugated by the peoples of Europe, that does not imply that the peoples of Asia are to remain permanently enslaved. To clarify the significance of this statement I wish to point out that the Arabs or the Saracens as they were then called, conquered Spain, and ruled over that land for several centuries, but the Arabs were not only expelled from Spain, but Spain developed one of the largest empires in the world which spread in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas for several centuries. The Turks also ruled over a vast portion of Europe, including the large portion of Central Europe and Southern Russia, but these subjugated peoples have attained their freedom, after several centuries of loss of independence. At least for four centuries parts of Russia were under Asian domination but to-day Russia has developed into one of the greatest and ever-expanding inter-continental empires of the world. What has been true for Europe and certain peoples at certain periods of world history, the same thing might become also true for other peoples under the same peculiar world forces. What I am trying to emphasise is this: No people has a special monopoly for continuous domination over other peoples—the rise and fall of nations has been the history of the world; and in studying world history, we find only one constant factor and that is the phenomenon of "constant change" for progress or for fall.

II

The history of the region that is known today as South-East Asia—Burma, Malaya, States, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China—may be divided very broadly into several historic periods: (*i*) pre-Hindu period, (*ii*) Hindu period, (*iii*) advent of Islamic incursions specially in Indonesia, (*iv*) the period of European expansion and domination, and (*v*) the period of struggle for Freedom from Western Powers.

Even during the pre-Hindu period the original inhabitants of South-East Asia, specially those of Indonesia, according to such Dutch authorities as Kern and others lived in democratic village communities in which there existed joint-responsibility of the members of the community for the common welfare and public order. —(*History of the East Indian Archipelago* by Prof. Bernard Vlekke, Harvard University Press, page 8).

The period of more than a thousand years from the fourth century B.C. to the eighth and ninth century A.D. may be regarded as a glorious period of Hindu History when Indian immigrants colonised various islands of South-East Asia; and Hindu influence became the most predominant factor in cultural as well as political and economic life of the region which now is known as Indo-China where the monuments of Angkor are the best expression of Hinduised local dynasties. In Siam, in Malaya and Burma, there are undisputed evidences of Hindu and Buddhist influence. Regarding Indonesia, it is a fact that descendents of the Hindu immigrants and Hinduised Indonesians formed *the upper class of society* for several centuries. They flourished in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and even in Celebes. They established states and empires. The greatest of all the monuments of the Hindu period (Sailendra period between 760-860 A.D.) is the temple of Borobudur in Java. From the eleventh century on, the Hindu-Indonesian civilization became more Indonesian than Hindu.

Arab expansion into East Asia began through India. Before the rise of Arab seapower, *in the Indian Ocean, Hindu sea-power as well as shipping was predominant; and merchants from Gujarat and Cambay from the western coast of India used to be the leaders in trading between India and the islands of South-East Asia.* When the Arabs made incursions into Gujarat, they became interested in spice-trade between India and South-East Asia and through India they came to Indonesia and China in search for trade. This happened about the twelfth century A.D. Arab commercial penetration later developed into political and cultural one, although they did not succeed in completely destroying independence of Indonesian States. *For instance, Gaja-Medha, the founder of the Javanese Empire and sea-power ruled for more than thirty years 1331 to 1366 over a unified empire spreading in various islands.*

The next period of history of East Asia, starts with European expansion in Asia which began with the discovery of the Sea route to India by Vasco de Gama in 1498. This followed a period of Arab-Portuguese

* A lecture delivered before International Affairs Discussion Group of the Society of Ethical Culture, New York City, on December 17, 1948.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rivalry for the control of the trade routes and trade of the regions of Indian Ocean, including Eastern Asia. The Portuguese Empire under the leadership of Albuqurke established its headquarters at Goa as early as 1511; while the Spaniards who were expanding in America, arrived in Asia and established themselves in Manila in 1571. The Portuguese dominated East Asian trade and controlled many islands and even established themselves at Macao in China and sought for trade with Japan. As time will not permit us to get into details of the sixteenth century European expansion, it may be summed up as Arab-Portuguese rivalry in world trade and world politics; and South-East Asia, with the spices and also Indian textile trade with these islands played an important part.

In the seventeenth century we find the advent of Great Britain, Holland and France towards the Orient to search for trade and to overthrow Portuguese trade monopoly. From this time on, we find certain fundamental features in relation to world politics of Eastern Asia. These can be summed up as follows: (*i*) Quest for wealth of Asia by European Powers through commerce and political subjugation of oriental countries by various means, specially by fomenting civil wars and using one faction of oriental ruling group against the other and using oriental man-power whenever possible; (*ii*) While these European Powers were in agreement in exploiting and subjugating the countries of the Orient, they were not unanimous about their shares of trade and conquered countries. This developed into rivalry among European Powers in the Orient; and in this game of Power politics oriental countries became mere pawns. For instance, Anglo-Dutch rivalry against Portugal led to elimination of Portugal as the predominant power in Asia while the Dutch in South-East Asia—the present Indonesia, Ceylon and even in South Africa, took the place of Portuguese supremacy, and the English began to spread their commercial influence in India. After the elimination of the Portuguese, we know that the history of the seventeenth century in East Asia may be characterised as Anglo-Dutch rivalry in this region and the Dutch assumed supremacy by ousting the British, the Danes and others from equal trade opportunity, by 1680 Netherland controlled the whole of East Indian archipelago. Seventy years later about the year 1750 only two major islands remained free from the dominating power of the Dutch.

The eighteenth century as a whole and a part of the nineteenth century until the Napoleonic War, might be characterised as the period of Anglo-French rivalry in world politics and this rivalry was keenest in India. It resulted in British ascendancy and elimination of France in India. During the nineteenth century, Britain not only consolidated her mastery over India, but she from India began to expand in many directions and so far as East Asia is concerned she expanded in Malaya Archipelago, conquered Burma, fought China in the opium wars and imposed extra-territorial jurisdiction over China. France during the nineteenth century also expanded in South-East Asia and established her Indo-Chinese colony through stages of conquest. Siam also lost her territories both to France and Britain due to the existence of Anglo-French rivalry in this region during the latter part of the nineteenth century, while during the twentieth century Siam again became a victim of Anglo-French concert.

I hold that there has been and still is a kind of European concert to maintain European supremacy in East Asia at the cost of freedom of Asian peoples. However, during the last century, *i.e.*, the middle of the nineteenth century there has been an effort for re-assertion of Asiatic states to regain their freedom. This effort did not have any appreciable success until the victory of Japan over Russia at the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. This victory became a psychological factor in giving greater impetus to all nationalist movements which began in various Asian countries during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Imperial powers like Britain in India and the Dutch in East Indies and the French in Indo-China had to make concessions to the peoples of these lands so that they may have some share in the government of the country. In International politics, the new trend took the form of efforts for eliminating European control of Asia—Japan taking the leadership in this activities. By the time the World War I broke out, Asian Powers—China and Japan in particular—decided to act with the primary objective of eliminating German influence in East Asia in which they succeeded. This war and the Russian Revolution had their repercussions in all Asian countries in the form of nationalist movements taking the form of revolutionary character. The Imperialist Powers had to make concessions to the moderates of these countries and used severe repressive measures against the so-called extremists who were asking for independence and not reforms. This struggle for Asian Independence is one of the most important and the third phase in world politics of East Asia.

III

To be sure Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of American-Japanese war. But the war was in the process of development for many years specially since the days of the Washington Conference. Japanese southward expansion which began after the Sino-Japanese War when she got possession of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands was at first not regarded as a menace to the Anglo-American Powers. When Japan after the World War I secured German rights in China and German islands in the Pacific, above the equator and when the Japanese economic expansion began to menace commercial supremacy of the British, Dutch and also the Americans in Eastern Asia, Anglo-American Powers and Holland adopted concerted economic and political and defensive measures against Japan's southward expansion. Imposition of special tariffs and quotas on Japanese goods in British and Dutch colonies and the Philippines was nothing but the result of economic rivalry. Building of Singapore naval base was also directed as a protective measure against possible Japanese expansion to the south. As early as the days of the Washington Conference, the United States Government by a note to the Dutch Government gave a guarantee of security of Dutch possessions in South-East Asia. We know that long before Pearl Harbor, *i.e.*, early in 1941, Anglo-American-Dutch military and naval officers had discussions at Singapore over measures to be taken to check Japanese expansion to the South. In fact it is now established beyond doubt that Japanese march through Indo-China towards Siam brought about a condition menacing British and Dutch possessions in South-East Asia which led to sharpest protest from the United States and became a contributory cause of the inevitable conflict between Japan and the United States. Japan wanted to eliminate Western Powers from controlling the vast and rich regions of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

South-East Asia, of course primarily for her own benefit; but she was conscious of the opposition from a "concert of Western Powers" dominating the region. Japan in order to counteract the "concert of Western Powers in Asia" devised the programme of creating a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Area in which Asian peoples would act in a concert under Japanese leadership against their Western masters. Japan was utilising nationalist movements in East Asia to her advantage. To be sure Japan has been eliminated as a political and economic rival of those Western Powers which control East Asia; but the movement for Asian Independence has not been eliminated. On the contrary it is asserting its power in various parts of Asia, particularly in South-East Asia. It is interesting to note that a new type of concert of Western Powers is asserting itself to crush these Independence movements and a new type of concert of Asian peoples is also trying to bring about a new solidarity. This is manifest in every part of Asia specially in South-East Asia in connection with Indonesian and Indo-Chinese struggle for freedom.

IV

The Attitude of Great Powers

What is the attitude of the great Powers which have become victorious over the Axis Powers—with great help from Asian peoples in men, materials, etc.—towards Asian freedom and freedom of the peoples of South-East Asia?

Of course we know that the United States of America was committed to establish a free Philippine Republic, even long before the outbreak of the last World War; and there is not the least doubt about carrying out this solemn promise. Regarding other Powers and other Asian countries which are not free, the situation is somewhat and radically different.

We know that there is not very great difference in substance about British Foreign and Colonial Policies during the Tory and Labour administrations. The great British Tory Imperialist Patriot, the ex-Premier the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, for whom I have great respect for his frankness in matters of imperial concern, told the whole world that the principles of Atlantic Charter would not apply to India and other British colonies. He made it definitey clear to his late friend President Franklin D. Roosevelt who respected the wishes of his friend "Winston" more than he cared for the principles upon which the great republic of the United States was founded. Of course, as a great statesman and war-President, he was concerned with winning victory over the Axis Powers first and to him it was clear that Anglo-American co-operation might have been ruffled, if he insisted that there should be any international guarantee for the Freedom of the subject peoples. After all, the principal concern of the United States was 'its Survival' which was assailed by the Axis Powers and also the necessary destruction of Axis Powers which pursued a policy of world conquest. Mr. Churchill also made it clear to the Soviet Russian statesmen that Anglo-Soviet Agreement (the so-called Churchill-Molotov Agreement) was based upon the fact that Soviet Russia would not meddle in Britain's "private affairs"—of course affairs of India and colonial affairs are according to the recognised principles of international relations among the Great Powers are Britain's private affairs. Mr. Churchill took up the question with General Chiang Kai-shek before and at the time of Cairo Con-

ference, and made it clear to him that His Majesty's Government would not tolerate any form of Chinese interference with Indian and British colonial affairs in the East; because they were Britain's exclusive and private affairs. Mr. Churchill, I was told by a reliable Chinese spokesman, was indignant with General Chiang, because he suggested to President Roosevelt to take the initiative in settling Indo-British problems through mediation of the United States or United States, China and Russia. Mr. Churchill also made it clear that Britain would not give up her control over Hongkong.

The British Government has extended fullest support all along to the Dutch Government-in-exile to the proposition that Holland must not be deprived of her colonial empire in which Britain has a very large share of economic interest; and this British support to Dutch Imperialism is the corner-stone upon which the edifice of Anglo-Dutch co-operation in world politics is based—the Dutch Government is committed to Anglo-Dutch co-operation in European politics.

The position of the French Government-in-exile under General de Gaulle and the present French Government is to maintain its empire in Asia, Africa and America. Although the British Government had some difference of opinion regarding French position in the Near East and Africa, it was always ready to support the French claims to the recovery of Indo-China as a part of the Empire. The Government of the United States did not wish to take the initiative in opposing French Imperialism in the Far East and held that the question of Indo-China's freedom should be settled in such a fashion as may be agreeable to the Chinese Nationalist Government. But as the Chinese Government was forced to concede at the Cairo Conference Britain's right to retain control over Hongkong, it could not very well oppose French claims to Indo-China, unless she received support from the United States as well as Britain. But it is needless to add that British policy was definite that no European Imperialist Power be deprived of control over its colonial possessions in the Far East, because that might serve as a precedent against British Imperialism in India, Burma, Malaya and other quarters.

Thus it may be safely asserted that at the Cairo Conference, by secret written or unwritten agreement, the question of freedom of the subject peoples of South-East Asia was adversely decided; because the United States sided with Britain while China, dependent upon Anglo-American Powers for her very existence, had to concede to the unholy decision.

V

At Teheran Conference, the question was not so much what would be done with the Far East, but what should be done in Europe and the Near East. Soviet Russia was pressing the Anglo-American Powers to open up the Second Front and also to concede to her claims to the border states in Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea. She was also interested in maintaining her position in Persia. We do not know the texts of the agreements of Teheran, but from the subsequent developments in world politics we can surmise that Russian claims were conceded to, not because Anglo-American Powers were interested in augmenting Russian Power in Europe and the Near East in place of the Axis Powers, but they felt that if they did not concede to Russian demands, Germany might make

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more lucrative offers to Soviet Russia for a separate peace which should be prevented at any cost. Thus we think Soviet Russia did not raise any objection to decisions arrived at Cairo, regarding continuance of colonial imperialism in the Far East, so long as Anglo-American Powers were agreeable to her demands for the Baltic States, partition of Poland, domination over the Balkan States and recognition of her rights in Persia. Of course Teheran Agreement guaranteed independence of Persia, although Persia never asked for it ; and historians know that such agreements are often made regarding a country which might be partitioned by the protectors. Today Persia is being partitioned through a revolt inspired and supported by Soviet Russia. Thus it must not be forgotten that Soviet Russia was a silent partner in upholding European Imperialism in the Far East, provided these imperialist nations agreed to Soviet Russian demands in other parts of the world.

At Teheran Conference, the concern of Anglo-American statesmen was that Soviet Russia should be appeased to prevent any remote possibility of a German-Russian peace or Soviet Russia not continuing to fight Germany for receiving compensations in territories in the Eastern Europe and Balkans. But at Yalta Conference, the concern was that Soviet Russia should be induced to give up her neutrality against Japan and join the Anglo-American Powers and China so that America and Britain would not have to make great sacrifices in men to fight the Japanese land forces which were virtually intact. Here began the question of Soviet demands in the Pacific in more concrete form. There is no doubt that at Yalta it was agreed that Soviet Russia would get Kurile Isles, Shagalien, and part of Korea at 33 parallel, Port Arthur (as a compensation, because Britain was retaining Hongkong) and virtual dominance over Manchuria.

The decisions at Yalta which might have affected China were to be re-negotiated with China and Soviet Russia. It may be recalled, even at the Dumbarton Oakes Conference, Soviet Russia did not participate at the same conference with the Chinese representatives of the government of General Chiang Kai-shek. It was through the good offices of Washington Government, Soviet Russia and Nationalist China began to discuss problems affecting their interests in the Far East after the defeat of Japan. When the Potsdam Conference was in progress, at Moscow Soviet Russia was negotiating a treaty of alliance and friendship with China and making her decision to get into the Pacific War against Japan, so that she would be entitled to get her share of division of territories in East Asia. We do not know of all the secret agreements that were made at Moscow, but it is certain and definite, that China had to give up her claims of suzerainty over Inner Mongolia as well as Outer Mongolia which is virtually a part of Soviet Russian Empire in the East. We know that Soviet Russia is not satisfied with what she has acquired in the Far East and she wanted to occupy northern Japan—Hokkaido—adjoining Shagalien Island, and she has been so far prevented from doing so and thus there is the lack of Soviet Russian co-operation in the Far Eastern Commission. *What I am trying to making clear that Soviet Russia at the present time is more interested in getting as much for herself in the Far East with the consent of the Anglo-American-Chinese Powers than freedom of the subject peoples.*

VI

After the death of President Roosevelt and fall of Mr. Churchill as British Prime Minister, President Truman took the initiative in reconciling France and bringing France back on the side of the Anglo-American Powers, to carry out the programme of formation of a bloc of Atlantic Community of Powers within the United Nations Organisation. De Gaulle was invited to Washington and several economic agreements have been made with France and Washington. De Gaulle decided to co-operate more with Anglo-American Powers than with Soviet Russia, and the price paid to France was Anglo-American support fully so that France will again secure control over Indo-China.

After the surrender of Japan, when the Indo-Chinese nationalists (who are regarded by some people as pro-Japanese) declared their independence, it was decided that both China and Britain would send their forces to disarm the Japanese forces in that region. Indo-Chinese Republicans wanted to have their regime recognised ; but the British forces entered Indo-China and is holding the country for the French to re-occupy. This act of co-operation by the British to uphold French imperialism in the Far East has paid a very great dividend to British diplomacy, which has succeeded to have an Anglo-French alliance in the Near East on British terms about which Mr. Sulzberger of *New York Times* has given the information in the issue of December 14, 1945.

After the question of Indo-China being settled in favour of France, it is quite natural that Britain should take an aggressive control over Siam which has been a bone of contention between the British and the French for nearly a century. Siam was allowed to exist as an independent buffer State because both Britain and France agreed to the continuance of its independence after they rounded out their territories at the expense of Siam and concluded the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. Siam has been a pawn in the game of international politics ; but the dangerous significance of Siam controlled by a Power which may be opposed to British control of South-East Asia, has been fully demonstrated by Japanese control of Siam and through Siam the conquest of Singapore to Burma, threatening the very heart of the British Empire in India. Thus it is quite natural to the interest of Great Britain that Siam should be free to the extent it would serve her imperial interests and there must not be any dominating influence of any other Power in Siam which may be hostile to British interests. It has been reported, according to the *New York Times*, that the British Government has presented to Siam some ten demands, the compliance of which would reduce that country to a dependency of Britain. The British authorities deny any such intention, but it wishes to hold Siam accountable for not putting up sufficient resistance against Japan and also for annexing certain territories which were under British control, but which originally belonged to Siam.

The truth of the situation is that as "Atlantic Charter" does not apply to an enemy country and the British do not wish to have a government in Siam which is not approved by the British (the present Government is headed by former Siamese Minister in the United States—Seni Promaj) they have adopted the measures suitable to them. Those who wish to criticise the Siamese situation should think of this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

precedents established by Soviet Russia in having only such governments in neighbouring countries which must be wholly agreeable to her—following common foreign economic and defence policies. Siam may remain independent, but its government will have the same kind of independence as the government of Iraq or the government of Hailie Selasie, under the dominant influence of Great Britain. There are Americans who may be opposed to such an arrangement, but we do not know whether such an arrangement was not agreed upon by the late President Roosevelt and the ex-Prime Minister Churchill.

VII

The Situation in the Dutch East Indies

What has happened and is happening in Indonesia during and after the Second World War has some significant historical parallels of what happened during and after the Napoleonic War and the Congress of Vienna. To make the story as simple and as brief as possible, I wish to emphasise the following points which may not be known to many of you and which are not emphasised even by average historians and students of international affairs.

The Napoleonic War was surely an important chapter in Anglo-French rivalry in world politics which lasted for a century. It was a world war and it had its African, Asian and American as well as European aspects. India was the centre of Asian aspect (Napoleon made an alliance with Tippoo Sultan of Mysore to drive the English out of India and to re-establish French influence there, if that was possible). The South-Eastern theatre of conflict was in Dutch East Indies—in the island of Java and its environs.

During the Napoleonic War, French forces overran Holland and the Prince of Orange fled from Holland and established a "government-in-exile" from 1795 to 1810 at Kew, near London. The Government of Holland was taken over by a puppet government, headed by one of the brothers of Napoleon. This Dutch Government made an alliance with France against England. After this happened, the combined forces of the French Republic and the puppet Dutch government took steps to strengthen their position in Java, menacing British interests in South East Asia, even constituting a possible menace to India. The combined French and Dutch forces under the command of General Janssens were no less than 17,000 men with 250 guns. Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, under the East India Company, in 1810, on his own authority decided to send an expeditionary force from India to take possession of Java. This force "numbered 12,000 combatants, conveyed on fifty-seven transports, and conveyed by more than forty ships of war, great and small." Needless to say that the majority of the forces was Indian and India through the East India Company footed the bill. The military command was under General Sir Samuel Ahmuty, while Sir Stamford Raffles, the later founder of Singapore, was entrusted with the task of conquest of Java and its administration.

To make the story short, the British defeated the superior forces of General Janssens; and on September 18, 1811, the latter surrendered to the British. The East India Company directors were not interested in occupying Java permanently, but they were interested in destroying French power in the island and ordered Lord Minto to give up occupation of the island. But Lord Minto, disobeying the order from London of the British Parliament such as Mr. Sorensen. But continued its occupation, because he was afraid that the native population of Java, which was infuriated with the Dutch policy of exploitation might have injured the Dutch inhabitants. This control of Java by the British broke up Dutch monopoly of the spice trade of that region. At least for five years the British ruled over Java and later on after the Congress of Vienna, transferred the island to the Dutch, with certain understandings that Britain would gain possession of Cape of Good Hope and surrounding Dutch possession and also Ceylon. Of course, the British favoured Dutch occupation of South-East Asian islands, because Holland in Europe was disposed to follow a foreign policy favourable to British interests and Dutch occupation of South-East Asian islands was a factor in Anglo-Dutch co-operation in world politics and a guarantee against any form of independence of the people of these islands which would have been detrimental to the cause of 'bearing whiteman's burden' and 'civilising the heathens' with the boons of 'imperialist and exploitative government!'

VIII

During the Second World War, the main cause of which might be termed as "Anglo-German Rivalry in World Politics," which began during the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued until the fall of Hitler, the situation in the Dutch East Indies has resolved into the following: It was Hitler, in place of Napoleon, who in 1940 overran Holland and menaced Great Britain; and Queen Wilhelmina established the "Dutch-Government-in-exile" in London. It was Hitler's ally Japan which in 1941-42 after defeating the combined forces of Holland, British and the United States occupied Java. In 1945, Japan surrendered to the United States, but the Japanese forces in Java were to be disarmed by the British and the Dutch, and the Dutch Government was to be re-established. In 1811 the people of Indonesia were not in a position to assert their independence by opposing British arms; but in 1945, the Indonesian nationalists who want their country to be free and independent have proclaimed the establishment of a Republic of their own. They are of course regarded as extremists (because they do not want to have Dutch rule re-established under the protection of Anglo-American support, and they are of the same type of extremists as George Washington and his followers in the United States were and who refused to make compromise on the issue of absolute independence).

As in 1810-1811, the British landed forces from India to conquer Java for the Dutch, so this time Indian soldiers are also playing the major role in subjugating the nation of 70,000,000, supposedly led by extremists who want freedom of their country from a foreign yoke. It has been reported that the Dutch soldiers equipped with American arms and trained in America, after landing in Java, shot down many Indonesians violating all civilised methods of warfare. (I for myself, in these days of Atomic Bombs, do not know the limits of civilized methods of warfare). This has led to reprisals and counter-reprisals to the extent of burning Indonesian villages by Indian soldiers, of course, led by British officers. Much criticism has been heard from statesmen, newspapermen, radio commentators and others in the United States about the existing situation in Java. There has been some criticism of the British policy in Java even in England by some members

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the British Labour Government spokesmen have made it clear that Britain is going to hold the Indonesian islands for Holland.

IX

The criticism of British policy in Java has reached in the United States to the extent that no less a person other than the British Ambassador Lord Halifax, the great Churchman, on December 14, 1945, speaking before the twenty-fifth anniversary dinner of the English-speaking Union, held at Washington, made the significant and illuminating statement, defending *British policy as Anglo-American policy*. The great Christian gentleman said :

> "Some people in this country are inclined to blame us (the British) for what is happening [in Java]. But what are the facts ? We did not send our troops to Java on our own initiative. They went there to carry out work which had been assigned to them by the combined chiefs of staff. *The decision is not British, but Anglo-American.*"—*N. Y. Herald Tribune,* Dec. 15, 1945.

This statement makes sense ; and it makes the deep-rooted policy of the victorious powers in Asia clear. In China, the United States has been assigned to a certain task and American forces in co-operation with the Chinese Nationalist Government is carrying out this task. In Indonesia, possibly in the region, south of the Philippines and beyond China, the task of enforcing the decision of the Anglo-American statesmen has been assigned to Anglo-Dutch forces, which also constitute Indian and Australian forces.

The question has been raised by Captain Harold Stassen and other statesmen, who must be regarded as most visionary and impractical from the standpoint of Lord Halifax and other Anglo-American statesmen who also talk of the United Nations and Trusteeships for the subjugated peoples, etc., that there should be an immediate armistice in Java and the whole question should be settled by a committee of the United Nations which must be binding to all the members of the United Nations.

However, on the 14th December, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, Acting Governor-General of Netherlands Indies, on the eve of his departure from Batavia to Holland for a conference, has declared that

> "The Dutch Government believes that the Indonesian Revolt should not be tossed in the lap of the United Nations Organisation. . . ."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune,* December 15, 1945.

It may not be out of place to mention that Indonesian Nationalist leaders have repeatedly asked for mediation by the United States, China and Soviet Russia or any of these powers ; but of course no mediation is possible unless both parties in dispute agree for such a procedure. The Dutch Government holds *that Dutch sovereignty over Dutch Indies is acknowledged by Anglo-American governments as well by France and other nations ; and it does not wish to prejudice its right to dominate over these islands in any form. This was also the position of the British Government regarding Indian nationalist demands and the situation in Burma and elsewhere.*

X

What will be the outcome of the situation in South-East Asia, especially in Indonesia ? It is conceivable and apparent that the Concert of Western Powers are already in agreement that French, Dutch and British colonies in South-East Asia cannot have absolute independence even to the extent what has been accorded to Albania. It seems that in near future certain concessions towards self-government will be made to these dependencies ; but these countries with immense raw-materials of oil, rubber, sugar, zink, coffee, etc., must remain under the control of dominant Western Powers on the ground these Asiatic peoples are not qualified to govern themselves !!

Will such a solution be satisfactory to the Asiatic peoples as a whole ? It may be that the peoples of Asia and their feelings do not count ; because there is a double standard of international morality among the statesmen of the West who are so determined to create a new world order for the benefit of humanity ! But one should probe into the situation as student of history. The seed of the future history lies in the present developments. History is not determined by 'rubber' 'tin,' 'oil' or by 'machines'. Human elements or psychological aspect of history cannot be ignored by any true historian or a statesman, when we hear today so much of 'psychological warfare' and 'propaganda weapon.'

At the very outset let us consider what have been the Indonesian feelings about the Second World War. Indonesians did not, as a whole, act as Japanese puppets, but were for their freedom. In fact they were opposed to Japanese imperialism no less than they have been opposed to Dutch Imperialism. They are fighting for their own freedom as well as Asian freedom. The following passage from Mr. Hallet Abend's book which was based upon an interview with an Indonesian patriot early 1941, will throw light on the possible attitude of the Indonesians to the future developments :

> "Obviously, if the Atlantic Charter is to be made genuinely effective, then the close of this war cannot see the perpetuation of a system whereby 8,000,000 Netherlanders, most of them living half the world away, rule and exploit 70,000,000 of the peoples of these islands. We know that our only hope for the future lies in a victory of democracies, and we know that Japan as well as Germany and Italy must be defeated if we are to enjoy any existence short of political and economic slavery. . . . Some of the Dutch say we shall eventually have dominion status equivalent to that of Canada. For instance, you United States admits Canadians or Australians—but you would not admit us on an equal footing because of your exclusion laws against orientals. Does the Atlantic Charter mean the demolition of such barriers all over the world ? We doubt it, and yet if it does not, then the Atlantic Charter betrays us. . . . We are willing to help the white man now with our lives and our blood and our treasure, but if the races with colored skins are not given justice at the end of this war, then an even more terrible war must follow within two or three decades.
>
> "Count us up and think it over. We shall be formidable. There are 450,000,000 Chinese ; 340,000,000 natives of India (390,000,000 now) ; in Thailand and Indo-China are another 32,000,000 people ; Burma and Malaya have more than 20,000,000. We in the Indies are 70,000,000, the Japanese are 70,000,000, and the Koreans nearly 25,000,000 more. We total more than one billion people, not counting the Arabs, the people of Iran, the Egyptians and others who might side with us, if the white man does not give us real justice.
>
> "If Japan were not lying and treacherous, if she embarked upon a Holy War to free the peoples of Asia from injustice—political and eco-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nomic and social—which the white races have inflicted upon the yellow and the brown, then we would be on Japan's side. If we are betrayed by the eventual peace, then some Asiatic nation will arise as a genuine and unselfish emancipator, and the ensuing conflict will make the present war seem like only an amateurish rehearsal."—(*Ramparts of the Pacific*, Hallet Abend, New York, 1942).

What is the Chinese attitude to the situation ? The Chinese nationalist government is in a very peculiar situation. Asian independence is one of its creeds. Dr. Sun Yat Sen held that Chinese independence will never be secure, unless the subject peoples of Asia are freed, through Chinese help, from oppressive foreign yoke. This view is shared by all responsible Chinese, of all political parties, specially Communists. But at the present crisis in China in the midst of Civil War, the Chinese Nationalist Government cannot and must not take any stand in international affairs which might be opposed to the decisions of the "chiefs of Staff" or Anglo-American Powers whose active support in the field of international relations, finance and defence is essential for survival of China. China cannot take the active part in the liberation of Indonesians or others now; but there is no doubt China's voice and actions will be felt in due course of time.

What is the attitude of Philippines regarding the struggle that is going on in South-East Asia ? The Filipinos are not only in favour of Indonesian freedom but are for freedeom of subject peoples of Asia. The following news-item sent by Mr. Mc-R. Johnson, on December 10, 1945, from Manila to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, will throw some glaring light on the situation :

"Indication of the foreign policy of the Government of the Philippines, when it becomes a republic next July, is seen by many in the passage by the Senate here (Manila) of *a resolution of sympathy of the Filipino people for the Indonesians in their fight for independence*.

"Although the problem of their own independence comes first, there is no doubt that political and governmental leaders would like to present an independent Philippine republic as a model for Pacific peoples who seek to break French, Dutch, and British bonds. Nationalistic Filipinos want to see their new nation achieve pre-eminence over any others which may be born as a result of political unrest and revolts in Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China and India.

"The Senate resolution approved unanimously, was introduced by Mariano Jesus Cuenco. He pointed out racial ties between the two peoples and the inherent right of a people to be free from any foreign domination.

"He said the Indonesian people had proved by their culture and civilization their capacity to govern themselves, although Holland's attitude is 'understandable.' In introducing the resolution, however, he declared that the 'civilized world' should energetically protest against the intrusion of Great Britain.

"A considerable number of Filipino guerrillas agitated a month ago for the formation of a column to go to Java to aid the Indonesians in their fight for independence."

This makes abundantly clear that under ordinary circumstances the Filipinos will actively support the cause of Indonesian independence which is only a part of Asian independence.

What is the Attitude of the People of India ?

Indian soldiers, specially Gurkhas, are being used by the British authorities, to crush the Indonesian Republican Government and to restore Dutch Imperialism in South-East Asia. The use of Indian soldiers against the Indonesians should not be regarded as an indication of Indian support to the cause of Dutch Imperialism, championed by the British Labour Government, under the cover of various pretexts of restoring law and order as well as disarming the Japanese soldiers. Even the Gurkhas in India are opposed to the use of Indian soldiers against the Indonesian people. The *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta in its issue of November 2, 1945, gives the following news-item :

"Kurseong, October 31, 1945.—Mr. Shiva Kumar Rai, General Secretary, All-India Gurkha League, has sent the following telegram to the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of India :

"We vehemently protest against using Gurkha troops in Indonesia. There is no justification. We urge you to recall the Indian troops immediately."

From various news-items published in the same issue of this Calcutta Nationalist Daily, it becomes clear that Indian protest against the use of Indian soldiers against Indonesians is a part of a far more significant movement affecting the future of South-East Asia and the future relations between the East and the West. Under the leadership of All-India Congress (Nationalist) Party mass meetings—South-East Asia Day—in sympathy with the cause of the Indonesian people are being held all over India, particularly in the province of Bengal. *Nationalist India, responding to the call of Nationalist Burma, has taken up the constructive suggestion of a South Asiatic Countries Conference, leading to "future federation of Asiatic nations."*

From the following extracts from the editorial published in the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta, one will get a clear idea of the possible future developments :

"The Congress President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of All-India Congress Party) has endorsed the suggestion of the leader of the Burmese nationalist movement, U Aung San, for holding a South Asiatic Countries Conference, with the addition that *the Conference be held in India*. Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose (Nationalist leader of Bengal) has also approved of the suggestion and visualised the unity of the subject countries of the East as the foundation of the future federation of the Asiatic nations. This undoubtedly is the fitting complement to the recent celebration of all over India of the South East Asia Day to demonstrate India's feelings about nationalist aspirations and movements of the subject countries of the East.

"The oppressed and the exploited are all one irrespective of the geographical distance that separates one from another. Science has almost annihilated space and time. The war has completed the demonstration of the futility of isolation that might have been considered sometime ago as security against the flood-tide of aggression from distance. True as the dictum is in its general application, it is truer still in respect of the countries of South East Asia that for centuries have been groaning under the iron-heels of the European imperialist nations. Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Philippines are indissolubly linked with India on one side and China on the other. They have been so all along even in the distant past when space used to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be a formidable factor to reckon with and distance not as easily negotiable as now. Historically most of the countries of South-East Asia have been one alike in good and evil days. In the golden days of India these countries formed parts of the Greater India that had laid down the ideal of conquest without bloodshed and subjugation—of unification of races and creeds with the golden cement of the principle of the brotherhood of man. In the dark days of India's subjection as well, these countries have been organically united with India, linked through with the common chain of slavery of the European nations. In all ages they have stood or fallen together. The bloodiest war in history that has just ended, has also demonstrated the unity of these countries. Each one of them served as the stepping stone for the aggressor in his march towards the next. The subjugation of one at once constituted a threat to the nearest neighbour if it did not actually ring the death-knell of its freedom. It has, indeed, been obvious to the meanest intelligence that the countries of South-East Asia have been arranged by destiny to be one great unit in the organization of the world.

"One in freedom in the distant past and one in slavery in the current present, these countries must be one in slavery in the current present, these countries must be one also in the day that is about to break. In spite of local variations the problems of all these countries are fundamentally one—the problem of subjection to the imperialist Powers of Europe. The European imperialists have throughout looked upon and treated these countries as one unit and therefore those Powers too regard themselves as one unit, so that these countries may be kept under common European subjection. In peace as well as in war, these countries, for their rich natural resources, have always served as the strongest fortress of their conquerors. They have, indeed, been utilised for upholding Imperialism itself resulting in intolerable misery and unredeemable degradation of millions of men and women all over the world. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that at this psychological moment in the history of the world, when the future of humanity is in the process of being forged, the colonial countries of South-East Asia must stand side by side in their just fight for liberation. U Aung San has sounded the clarion call just in time for unity among the subject countries of South-East Asia. His suggestion that a conference of these peoples should be held in order that a common plan for collaboration to obtain freedom for all the affected countries might be drawn up, is eminently sensible. The Congress President's suggestion that the conference be held in India, has given it a more concrete form. We have no doubt that such a conference will considerably strengthen the subject countries in the East in their fight for freedom and may lead to the formulation of a common plan of action as well as to the foundation of what Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose calls "a gigantic Asiatic Federation which will be proof against the machinations of Western Imperialisms for all time to come."

In these days of Atomic bombs, jet-propelled planes and super-bombs, fire-bombs from aeroplanes, tanks, etc.—the latest developments of civilised warfares—which are not possessed by the subject peoples and some of them are being used without any restriction even upon civil population of the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and India by British forces, mere holding a conference of subject nations of South-East Asia including India, may not be very effective now; but it has revolutionary potentialities of no less significance of European underground movements against the Axis Powers. This proposal and the attitude of India makes it conclusively clear that India is going to take the leadership in the field of Asian politics, *i.e.*, in world politics of tomorrow. It indicates that isolation of Nationalist India in the field of world politics is over; and in future Indian strategic position man-power, resources, political and economic support will not be so freely available to any power—Anglo-American powers not excluded—which will be opposed to Asian independence. This negative position may be changed to a positive Foreign Policy for India and it may take the form that the people of India and those of South-East Asia will actively ally themselves against the anti-Imperialist Powers and in favour of any Power that will co-operate with them in achieving their freedom.

XI

Conclusion

In conclusion, I wish to point out that for the future of South-East Asia there are three alternatives: (*a*) Continuance of colonial imperialism of Western Powers, under various pretexts, with full support from Anglo-American Powers; (*b*) Consequent rising tide of revolt in all countries of South-East Asia, with the possibility of a Concert of Asian Powers and their alignment with any Power or any group of Powers opposed to colonial imperialism, leading inevitably to the next World War; (*c*) Emergence of free and independent nations in South-East Asia, ending colonial imperialism, under the enlightened leadership of Anglo-American Powers within the frame-work of U.N.O. Naturally, I for one, hope for the last development although there is no special reason for the immediate success of such a programme.

Every American citizen has a moral responsibility in this matter, because the future development in South-East Asia will largely depend upon Anglo-American policies, in the formation of which the United States will have the greatest moral responsibility. In this connection it would be well for us all to ponder over what General MacArthur, one of the wisest of American leaders fully familiar with the situation in the Orient had to say after the liberation of P.I. from Jap on July 4, 1945, while giving an interview to Mr. Cedric Foster at Manila:

> "When we win the war, as we will win it, I hope to God that we win it in a spirit of humility and that never again will the white race walk through Asia in the same spirit of arrogance which they have exhibited in the past. What right have we to assume that the present white ascendency is anything more than one drop of water in the ocean of time. If we perpetuate that, if we would hand it on to our posterity, if we would give it untarnished to future generations, then we must so conduct ourselves that we will not jeopardize our security. The sooner we grant political freedom and liberty to all peoples of the world, the quicker there will be peace and stabilization."

This ideal can be fulfilled, if there be a single standard of international morality among Great Powers and the highest conception of ethical and religious life be practised in world affairs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM

By Dr. PRAKASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), F.R.Hist.S.

Newspaper reports make it abundantly clear that Great Britain is in for trouble in Egypt as in some other parts of the world. The fact is that Egypt though nominally an independent country preserves to this day some of the vestiges of her former British vassalage. Despite her wishes, British forces continue to be stationed on her soil and it is the demand for their withdrawal which is the immediate cause of unrest. The relations between England and Egypt are of long standing and a brief account of their development is essential for understanding the present position. Indeed, Anglo-Egyptian relations constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Imperialism and are worth recounting for their own sake.

Egypt lies at the cross-roads of the maritime world. No international conflict can spare her. Hence her great strategic importance. The story, how the British got a foothold in the country, is well-known. The ruler, Ismail Pasha (1863-79) was a man of original ideas and a restless disposition. He introduced many admirable reforms and did much to make Egypt into a modern country. It was due to his enterprise that the Suez Canal was opened. All these grandiose schemes, however, cost money and his extravagance eventually landed him in serious financial difficulties. To extricate himself he offered to sell to the French the 176,602 shares which he held in the Suez Canal Company. These were promptly bought by Disraeli on behalf of England. He realised the immense importance of the Canal as a highroad to India. Further loans followed which culminated in the establishment of the dual control of British and French bankers over the Egyptian finances. The wedge having once entered went deeper and in 1882 Egypt came under the sway of Great Britain.

Bonds and the Suez Canal had made it inevitable for the British to occupy Egypt. About £30,000,000 of Egypt's debt was held in England and the stockholders feared that the Egyptian nationalists who had begun to resent foreign interference in their affairs would repudiate the debts. The Canal, perhaps, bulked larger in the estimation of public men who took the decision. Sir Charles Duke, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, put the position clearly when he said :

"The Canal is the principal highway to India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and British Burma, where 250,000,000 people live under our rule, and also to China, where we have vast interests and 84 per cent of the external trade of that still more enormous Empire. It is also one of the roads to our Colonial Empire in Australia and New Zealand."

From 1882 to 1914, Egypt though it continued to form a part of the Turkish Empire and to be ruled by a Khedive was really in the hands of the British. A sort of constitution was drawn up by Lord Dufferin which provided for a council of ministers and a legislative assembly, but the real government was a more or less invisible system of British 'advisers', supervising and controlling every branch of the administration. These officials took their orders not from the Khedive but from the British Consul-General at Cairo. This office was held by Major Evelyn Baring, the celebrated Lord Cromer, a man of masterful personality, who combined political sagacity of a high order with consummate financial ability. For quarter of a century, from 1883 to 1907, Cromer ruled over Egypt as a monarch. He gave the country a sound system of administration and put its finances in order. British engineers constructed dams for storing the waters of the Nile so as to prevent famines and Col. Kitchner reorganised the army. The peasants benefited greatly under the new regime and the area under sugar and cotton crops leapt up. The population rapidly increased and the import and export figures showed a steady rise.

But though Egypt prospered materially under the British aegis, foreign rule was soon felt to be vexatious and galling. In his monumental work entitled. *Modern Egypt,* Cromer laments that, "the want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself." He forgets, however, that such benefits have been almost always accompanied by a contemptuous disregard of popular sentiment and by a denial of opportunities to the people to take their due share in government. There were instances of overbearing arrogance, and unfortunately in some cases, notably in the Denshawi incident, some Englishmen went out of their way to be needlessly ruthless in stamping out local opposition. But the chief and obvious source of trouble was the growing sense of national consciousness which European influences themselves had done much to foster. This spirit was intensified to the point of religious fervour by the Mahommedan hatred of Christianity.

In the Great War of 1914, Turkey joined on the side of Germany. The cloak of Egypt being a Turkish province was then cast aside and Great Britain openly declared it to be a British protectorate. The pro-German Khedive was deposed and a new ruler with the high-sounding title of the 'Sultan of Egypt' was installed upon the throne. During the war, the national movement was suppressed with a heavy hand. The sessions of the Legislative Assembly were suspended, the press was muzzled and popular literatures vanished into thin air. If the idea was to smash up opposition, it failed miserably, for the influence of Zaghlul Pasha, the venerated national leader, grew tremendously. At the conclusion of the war, Egyptians appointed a delegation to put their country's case before the Paris Conference. The eloquent speeches of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George about the right of self-determination of every nation had filled them with hope and led them to believe that their hour of liberation was near. But before the delegates could embark on their errand, they were quietly arrested by the British police and spirited off to Malta. In March, 1919, the agitation for independence reached fever-heat and bloody riots occurred in Cairo and other places in which many British residents lost their lives. To root out the rebellion, England appointed Lord Allenby, fresh from his exploits in the Near East, as the Special High Commissioner.

Allenby took steps to restore order. A number of Egyptians were sent to prison and Zaghlul Pasha was exiled. Then Britain sent a mission headed by Lord Milner, a veteran colonial administrator, to enquire into the Egyptian problem. In the appointment of members of this Committeee, England committed the fatal mis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

take which she was to repeat on the occasion of the appointment of the Simon Commission, of including only Englishmen. The insult was deeply resented and the arrival of the mission became the signal for boycott and riots. The delegation was, however, convinced of the genuineness of the national feeling and in its report admitted that, "the spirit of Egyptian nationalism cannot be extinguished." Accordingly, in February, 1922, Egypt was recognised as an 'independent sovereign State.' But this independence did not amount to much considering the reservations by which it was hemmed. They were (1) the right of Britain to defend the Suez Canal and to use the Egyptian territory for military operations, if necessary ; (2) the right to defend Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference ; (3) the right to protect foreign interests in Egypt ; and (4) control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. British troops were not withdrawn and the Egyptian army continued to be commanded by a British General, Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan.

The Egyptians scorned the gift and they were unmoved when the Khedive, to signify approval of Britain's proposals, proclaimed himself King in March, 1922. Nevertheless, Egypt seems to have obtained the semblance of constitutional monarchy when the new constitution came into operation in 1923. It provided for the government of Egypt as an independent territory with King Fuad as sovereign, a cabinet responsible to parliament and a parliament popularly elected. But the revolutionary fires were not quenched and the continued presence of the British troops remained an eyesore. In September, 1923, Zaghlul Pasha returned from his exile and in the elections which were held, his party swept the polls. The Wafd captured 188 seats while the combined gains of all the other groups were merely 29. Zaghlul became the Prime Minister and lost no time in declaring from the floor of the assembly that a foreign officer in command of the Egyptian army was inconsistent with the dignity of an independent Egypt.

The advent of Labour Party to power in England kindled fresh hopes which were, however, soon dissipated when Zaghlul found that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was not prepared to modify the existing arrangement. Though the signs of growing discontent were visible on the surface, Britain continued to insist that the campaign for complete independence was the work of a few extremists who misled a simple, non-political people. Their self-complacency received a rude jolt when Sir Lee Stack was murdered by the Egyptians in November, 1924. The British decided on quick reprisals. An apology and an excessively heavy indemnity were demanded, all the Egyptian forces were driven out of the Sudan and Zaghlul Pasha was compelled to resign. These demands were enforced by the forcible occupation of the Customs house at Alexandria. But an even harsher measure was the fiat that in future Britain alone would decide how much of the water of the Nile, which has its source in the Sudan, was to be retained for irrigation purposes. This meant the power of life and death over 'independent' Egypt. The Egyptians retorted by letting off the murderers of Sir Lee, only one being awarded the death punishment.

As may have been expected, the retaliatory action of the British Government only served to inflame public opinion and at the subsequent elections the Wafd was again returned with a clear majority. The King who had a fancy for autocratic rather than constitutional rule, thereupon dissolved the parliament and appointed as Prime Minister a person of his own choice. This has been the bane of Egyptian politics. The party which really counts is the Wafd, but on account of the machinations of the King and the subtle support of British representatives, it has been repeatedly kept out of office. The inevitable consequence has been the instability of Ministries. In the past 27 years, there have been 28 Egyptian governments.

But to resume the story, Allenby was succeeded as the High Commissioner by Lord Lloyd, a convinced Imperialist and cast in the mould of the grand pro-Consuls. He encouraged the King to set up dictatorial rule and openly interfered with the formation and dismissal of Ministries. The mildest demands for reforms were enough to provoke him to summon British warships to Egypt. At length the constitution was suspended and the British High Commissioner now possessed all effective legislative power. Lord Lloyd's triumph ended when the second Labour Government assumed office in 1929. Arthur Henderson, the new Foreign Secretary, stood for more conciliatory methods. He recalled Lloyd, abolished the protectorate and offered to make a new treaty with Egypt as between two equals. Egypt, however, remained unsatisfied.

Following the widespread ferment during the Anglo-Italian crisis of 1935-36, London felt obliged to make greater concessions. On August 26, 1936, a treaty of alliance was signed by which Egyptian sovereignty was recognised. Britain undertook to withdraw her troops but was given the right of maintaining a garrison of 10,000 and 400 aircraft on the Suez Canal, of using Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases and of moving troops across Egypt in case of war or threat of war. Britain also shouldered the responsibility for the defence of Egypt. In token of Egypt's new status, ambassadors were exchanged between the two countries and Egypt was accepted as a member of the League of Nations.

Soon after the Anglo-Egyptian relations became cordial, World War II started. Egypt severed diplomatic connection with the Axis but did not go to the extent of declaring war. Nevertheless, permission was granted to Britain to use Egypt as a base for military and naval operations. The point to be noted is that during the dark days of the Libyan campaign when the cause of the United Nations seemed lost, Egypt did not waver in her moral support and no disaffections broke out.

With the coming of peace, it was natural that the national embers should stir again. If the purpose of war is to banish tyranny and secure freedom, all the nations suffering from foreign domination should raise their heads. The present turmoil in Egypt started about three months ago when the Egyptian Government applied for a revision of the treaty of 1936. The whole of Middle East is seething with discontent. On the top of the incidents in Persia, Syria and the Lebanon, and Palestine have come the anti-British riots of Cairo and Alexandria. Serious clashes have occurred between the student demonstrators and the British soldiers. The Egyptian national demands are mainly two, (1) Full independence for Egypt including the evacuation of all foreign troops and (2) Egyptian control of the Sudan, now under British rule. The British reply to the note though couched in friendly language and written with extreme caution, carefully avoids committing the British Government on these vital issues.

What the problem is extremely difficult nobody would deny. As long as Great Britain is determined to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hold her Empire together, it is imperative that she should keep her forces at Suez which is a focal point in the Empire's life-line and defence system. And there is the word of Mr. Bevan, the British Foreign Secretary, who declared before Parliament only a month ago, "I am not prepared to sacrifice the British Empire."

Indeed, according to English statesmen, there is nothing inconsistent in the presence of British troops in Egypt and Egyptian independence. In a remarkable despatch of October 7, 1924, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said :

"The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting these communications might in my view have been ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt provided for by such a treaty freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, while it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of vital concern to both. It is not the wish of His Majesty's Government that this force should in any way interfere with the function of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to assume any responsibility for the actions or conduct of the Egyptian Government or to attempt to control or direct the policy which that Government may see fit to adopt."

While this may be the British view, it is clear that it is not shared by the Egyptians who regard the continued presence of British soldiers as derogatory to their self-respect and limiting their freedom of action. Every Egyptian, no matter what his class or creed, is agreed on one point—'not one foreign soldier on Egyptian soil.' If then a British army is maintained, it can be done not with the people's goodwill but by sheer force of arms. The Egyptian argument is that any threat to the security of the British Empire must be dealt with by the United Nations Organisation and that it is no longer necessary for British forces to be billeted on territories belonging to other peoples. Total and immediate evacuation of the British soldiery—that is Egypt's demand No. 1.

Demand No. 2 is for the unification of Egypt with the Sudan. Here the situation is no less complicated. The Sudan is a vast expanse of territory covering about a million square miles and lying to the south of Egypt. In diplomatic language, the country is under a condominium, *i.e.*, it is jointly ruled by Britain and Egypt. The Governor-General is appointed by Egypt on the recommendation of the British Government ; the British and Egyptian flags are both used, and all laws promulgated by the Governor-General are notified to the British Consulate at Cairo. Virtually it means British rule. Egyptians claim the amalmagation of the Sudan on the ground that it is an integral part of their country. Hidden behind this political argument, is the stubborn fact that as explained above the upper reaches of the Nile valley lie in the Sudan territory. The British, on the other hand, have built up vast interests in this region. They have poured money, talent and engineering skill into this land and evolved order out of chaos. Since their arrival, they have invested some $125,000,000. In spite of the assertion of the Egyptian Prime Minister that "it is the aspiration of both Egypt and the Sudan to bring about a real union of the entire valley of the Nile . . . We are one community, one people, and our interest is one," it may be doubted whether the Sudanese themselves are keen about the contemplated fusion. It is only in the northern Sudan that the Egyptian agitation for union has met with a favourable soil ; the south is wholly different in traditions and interests. Remarking on the Egyptian demand first forcefully made in 1922, Parker Moon in his *Imperialism and World Politics* has the following interesting comment to make :

> "So exuberant were the newly emancipated patriots, that they even ventured to insist in firm tones, that the Sudan must be turned over to Egypt as her rightful heritage ; one backward people hardly freed from alien rule, demanded its right to rule another backward people—such is the circular path of human logic."

A political merger with Egypt may or may not be in the interest of the Sudan but there is no doubt that so long as a first class foreign power maintains its hold in that country, there is potential danger to Egypt.

The situation in Egypt is made graver by the personal ambitions of the King who in return of being recognised as the Caliph of the Moslem world is willing to lend his support to the Arab League. This league has long been the dream of Ibn Saud, who seeks to weld a powerful Pan-Arab Federation with Saudi Arabia and Egypt as the principal powers. The federation would embrace 33,000,000 people, control the fourth largest petroleum deposits in the world, stand sentinel over Suez and the routes to the East and revive once more the fiery zeal of Islam for world conquest. In the face of such a confederation, it will no longer be possible for the Imperial powers to pursue their old policy of divide and rule. What is even more sinister from the British point of view is the interest which the Soviet Union is taking in the developments in this quarter. She has expressed herself in sympathy with the formation of the Arab League and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. According to the British, this attitude of the Soviet is explicable in terms of her struggle to grab as much oil-land as possible. But whatever the motives, an alliance between the Soviet Union and the Arab League must mean a major disaster to British diplomacy.

The negotiations for the revision of the treaty between England and Egypt are to start soon. The Egyptian Government has appointed a delegation of twelve to participate in the discussions. But the circumstances for the success of the negotiations do not appear to be propitious. It should be emphasized that the Wafd, the only party in Egypt which can deliver the goods, is not represented on the official committee. The conditions on which it was prepared to co-operate were turned down by the Prime Minister. These conditions were, (1) that Nahas Pasha, on whom the mantle of Zaghlul Pasha fell on his death should lead the delegation ; (2) that the Wafd members should be in the majority on this body and (3) that an assurance should be forthcoming that new elections would be held at the earliest possible date. It should be borne in mind that the Wafd does not find a place on the present legislature, having decided to boycott the last elections.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IRAN IN OUR TIMES

By Prof. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJI

Iran, official name of Persia since 1934, and its people the Irani, are derived from the well-known term *Arjan*. The name Persia is an accident of history which made the province of Pars or Fars—the 'Parsis' of the Greeks—predominant in Iran when the attention of the Greeks was attracted to the country for the first time. One of the most romantic wonderlands on our planet, Iran calls up in the mental horizon a galaxy of romantic and hoary names like Zoroaster, Darius, Naushirvan, Firdausi, Omar Khayyam, Saadi, Hafiz and the like. Every generation in Iran has had its prophets and the country has raised and reared a number of religions—Zorastrianism, Mithraism, Manichaenism, Mazdakism and Shiism.

Iran became one of the most powerful States in the world under Cyrus in the sixth century B.C. and her empire extended from the Punjab to the sands beyond Egypt. Under Darius she grew into an empire still vaster, which included the whole of the known world and a good deal of territory unknown till then, and "stretched from the burning sands of Africa to the ice-bound borders of China," vast but obedient. For a very long time to come Iran retained the power and eminence thus acquired. Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes are the names at which once "the world grew pale." Iran grew into a great land and naval power under them and was within an ace of wiping out the nascent civilisation of Hellas. But then "the paths of glory lead but to the grave" and Iran was no exception to the general rule. Decadence set in under the successors of Xerxes and the Empire was finally overthrown by the Arabians in the seventh century A.D. Iran lost for ever her place of honour in world-politics.

The emergence of Iran to the forefront from the backwater of world politics dates from 1925 when an obscure military officer Reza Khan after a successful *coup d'etat* in 1921, did away with the Imperial Kajar family and set himself up as the ruler of the country. Under Reza Khan, who after his elevation to the throne assumed the name of Reza Shah Pehlevi, and his son Mohammad Reza Pehlevi on whom his mantle has fallen, much that was old Iran has been swept away. The process of modernisation is well under way and is daily nearing 'completion'. The country pulsates with a new life. New horizons have been discovered, new avenues opened.

Iran in modern times was upheld, so to say, by the rivalry between England and Russia. When the rivals left the country after the first World War in 1920, Iran left to herself, was tottering to fall. As Gunther puts it in *Inside Asia* :

> "Tension between the two great powers supported her ; when the tension was withdrawn she collapsed. Corruption ruled Teheran, and banditry all but ruled the country."

It was at this critical juncture of Iranian history that Reza Khan, Commander of the Cossack Division of the Imperial Army, came to the limelight. A group of youngmen under a journalist Sayyed Zia-din aided by Reza Khan effected a bloodless *coup d'etat*. The authors did not want to dethrone the Imperial Kajars but to revitalise the government by reforms long overdue. The Fates, however, had decreed otherwise. Reza Khan henceforward knew no stopping. War Minister in 1921, he became Prime Minister in 1923 and 'Shah' —which, by the way, is the title of the Emperor of Persia—in 1926. A measure rushed through the Majlis (Parliament) in October, 1925, deposed Ahmad Shah, the last of the Kajars. Reza flirted with the republican idea for a time and thought of establishing a Republic. The idea was subsequently abandoned and he was crowned as Reza Shah Pehlevi on April 25, 1926.

Even the bitterest critics of Reza Shah admit that he had in abundance the gifts of courage, vitality and vision. He succeeded in putting an end to the weakness of the old regime and breathed new life into a decadent country. A patriot to his finger-trips, Reza Shah was much in advance of his time, and his sole ambition was to put the country in working order. He achieved much in this direction. Hospitals, orphanages, welfare houses and free milk bars were established to check death-rate, specially among the infants. The establishment of schools and colleges and the introduction of scientific methods of teaching have gone a long way to instruct the people in the simple rules of hygiene and self-protection. The Medical College at Teheran has done and is doing much to fight diseases in the country. The work begun by Reza Shah is being continued by his successor Mohammad Reza Pehlevi. "A modernised and industrialised Iran, a happy, contented and prosperous nation, and a cultured and healthy generation" are the ideals the present Shah has set before himself.

The Government aims at the industrial self-sufficiency of the country among others. A great impetus has been given to local industries through protective tariffs, monopolies, etc. Carpet-making, silk-weaving, embroidery, metal-working, wood-carving and miniature-painting are the more important cottage industries of Iran. Iranian carpet is famous all over the world for its fineness and superior quality. The Government wide-awake to the need of maintaining the standard of this industry has imposed an embargo upon the export of carpets of an inferior quality. Weaving schools have been established to teach and to maintain as well the workmanship and the well-tried methods of the industry. The administration of Industrial Supervision endeavours to increase the domestic output of handcrafts. As Iran consumes more cotton piecegoods than she produces, the Government encourages textile-weaving in all possible ways.

So far as the organised industries are concerned, the Government encourages the country craftsmen and local bodies to make the best use of Iran's raw materials like cotton, wool, silk and sugar, instead of simply exporting them to foreign lands. Factories have been started at various industrial centres with the object of supplying requirements of the country. Silk industry

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has received the special attention of the Government, which shows a keen interest in the production of silk and in reviving the old silk industry of the country. The efforts in this direction have not been altogether barren of results. In 1943-44 Iran exported 641,785 kilograms (1 kilogram = 2·205 lb.) of silk. There are well-managed flour-mills near the silos of Teheran, Tabriz, Quazvin, Hamadan, Meshed, Isfahan and Shiraj. The rice mills turn out about 14,000 tons of rice per year for domestic consumption. The three beer factories in the country—2 in Tabriz and 1 in Teheran—manufacture about 2½ million bottles of beer per year. For the last few years dry fruits are being collected, packed and exported from the country and there are good markets for them abroad, specially in Europe and America. A number of factories all over the country, particularly in Khurasan and Ajerbaizan areas, store and select dry fruits, treat them scientifically and pack them in up-to-date fashion for export to foreign lands. Distillation industry is also rapidly growing and there are nine distilleries in the country. Sugar industry is yet in a nascent stage and does not meet the requirements of the country. There are eight sugar factories in Iran which produce about 22,500 tons of sugar annually, hardly meeting 33 per cent of the country's requirements. Iranian sugar, it may be noted, is manufactured chiefly from beet roots. Some tea and vegetable oils too are manufactured.

Cotton, silk and wool are available in abundance and Iran has in consequence a very flourishing industry. Isfahan and Chalus are the silk-weaving centres. The best calico-printing factories are located at Du Shahr Shahi and Bi Shahr. There are textile mills at Teheran, Kerman, Quazvin, Meshhed, Tabriz, Shiraj, Kashan, Bandar Abbas, Simnan, Qum and Ahwaz. The biggest hosiery mill in the country is situated at Teheran. The jute mill industry seems to have a bright future. The Caspian region produces jute on a fairly large scale and there are jute mills at Resht and Shahi, their total annual outturn being about eight to ten million metres of gunny and about 4,000 kilograms of strings and ropes.

Due primarily to the comparative poverty of Iran in iron ore and coal, Iranian iron and steel industry has not been able to make much headway. Some progress is noticeable nevertheless. Teheran today boasts of an iron factory for making iron-rails, boilers, locomotives, etc., an aeroplane factory and a copper-melting work. All these factories are state-managed. There are besides private foundries and iron works in Teheran and other cities. These latter manufacture articles of everyday use like vessels, lamps, braziers, iron beds, tricycles, perambulators, etc.

The development of mining is one of the most ambitious schemes before the government. A large number of coalfields and iron, manganese, lead and copper mines have been located already by the Government experts and leased out to interested parties on contract basis. Oil is one of the principal mineral resources of Iran. It is the fourth greatest oil-producing country in the world, the annual yield being eleven million tons in 1940. The oil of Iran, it should be remembered, constitutes a potential threat to the world-peace in future years.

The wood industry of Iran is yet in its early teens. It was introduced only in 1932 primarily to meet the requirements of the Trans-Iranian Railway then under construction. There are at present two factories which annually produce, among others, 300,000 sleepers, 6,000 tons of tar and a considerable quantity of machine oil, grease and benzene. Cement, match, tanning, leather, glass, soap, glycerine, and cigarette industries are also making rapid headway. The cigarette industry is a State monopoly. Teheran is the centre of the tobacco industry where several thousands of persons are engaged in manufacturing cigarettes, and pipes and other kinds of tobacco. Tea and tobacco, by the way, are new items of production in Iran.

The Government is wide awake to the need of developing agriculture, which has received its due share of attention. A number of Agricultural schools and experiment-stations have been established for this purpose. The Government adopted a five-year agriculture plan in 1940. The plan "provides for an increase of 500,000 tons in cereal crop and 200 to 500 per cent increase in tea, sugar, beet, jute and flax. Further projects include the erection of fertiliser plants, more irrigation schemes, the importation of merino sheep to be crossed with native breeds, and extensive afforestation." To emphasise the importance of the last, March 15 is observed as the tree-festival day.

That fully developed transport facilities are the *sine qua non* of economic and commercial prosperity has not been missed by the Iran Government. The difficulties of communication have been considerably overcome by the construction of railways and metalled roads and by the development of air and water transport. The idea of constructing railways in Iran was mooted during World War I. But the matter ended there. In 1925, Ahmad Shah proclaimed that he would plan his own railway with purely national ends in view. It was decided to finance the project from taxes on sugar and tea. The work began on October 19, 1927, and the first train left Bandar Shah for Teheran on February 19, 1937. The Trans-Iranian Railways totals 1864·50 kilometers (about 1150 miles) in length and is divided into two main sections, *viz.*, the Northern Section which runs from Bandar Shah to Teheran and the Southern Section, connecting Teheran with Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf. It has a number of branches as well. More than a dozen of good motor roads run from the metropolis to different points on the frontiers. The total length of telegraphic lines in existence on March 20, 1944, was 18,153 kilometers (about 11,255 miles). There were at the time 429 Post Offices in Iran. The country boasts of ten Government radio-telegraphic stations. Only two, however, there at the metropolis and Lingah, work regularly. 185 towns have telephonic connections. There were 14,933 telephone receivers in Iran on March 20, 1944,—6,000 being in Teheran alone. The Casp-Flotte Company's ships carry passengers and merchandise from Iranian to U.S.S.R. ports and vice versa. The vessels of no less than seven navigation companies ply in the Persian Gulf area.

Most spectacular has been the social and cultural progress of Iran during the last two decades. Kemal Ata Turk declared Turkey a Republic in 1923 and disestablished the church. The cue was taken by Reza Khan Pelhevi, till then the Prime Minister. But the ground that he had to tread, was more hostile, the elements that he had to tackle were more obdurate, than the Turkish. The Muslim divines of Iran rose against the Prime Minister and the parliament for their reformative propaganda and the hand of the reformer was stayed though only for the time being.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The first act of Reza Khan on his elevation to the throne was the promulgation of a commercial code which took away from the divines their right of deciding commercial disputes according to the Quranic law. Followed a new penal code. The compulsory Military Service Law of 1927 was the signal of the first open conflict between the forces of progress and those of reaction, the latter represented by the Mullahs. These latter, however, were won by a number of vague assurances. A decree of December 28, 1928, introduced uniformity of dress by making compulsory the wearing of European costume. The traditional Iranian garments *Ammama* and *Kullah* were banned.

A great change has been brought about in the status of women during the last two decades. Reza Shah's name has come to stay and will stay in history for the emancipation of women in Iran, if not for anything else. The Government launched upon a propaganda for this in 1927, the second year of late Shah's accession. Women in Iran till then were looked upon as objects of sensual pleasure. They were nothing but so many child-bearing machines. Hidden behind the black veils for centuries, women were men's social inferiors in every respect. It was enacted in 1931 that all marriage contracts and divorces must be registered with a civil official and not with a Mullah. The movement for the emancipation of women, however, came into full swing four years later in 1935. On June 28 of that year the Prime Minister gave a garden party at the Iran Club to which all the members of the Cabinet and other high officials were invited with their wives. It was unprecedented in the long centuries of Iran's chequered history. The appearance of women in public was thus officially recognised. The veil was tabooed and women were elevated to a status of equality with men. No woman was henceforward allowed to move under a veil. Shopkeepers were forbidden to cater to women in veils and bus and taxi-drivers to admit them on board their respective vehicles.

Education too has made considerable headway under the Pehlevis. Schools have been graded into kindergarten, primary, secondary and higher. The Ministry of Education prescribes text-books and prepares syllabus for all school classes. Schools are equipped with modern furniture, apparatus and well-qualified teachers, mostly trained. The National Assembly passed the Teheran University Act in 1934 and the foundation stone of the University was laid by the Shah in the following year. The University has at present six faculties—Law and Political Science, Medicine, Industry, Science, Arts and Theology. For professional studies there are courses in modern painting, sculpture, mosaic, carpet-weaving, miniature work, dress-designing, interior decoration and fancy work. The University is well-equipped and well-staffed. The curiculla of the University classes seem to have been drawn upon the lines of the French residential universities.

There are three first class theatres at the metropolis —Theatre Farhang, Tamashe Khan Teheran and Tamashe Khane Hunar—besides a number of others of an inferior type. About a hundred of plays have been staged in course of a few years. The cinema is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the progress and development of the theatre and the Iranian theatres possessing neither the resources nor the capital to compete with films, the latter are quickly acquiring greater and greater popularity. Though the first picture-house was started in Iran only some 30 years back during World War I, Iran today can boast of a number of good cinemas scattered all over the country. Teheran alone has about a dozen. There is, however, no film-producing concern in the country and Russian, English and American films have to be imported.

Broadcasting too has attained considerable popularity in recent years.

All these have been achieved during a comparatively short span of two decades. This proves, among others, that given political freedom and the will to act much leeway can be made up at a speed commonly thought impossible.

Iran was thus forging ahead along the path of peace and progress when World War II broke out. The Izvestia had commented after the conclusion of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921, "Persia is no longer the old Persia, on whose territory were roving foreign troops and diplomats." But the situation changed and British and Russian troops marched into Iran to earadicate Nazi influence and to facilitate and speed up the sorely needed American supplies to the Red Army. She passed under the virtual occupation of the 'Big Three.' Iran's territorial integrity was, however, expressly guaranteed by the 1942 treaty among Iran, Great Britain and Russia. The Teheran Conference (December, 1943) agreed upon the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country, six months after the conclusion of the war. At the request of M. Molotov of Russia, the date was extended to March 2, 1946.

That all was not well with Iran began to be known to the world outside even during the war. Teheran turned down Moscow's request for oil concession in October, 1944. Russia fomented public agitation against the then Premier Mohammad Said, who was forced to resign on November 10, 1944. The Government subsequently formed by Ghavam-es-Sultaneh has been more accommodating and Moscow has succeeded in extorting the much-coveted concession from Iran. The Russo-Persian Oil Corporation has been granted extensive monopoly oil concessions in Iran. The latter has solemnly pledged herself not to grant to foreign companies or to any company which either employs foreign personnel or includes foreign capital oil concessions in the territory allotted to the Corporation. During the first 25 years 49 per cent of the shares of the Corporation will belong to Iran and 51 per cent to Russia. For 25 years after this, the proportion will be 50 : 50.

Iran was prominently in the news when the Azerbaizan autonomy movement flared up towards the end of November, 1945. The 'rebels' made spectacular progress and within a short time Murtaza Qualikhan Bayat, the Governor of Azerbaizan, was asked to quit Tabriz by Jafar Pisheravi, President of the newly formed provincial government and leader of the Democratic Party. It might be noted in passing that the Shah's Government has since recognised the revolutionary Tabriz Government. Prime Minister Ghavam-es-Sultaneh recently anounced measures offering partial autonomy short of recognising national government in Azerbaizan. His statement forms the basis on which future discussions are to be held with a view to greater concessions by Teheran.

There seems to be a consensus of international opinion that Russia had had a finger in the Azerbaizan pie. Nor can the grounds of suspicion be brushed aside altogether, the more so in view of the Russian policy towards Iran in the past—proximate and remote.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to the Tripartite Pact of 1942, all foreign troops were to be withdrawn from Iran by March 2, 1946. When the time came for implementing the pledge, Russia far from being agreeable actually reinforced her troops in the country. She justified the retention of troops beyond the time-limit agreed upon on the strength of the Russo-Persian Pact of 1921. She, however, subsequently changed mind and has since evacuated her troops from the Persian soil. Quietus has been thus given to the Persian affair after it has given many an anxious moment to the Security Council where tempers of the Big Three, who run the whole show, were frayed over the Iranian tangle on several occasions. Heads, thank God, have yet to be broken.

Time is not yet to say if the curtain has been finally rung down upon the Iranian drama. History makes us doubtful. Iran in the past has been the happy hunting-ground of power-politics of the nations of the West. Iran's 'black gold' together with her strategic advantage makes it extremely unlikely that the power-mad and lust-blind nations of the West will ever slacken their stranglehold on that country. Who can say definitely that World War III is not brewing in the simmering cauldron that Iran is? Moscow's policy to her, both during and after World War II may rightly be construed as an indication of the shape of things to come.

Iran today is a pawn in the tense game of international power-politics. A free and modernised Iran will, however, be a potent factor in the maintenance of world-peace. Iran thus transformed can immensely benefit herself and help the other struggling Asiatic nations to put their houses in order.

Will she be given the time and opportunity necessary for the purpose?

———:O:———

OUR FOOD PROBLEM

By Prof. S. VENKATRAMIAH, M.A.

In a country like ours, where more than 70 per cent of the population depends upon agriculture, the problem of increased food supply and its equitable distribution forms the crux of her economic planning. The growth of the population during the last two decades is unprecedented in the history of the world. It has been estimated that of the present population a full one-third are under-nourished while a still larger portion are ill-nourished, for lack of a balanced diet. The Famine Enquiry Committee recently made some suggestions with regard to the increase of cereals and it came to the conclusion that self-sufficiency in cereals is not only feasible but practicable and advocated that there should be a large increase in protective supplementary foods, such as pulses, vegetables, fruit, and fish. At present as we are all well aware of the fact that the lack of adequate purchasing power is the root cause of malnutrition. Sir John Woodhead's Commission found that among the upper and professional classes, the birth-rate is falling steadily and it is indeed one of the encouraging features in the otherwise gloomy horizon of population growth. The food situation has taken a serious turn from the last two months for various reasons. The failure of the monsoons is not the least to contribute to the already deteriorated food position. Before dealing with the present crisis it is beneficial for us to review the situation in brief from the beginning of this war.

The war has ravaged many food-producing countries and consequently there is a world shortage of food-supply. We used to import large quantities of rice from Burma prior to war; nearly from the last five years the imports of rice from Burma stopped because of its occupation by the Japanese troops and the failure of the crops there also.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee pointed out that the pre-war period of food-grains in India even when supplemented by imports and protective foods fell short of the nutritional requirements of the country. According to him, assuming the daily calorie requirements of the average Indian to be 2,800, India in 1935 fell short of food for 48 million of her average men. The average deficit was 423 calories in each man's daily ration. The composition of a well-balanced diet for an adult according to the calculations of Dr. Aykroyd is as follows:

	Balanced Diet (*Ounces per day*)
Cereals	15
Pulses	3
Vegetables	6
Fat oils	2
Fruits	2
Milk	8

This balanced diet yields approximately 2,600 calories which are necessary for the maintenance of normal health. But unfortunately the Indians cannot afford to have a balanced diet, for the per capita income is too low, and therefore, the immediate as well as the urgent task is to see that the per capita income is raised. The Bombay Plan envisages the doubling of per capita income but we know fully well that it is not possible to raise the level soon. There should be besides a systematic planning and improvements in agriculture. Crops have to be planned with special reference to their nutritive value.

During the few years preceding the outbreak of the war the net imports of food-grains into India averaged 1½ million tons a year. With the continuation and progress of war imports were cut off. In 1942-43 actually India exported 3,61 000 tons of food-grains. Realising the gravity of the situation the Government of India launched the Grow More Food Campaign. Though it made some strides the progress achieved is not remarkable. At this time again there was shortage of the energy foods. There was a heavy slaughter of cattle for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the military. And again as Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee points out, there has been a continuous increase in the production of inferior food-grains at the cost of rice and wheat during the last two decades, a tendency ominous to the general food position. Some of the factors responsible for the gravity of the food situation were failure of monsoons in the different parts of the country, war-time curtailment of transport facilities, government purchases for the military requirements, hoarding and profiteering on the part of some merchants. There are some other reasons for which the Government of India has to take the sole responsibility, they being the inflation which increased the prices of foodstuffs and thereby rendered the purchases by poorer classes difficult and the haphazard and half-hearted controls of the Government over food-grains and food-products, lack of co-operation between the Central and Provincial Governments and the countrywide activities by the profiteers. The Provincial Governments cannot be exonerated from the blame as some of them especially Sind and U.-P. made enormous profits in the sale of food-grains to the deficit provinces. As a result of the grow more food campaign, there is an increase of only 12 million acres or about 6 per cent in India's food supply as compared with 70 per cent increase in Great Britain during the wartime.

There is a need for mixed diet. The people of South India are habituated to rice-taking but due to scarcity it is not possible for the Government to get enough rice. Even if rice is imported from Siam which has been promised to us by the Combined Food Board still we shall be short of the minimum requirements. The Combined Food Board sanctioned us more wheat and the people should be trained to take besides wheat also. It will be advantageous and beneficial not only from the point of view of supply and equitable distribution but also from the standpoint of nutritive value.

The absence of foresight and planning has been revealed in the Bengal Famine. The Government of Bengal devised no stringent regulations against hoarding or measures of price-control or rationing while its efforts to purchase food-grains from outside were unsuccessful due to the apathy of surplus provinces or the limitations of transport. Due to the stress on Provincial Autonomy under the Constitution for 1935, the surplus provinces like the Punjab and Sind have been able to refuse to part with their wheat surpluses at reasonable prices. The Punjab at first stood out against the Government of India's policy of All-India Price Control, Rationing and Requisition of surplus stocks for deficit areas. This again stresses the need for an all-India Food Policy to be followed by the Government of India in consultation and co-operation with the Provincial Governments. It is the duty of the Government of India to see that the Provinces do not block the way. "Fixation of ceiling prices and rationing in all provinces including surplus provinces backed by grain reserves at the centre can alone ensure proper procurement and equitable distribution and at the same time abolish profiteering as well as high class consumption."

The Gregory Committee have recommended the need of India's importing 1·1·5 million tons of food-grains per annum. The Food Grains Policy Committee also recommended that at least 1·5 million tons of food-grains should be imported from abroad. But we must remember that imports could serve only as a palliative. India should be in a position to produce all the food required by her without depending on other countries. The Indian farmer should be helped with manure, seeds and enough water. On the distribution side, the Food Grains Policy Committee recommended the introduction of rationing in all the large cities which will involve proper procurement, machinery, and honest administration. It further recommended the institution of statutory price control over all the major food-grains in all provinces and the states. It is refreshing that the Government of India has carried into effect these recommendations. Exports of food-grains from India were altogether stopped in 1944, thanks to the Government of India's belated recognition of the gravity of the food situation.

During this year unfortunately we are again faced with a grave food situation. The world shortage of food-supply, the failure of the usual monsoons, and the havoc wrought by cyclone are responsible for this position. Besides, there is a rice famine in Asia. In pre-war years Asia produced 95 per cent of the total production of rice. There was a decline in production in the three principal exporting countries, Burma, Siam and Indo-China. From August 1944 to July 1945, the world production of rice was estimated to be as high as 90-95 per cent of the average pre-war output. This estimate reflected the very substantial increase in the cultivation of rice in the United States and Central and South America, but the increase did not offset the decline in production in Burma, Siam, and Indo-China. All the factors in the production and supply situation in Asia combined to suggest that the post-war shortage of some duration is quite inevitable. The London *Economist* suggests that the only step which could be taken in the short run to ease the situation is increased shipments of other grains from the Western Hemisphere so far as supplies and shipping permit.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Food Member to the Government of India said recently :

> "We have been allotted in 1945, 1,60,000 tons of rice from Burma and Siam. This year we have several factors in our favour. The demands of the defence forces will be reduced, internal movements by rail will be easier, and rationing has been well established."

But unfortunately his predictions regarding favourable position to India became false due to the reasons already mentioned.

Speaking on the food situation, His Excellency the Viceroy dealt on the gravity of the position and appealed for co-operation. His Excellency mentioned that we are short of some 3 million tons of food-grains of our requirements and cautioned us that because of the world shortage of food-grains we should not hope for the imports of this magnitude. Two plans are suggested: (1) That we should maintain our present basic ration of one pound a head, (2) To cut our consumption now and make sure that our deficit is spread over the whole year and over the whole country. Mahatma Gandhi has also appealed to the people to observe strictest economy possible. He said :

> "Every person should confine his or her daily wants regarding food to the minimum consistent with his or her health requirements . . . All flower gardens should be utilised for growing edibles. Reduction should be taken up not merely by civilian population but equally by military."

In order to meet the situation, the Government of India should immediately take the following steps.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

First, there should be a nationwide rationing. The use of wheat should be encouraged. In other words, a mixed diet should be given; secondly, the Government of India should immediately stop and prohibit all exports of food-grains and oil seeds including groundnut; thirdly, the Government of India should make strong representations to the Combined Food Board for getting the minimum requirements of ours. Already the food delegation has come home though disappointed. Mr. Attlee speaking in the House of Commons assured us that rice will be imported from Siam. Fourthly, the Government of India should intensify the Grow More Food Campaign. It should provide cheap loans to the cultivators. All the land tenure and tenancy laws should be modified and the Government should provide other necessary facilities to the cultivator. Fifthly, the growth of commercial crops should at once be discouraged. Already Sir S. V. Rammurty announced that the Government of Madras is in favour of this proposal. Sixthly, there should be an All-India Food Board consisting of the representatives of the provinces and the States. This Board should follow a uniform policy.

As regards the long-range view, the following steps can be taken.

The Government of India should extend the irrigation facilities. No more should agriculture depend upon the vagaries of nature. The Government should besides encourage scientific farming. Unfortunately, the tendency for the small size of agricultural holdings has not been stopped. The subdivision and fragmentation of land, is responsible for the low yield of the crops and a standing block for the introduction of mechanization in agriculture. The consolidation of holdings on a voluntary or a compulsory basis through co-operative societies should be done. Further, some steps have to be taken with regard to the liquidation of the debt of the agriculturists. Thanks to the war a substantial portion of the debt is wiped out but the tendency to borrow persists and it is the duty of the Government to educate the cultivators on this point and if they are in need of money to provide them cheap loans.

Moreover, the population problem has to be tackled side by side. In spite of the great increase in food supply it is not possible to provide nutritive food if the present growth of population is unchecked. The Government should forthwith carry the post-war plans and raise the standard of living. The per capita income should be increased so that the people should be in a position to purchase the nutritive food. The Bhore Committee's recommendations are worth trying. The Committee favoured the introduction of birth-control in order to check the growth of population. But we must remember that this is not possible due to the illiteracy and the social and religious conditions of the people.

It is again necessary as Lord Hamilton stated that

"We must vary the occupations of the people for so long as 80 per cent of population is engaged in agriculture the danger in the recurrence of famine is all the greater."

The Government of India has proclaimed a new food policy:

"This includes the responsibility for providing enough food for all sufficient in quantity and of requisite quality. For the achievement of this objective high priority will be given to measures for increasing the food resources of the country to the fullest extent and in particular to measures designed to increase the output per acre and to diminish dependence on the vagaries of the nature. Their aim will be not only to remove the threat of the famine but also to increase the prosperity of the cultivator and raise levels of consumption and create a healthy and vigorous population."

But mere policies will not take us anywhere. If some of the above suggestions are taken into account, the food problem can be tackled successfully with great ease. There should be absolute co-operation among the people, provinces and the centre. Only then the Government of India's steps would bear fruitful results. There has never before been a greater necessity for the establishment of National Government than now. Only a National Government will be able to deal squarely the problems confronting us. Already popular ministries are coming into existence and we have to see how far they will be able to tackle the immediate issues facing us.

It has been recently contended by some that there is no remarkable world shortage of food and the available food supply is more than enough to feed the entire population of the world provided it is properly distributed. It has also been asserted that the main cause of world cereal shortage was not drought but the feeding of animals with grains and use of grains for industrial purposes. Of course, we cannot altogether deny the truth of these statements. If we take into account the United States of America, we find that it had a record crop in 1944-45, some 1079 million bushels. Considerable quantities of wheat are consumed in the United States for alcohol production and animal-feed. In 1943-44 some 108 million bushels were used for alcohol and this on a double subsidy basis. This quantity is nearly twice the total amount of food-grains demanded by the Government of India in their representations to H.M.G. and the Combined Food Board. It is somewhat amazing that when a large part of the population of the world is faced with famine large quantities of food-grains should be wasted in feeding animals and for producing alcohol. The U.S.A. should realise that human life is more precious than animal life. Also we hear reports from Mr. La Guardia, Director-General of U.N.R.R.A., that he had been reliably informed that American farmers were holding 100 million bushels of wheat. He declared that there was enough food in the world to feed famine-stricken peoples with a minimum subsistence ration which would permit them to work but charged that only 3,47,000 tons of wheat were shipped in March whereas we could ship 7,10,000 tons. Owing to faulty price-fixing it paid the American farmer better to feed wheat to animals or sell it for industrial purposes than let it go for direct human consumption. In Asia only 14 per cent of the total grain crop was used for seed or to feed the animals whereas in U.S.A. the proportion was 75 per cent. This clearly shows that the farmers are more interested in getting substantial profits than in realising their duty to their fellow-sufferers. We do hope that the people of U.S.A. and Canada would care for the welfare of humanity which they are supposed to be aspiring for and act to that effect.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI

By AGASTYA

When a nation is really alive, it is alert and active in all phases of existence and upholds the claims of the commonweal. In Soviet Russia, the claims of literacy receive equal attention with the claims of beauty in life. Even in capitalist Britain, the great social and spiritual values of Art are never neglected. And a very handy proof is provided by the issue of a Report on Art and its present condition in the intervals of the booming of guns and air-raids in England, during the last year. It is only in India that political and economic activities stifle the still small voice of Art. Our young

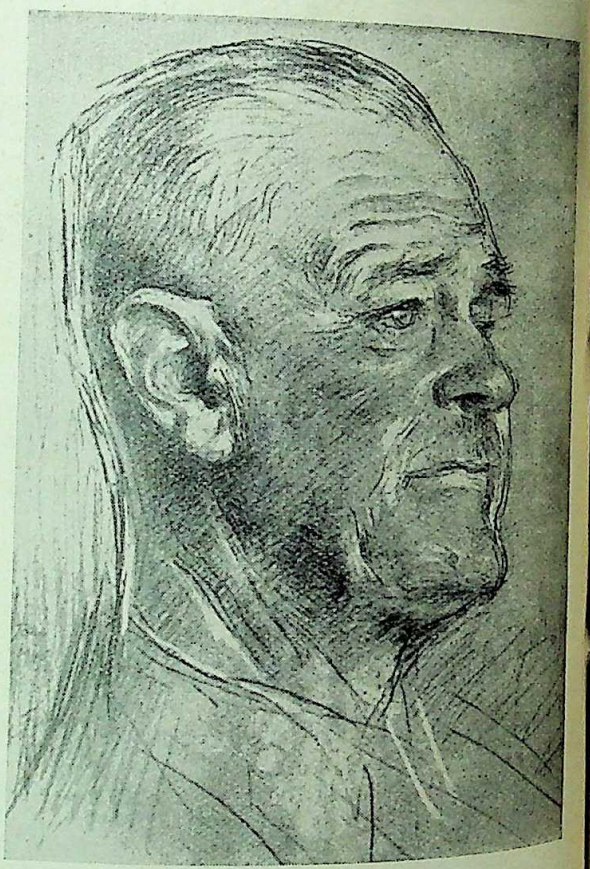


"Portrait" (French School)
By Marie Laurencin

friends are in the habit of citing numerous analogies from Russia to guide us in reconstructing our national life, but they love to ignore the lessons that U.S.S.R. offers for the uses and development of Art for the education of the masses and the patronage of artists. The comparative position is very brilliantly set forth by Rabindranath Tagore in his *Letters from Russia* :

"In our country, whenever there is any talk of comprehensive political efforts, we begin to say that in order to feed the red flame into one supreme conflagration, all other lamps in all other departments of life must be put out, otherwise, distractions may discount the values of our work. Especially, the culture of the Fine Art is the enemy of all manners.

of Stoic resolutions. In order to strengthen the national character, a hard and strenuous programme of acrobatics is essential. The *Vina* of Saraswati, it has to be saved from banishment or extinction, can only be utilized as a regulation *lathi* but not otherwise. One can only realize the hollowness of these false heroics, when one comes to Russia. Here we come across elaborate arrangements to train the minds of those labourers, intended to function as efficient operatives in comprehensive schemes of factories and machineries to approach, with educated sense, the spiritual flavours, the *rasa*-values of pictures. They have realized that those who are



"H. E. the Viceroy" (English School)
By Augustus John

not sensitive to spiritual flavours are barbarous savages, and savages, notwithstanding their sturdy exteriors, are actually feeble in spirit."

The above remarks are designed to announce to our readers the most important Art event of the year in India, which was opened on the 1st March at New Delhi by Lord Wavell. The shadows of the coming famine, and the turbulations and reactions of recent political events have helped to ignore the significance of the International Contemporary Art Exhibition sponsored by Major Henderson, Earl of Euston and Anil Roy Chowdhury of the Delhi Art and Crafts Society. The daily journals have almost systematically

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"Uma's Toilette" (Modern Indian School)
By Amulya Gopal Sen

ignored this International Show where, for the first time in India, works of European and Indian masters of modern Art have been brought together for comparison and study. Hitherto Indian artists have been leading an isolated existence—without intimate contact and relations with contemporary European Art. Except-ing the Exhibition of Designs of Kandinsky and a group of German moderns, arranged by the Society of Oriental Art, twenty-five years ago, there has been no represen-tative show of modern European artists in India. And this fact alone lends a peculiar interest to the Delhi International, now attracting a steady stream of art lovers and other visitors. Some criticism has been made on the ground that the Western artists represented—Mathew Smith, Duncan Grant, Harold Gilman, Ivan Hitchins, Spencer Gore, Dame Walker, Robert Bevan, Augustus John and a few others—cannot be labelled as "Contemporary," a majority of them belonging to the last decade of the nineteenth century. But many of them have been associated with various phases of modern movements following the birth of Impression-ism in England shortly after the famous Post-Impressionist Exhibition arranged by Roger Fry in 1910. Thus, Gilman was the first President of the London Group; Walker, created a Dame of the British Empire for her work, was a leading member of the New Eng-lish Art Club; Gore had exerted considerable influence on the trend of English painting during the early years of the nineteenth century, and though not actually belonging to the contemporary phases has paved the way to the latest developments. Though Augustus John kept himself aloof from the radical tenets of Post-Impressionism, he stands in solitary grandeur as the most representative of British artists to-day. A product of the old Slade School of Art, and later, as instructor in Art at the Liverpool University, John has trained more than a generation of young English artists who later broke away from the traditions of Turner and Constable, and led the revolt against academic painting and superficial naturalism on the high road of Modern-ism pointed out by Picasso, Cezanne and Van Gogh. As the trainer of contemporary English artists Augustus John could claim a vicarious share in modernistic Art, without revealing the characteristics of any definite "ism." John is represented by a sketch portrait of Lord Wavell, very sensitive yet strong. Though the position of honour was assigned by the hanging committee to Marie Laurencein's 'Portrait of a Lady'—Dame Walkers' 'Portrait of a Lady' with a cigarette challenged atten-tion with a marvellous bravura of a summary technique. Duncan Grant's "Tulip," a Still Life of exceptional brilliance is, however, put to shade by the unconven-tional angle of a view of a housewife preparing the "Shopping List" to which Gilman has poured all the intensity of his vision. To the brilliance and moving rhythm of Gilman's colour scheme, a very effective contrast, almost a mild rebuke, is offered by the cool harmony of the "Winchester Road" contributed by Bevan. But the most daring innovation of the English modernists pale into insignificance by the half a dozen canvases contributed by the extremists of modernism across the channel. To contact the daring "Nude" of Van Dongen, the most "Parisienne" of Dutch painters, is indeed a rare privilege, and the piece cried out of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

its neglected place in a far-off corner as if to avoid attention. Van Dongen, at one time a great vogue in Paris, with a catchy light sort of modernness, has lost much of his popularity and influence. But in the present show it easily claims a dominating position. It is a pity that the show does not include a Van Gogh and his absence is somewhat compensated by a Raul Dufy, a Pierre Bonnard and above all by the beauty of Marie Laurencein's "Portrait" in a delightful symphony in mauve, blue and white. Marie retains much that is typically, wholesomely, gracefully French. She has given way to modernist pressure to the extent of abandoning truth of aspect. But she has not carried on Cezanne's search for new forms. Her portraits occasionally go back to a simplicity that is Mattisse's or a bit of his still life may catch something of abstract form, but in general, her emotional expressiveness is not very deep in her mannered archaism. Marie's virtues are rather in an adorable feminity and by virtue of this quality her "Portrait" easily dominates the whole section of the European group.

It will be unfair to draw any manner of comparisons between these representatives of English and French masters and the various canvases contributed by contemporary Indian artists devoted to Western technique. We have more than one examples of Indian writers—Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Ananda Coomaraswamy—who have handled the English language with a mastery equal to if not better than Englishmen. But could we claim that many of our Indian artists have handled brush and oil-paint, with the skill and agility of the Western artists ! The names of Pestonji Bomanji, Lalcaca, and Sashi Hesh automatically come to our mind. But some of our patriotic critics are anxious to claim Sher-Gill, Lalit Sen, J. P. Gangooly, Atul Bose and Sailoz Mukherjee as able exponents of the Western manner of depicting things. Unfortunately, Lalit Sen, the worthy Principal of the Lucknow School, is not worthily represented in the three landscapes shown. But his "Net-work of Shadows" gives a small indication of his daring visions and novel technique. J. P. Gangooly is not represented by a landscape, but by "Red Sari," though not very typical, has upheld his mastery over oil-paint in a masterly manner. But the votes of the visitors were unanimously cast in favour of the remarkable study of "Dhobi Ghat" which brilliantly visualized a typical Indian scene in wonderful technique of great intensity and essential abstraction. No recent example could be cited of such perfect assimilation of non-Indian methods and manners by an Indian artist.

The Indian section was somewhat disappointing as none of the young painters, with a few exceptions, have exhibited any miniatures in Indian manners of outstanding merits. Manishi Dey with a remarkable series of new experiments in brown and Indian red—"Brown Study" and "Cock and Hen"—was delegated to the Western section, though his outlook is fundamentally Indian, his study of Cocks and Hens reminding one of the techniques of the Mughal artists. Sushil Sarkar's much advertised "Abhiman" is a fantastic imitation of Nandalal's symbolic presentation "Kurukshetra." But the poverty of this section was happily covered by a series of cubistic pictures of Gogonendranath Tagore whose vision, originality, and analysis of light easily placed his works head and shoulders above all the exhibits. Yet several minor artists attained in this section signal successes, of which Duvedi's 'Dan Leela,' 'Coconut Day,' Jadav's 'Mothers,' Kulkarni's 'Rain,' Jijja's 'Village Beauty,' and Somlal Shah's 'Comet' earned high commendations. The Exhibition though somewhat hastily planned and hastily organised is a move in the right direction and deserved a success greater than it has actually achieved.

——:O:——

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Trina Roy, daughter of Late Mohinimohan Roy, Kanchantala, Murshidabad, and a disciple of Mr. Jitendramohan Sengupta, stood first in the Surashree title examination held in April last with special mention for *Alap*. The board of examiners, consisting of Ustad Dabir Khan Saheb, Ustad Alauddin Khan Saheb (as the external examiner), Mr. Birendrakishore Roy Chowdhury and Mr. Satish Ch. Datta (Danibabu), appreciated the high standard of performance achieved by her.



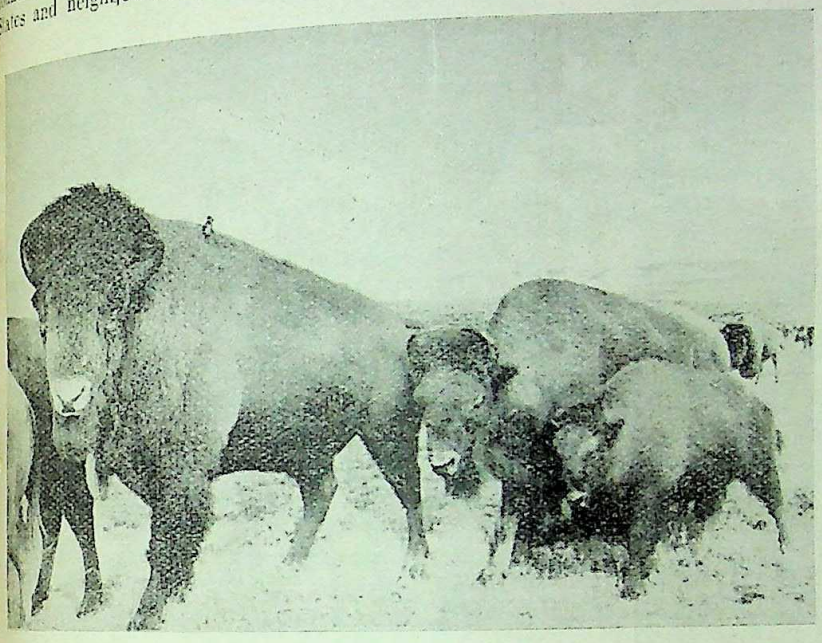
Miss Trina Roy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNUSUAL ANIMALS AND BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES

The world's largest flesh-eating animal, the largest game-bird, the only poisonous lizard, and the giant sea-eagle which inspired the American national emblem, are only a few of the many living creatures which are found nowhere else in the world except in the United States and neighbouring parts of the Americas.



A herd of American bisons grazing on the central U.S. plains

In the mountains and deserts, the plains and swamps and the rolling hills and fields of the United States which stretch approximately 3,000 miles from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, these creatures are found. Many are common to the sight, while some are so rare they have been saved from extinction by federal protective laws. Some originated in the U.S., and others are distant relatives of animals in other lands.

Among the grazing animals now occurring wild in the U.S. are the bighorn sheep and the mountain goat, both of which have unusually large curved horns. The graceful pronghorn is the only antelope with a branch on its horns. The Grant Caribou, the only native deer in Alaska, (the U.S. territory in the north-western part of North America), is unusual in that the females have antlers. Among the native flesh-eating mammals are the Alaska brown bear, the largest carnivorous animal in the world, and the grizzly bear, the most terrifying North American animal. Both the mountain lion, which is actually a large member of the cat family, and the raccoon, the most valuable fur-bearing North American animal, have no relatives elsewhere. The opossum, a relative of the Australian kangaroo, is the only pouched animal in the North America. The sewellel, found in several western U.S. states, is a rodent without a tail and is structurally one of the most primitive types of living animals. The small fur-bearers include the moodchuck, the largest North American squirrel, and the skunk whose skin makes fine fur coats that American women wear. Figuring prominently is the American bison, popularly known as the buffalo, the only wild ox in the U.S.

Among the famous birds of America is the wild turkey, the largest game-bird in the world; the domestic species is the only New World domestic fowl found outside of its native region. The canvasback, "king" of North American world ducks, is also noted for its delicious flesh. The birds of prey include the turkey vulture, a helpful scavenger, and the striking bald eagle, the national emblem of the U.S. The gila monster, which inhabits south-western U.S. deserts, is the only lizard in the world with a poisonous bite.



A venomous lizard inhabiting deserts in Arizona and New Mexico, western U.S. states

Today most of the native species continue to exist, although some have diminished in number. The United States which has more laws than any other country in the world for the protection of wild animals, also has numerous national parks and game preserves where wild

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

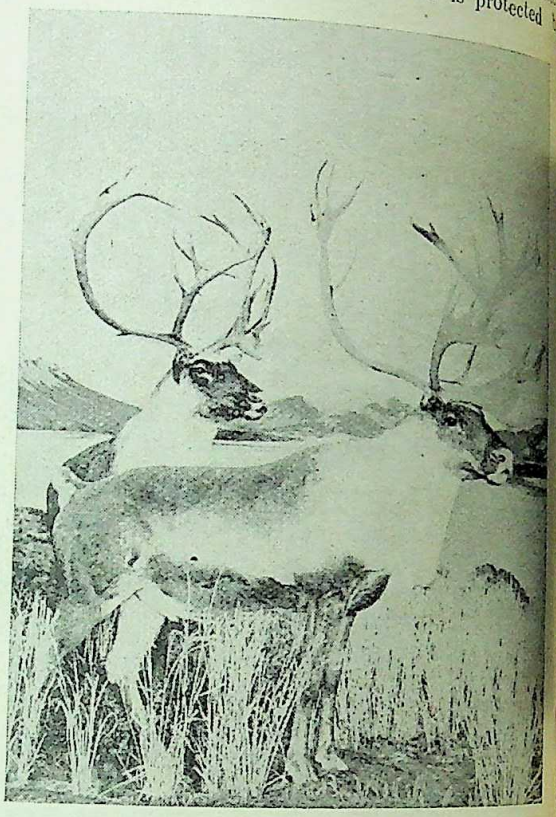
creatures flourish unmolested. Beginning with the game laws of 1623 in the colony of Massachusetts, now a north-eastern U.S. state, the American federal and state governments have enacted an immense volume of wild life legislation for over three centuries. Through the establishment of sportmen's journals late in the nine-



The Alaska brown beer, towering dramatically against a background of mountainous peaks in Alaska, U.S.A., is the largest carnivorous animal in the world

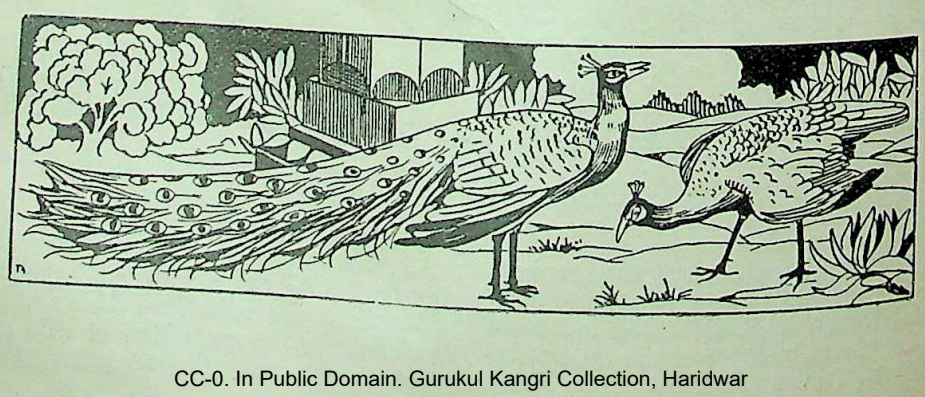
teenth century, new impetus was given to game protection. Earlier laws for bird protection dealt with game-birds. With the formation of the National Association of Audubon Societies, non-game birds received extensive notice. The best organized bird-protective organization in the world is named in honor of John James Audubon, pioneer American ornithologist. The society secured the enactment of the Audubon law, which prevents the extinction of non-game birds in nearly [illegible] of the forty-eight U.S. states, and succeeded in establishing government reservations in which breeding colonies of birds are protected.

The U.S. Federal Government has created numerous reservations where wild life is protected by



The Grant Caribou with its expanding antlers is the only member of the deer family to be found in Alaska, U.S.A.

law. Today it supervises 163 areas comprising 21,569,06[illegible] acres including twenty-six national parks, military and historic sites and reservations in which wild life is preserved. The largest, the Yellowstone National Park located within the boundaries of Wyoming, Montana and Idaho, western U.S. states, was established by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1872. Scattered throughout various U.S. states are 1,701 parks and areas totaling 6,541 058 acres where wild animals and birds are also found.—*USIS.*

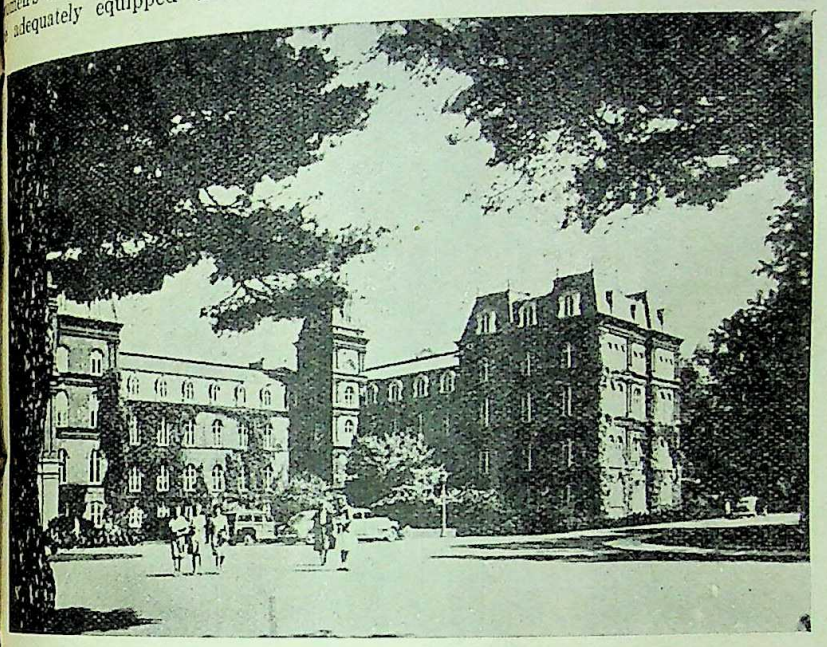


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VASSAR—A FAMOUS AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

Vassar College, world-famous American women's liberal arts institution, is one of the oldest private women's colleges in the United States and the first to be adequately equipped and endowed. It is located



The main building of Vassar College was erected under the personal supervision of Matthew Vassar, the founder, in 1865

in the City of Poughkeepsie in the eastern state of New York, 75 miles from New York City. Founded by Matthew Vassar, American philanthropist, it was incorporated in 1861 and opened in September, 1865. Since 1915, when Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken was elected president, it has expanded enormously in scope and endowment. Its grounds comprise 950 acres; the endowment has reached approximately 10,800,000 dollars and it offers many scholarships, loans, fellowships and research funds to students and the faculty.

In 1942, there were 223,830 students attending private women's colleges in the United States. Each year, Vassar chooses incoming students on the basis of their fitness for college work. In 1942, 1,200 girls between the ages of 16 and 22 from all sections of the United States and foreign countries were enrolled, living in dormitories on the Vassar Campus. With the adoption of an accelerated program of studies in 1943, more applicants were accepted. They enjoy powers of self-government and participate in discussions on educational problems with the faculty.

Vassar College has a rigid policy in controlling the health of its students, and Kenyon Hall, its gymnasium, is equipped to offer many opportunities for sports and recreation throughout the year. Its clay tennis court permits enthusiasts to play indoors on the same type of courts that are used out-of-doors. There are adjacent courts for squash, basketball and badminton. A bowling alley, archery ranges and a fencing room are also located in Kenyon Hall, as well as rooms for gymnastics, corrective work and class in dancing. An open-air solarium and a swimming pool are part of the equipment. The Department of Physical Education supervises all athletics and cooperates with the Health Department in seeing that each student maintain sound health.

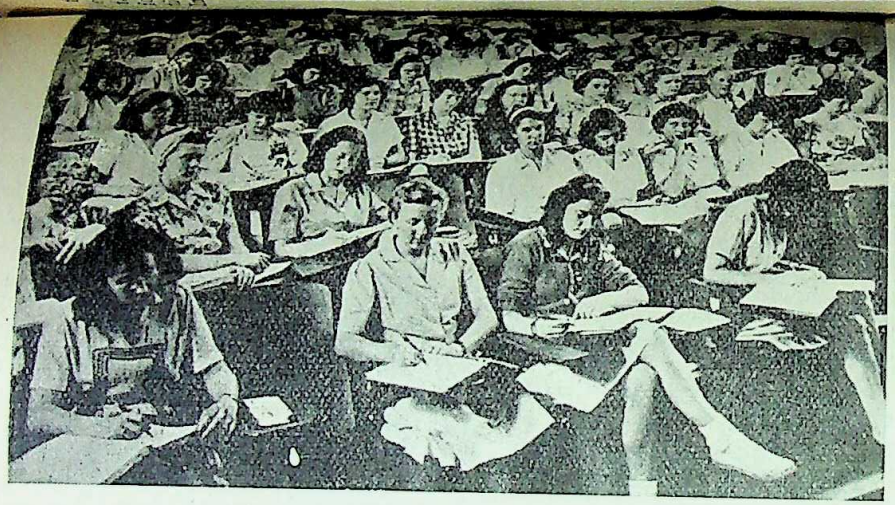
The college emphasizes education for citizenship in a democracy. It confers the baccalaureate degree of arts (A.B.) and a second degree in arts and science (A.M. and M.S.). While remaining within the field of the liberal arts, its curriculum and methods of teaching have always been closely related to contemporary life. Today, Vassar offers courses in the development and culture



The easy-to-use Vassar College Library where the entire collection of books and periodicals is freely available to the students

of the United States, the Romance languages, Greek civilization and Spanish-American culture. Its students analyze problems and principles of reconstruction and prepare for work in teaching, engineering, medicine and public administration, and government service in

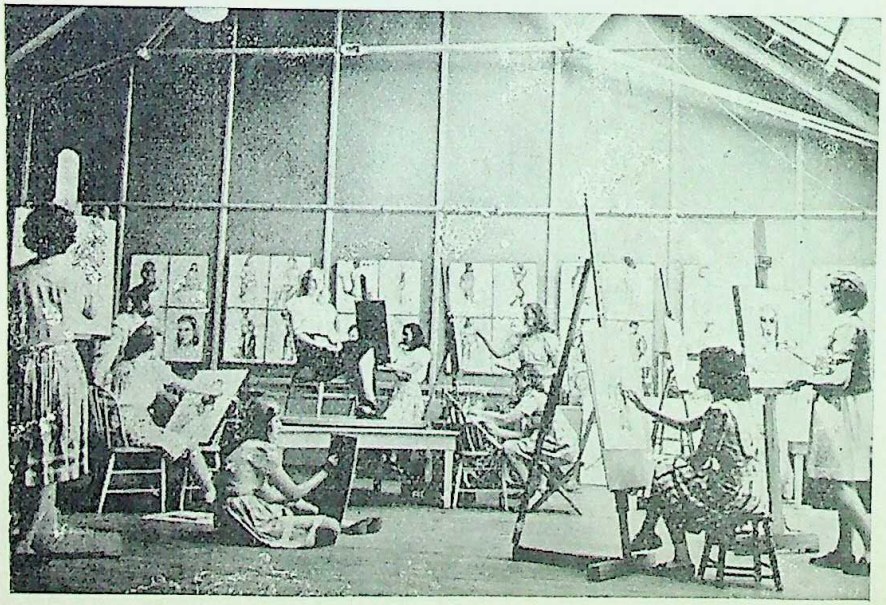
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



Large classes at Vassar College usually meet in Rockefeller Hall, the central building for lectures



In the balmy days of spring small classes are often held in a cool comfortable spot under the spreading trees of the college compound



A group of art students at Vassar College are drawing directly from life



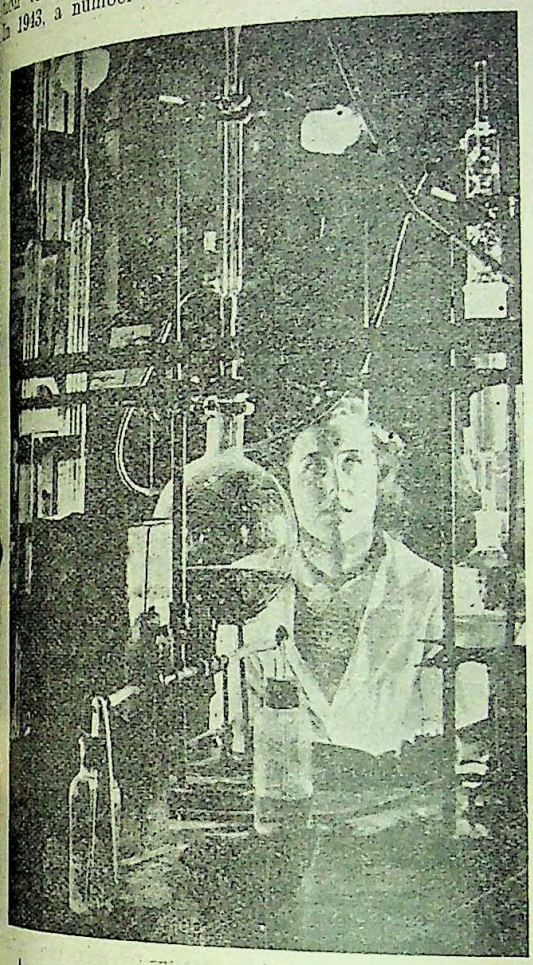
Students at Vassar College and their escorts are enjoying a formal evening dance

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foreign lands. A unique feature is the study of euthenics, the application of the arts and sciences to the betterment of living. Its summer institute for euthenics offers a program of adult education to parents, teachers, nurses and social workers. In 1943, a number of Chinese students preparing for



A young scientist at Vassar College is carefully watching an experiment in the synthesis of complex organic compounds

work in China attended the institute, while in 1944, students from Canada and South America were invited.

Students at Vassar College are strongly in favor of the open-shelf arrangement of their library's content, for the system makes the entire collection freely available and they have direct and comfortable access to books and periodicals. Every assistance is given by the trained librarians to the students who need it.

In the war emergency, Vassar adopted a three-year course for the A.B. degree, beginning 1943, and lengthened the academic year. The traditional four-year course is available, the curriculum being adapted to both schedules. In addition, new courses were offered for certain types of war services.

A generous program of informal education, in the form of lectures, concerts and art exhibits supplements instruction in classrooms and laboratories. Under the co-operative living system, adopted simultaneously with the three-year plan, students do some form of housekeeping an hour a day in their dormitories, but still have time to participate in numerous extra-curricular activities, such as sports, dramatics and musical organizations.

Students of the drama courses and oral English participate in the activities of the Experimental Theater, an American women's liberal art institution, as part of their curriculum. Others interested in dramatics become members of Philaletheis, a student society which sponsors three plays a year, one of which is given in the campus Outdoor Theater as a pageant.

One of the extracurricular activities in which Vassar students actively participate is the Dance Group, an organization of students interested in the modern dance and aims to study and develop techniques of movement and dance composition. The dance instruction, part of the physical education course, is taught by the Dalcroze method developed by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, Swiss composer, whereby music is combined with rhythmatic exercises. The Group meets weekly, participates in dance concerts and gives a performance of its own composition in the spring to which the entire college is invited.

Matthew Vassar foresaw unlimited expansion for the institution he founded. Throughout the years, the college has not only enlarged its physical equipment and facilities, but also extended its scope in uniting, in its curriculum, the field of liberal arts with preparation for contemporary life.—*USIS.*

———:O:———

ART AND THE ARTIST*

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.B.E.

The objective of the Conference is to unite artists in a congenial atmosphere and accommodate their convictions so long as they help the cause in which we are vitally interested. I think I ought to enlighten you at the outset that I have no intention to drag my address to various aspects of technical complications through which I strongly feel that technique is the only means through which the artist must convey his emotions to the receptive agent. I have refrained from a comprehensive survey on this point purposely as I am afraid it might be prejudicial before the matter is freely discussed.

Joy is the ultimate end of a creative function. Art is one such function. It infuses life into joy for a longer period than just a fleeting moment. A thing of beauty made, radiates its virtues not only to one who claims to be the creator, but also to those who are endowed with receptive quality. This quality is the capacity to see the truth underlying the beautiful. It is the result of cultivation of sympathy and deeper understanding. It is born of constant contact with the thoughts of the artist and association with his creations as well. To

* Presidential address delivered at the All-India Artists' Conference, New Delhi, on 2nd March, 1946.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

contact the beautiful is an inborn tendency of the connoisseur. He loves to penetrate deeper than the surface on account of temperamental affinity with the artist and profound sympathy for his vocation.

The relationship is almost identical with that of magnet and steel. But the inherent attractive quality of the magnet, however powerful may be, ceases to function when faced with non-receptive agents. Similarly, an indifferent approach to the beautiful will have no better result than a fruitless endeavour, because art is not for all.

I have stressed upon affinity and understanding of pictorial language with regard to assessment of values, because assessment of the true value of a pictorial pattern theme has often come to be confused and diverted from its goal by superficial appeal for the cultural drive manoeuvred by intruders in the field of art. The confusion is inevitable for the reason that the response of the subject-matter becomes so overwhelming that it forces the layman to submit to a total surrender to sentiment. Sentiment, thus fostered, develops into fatal consequences, particularly when initiated by unassimilated motives like religion, politics, nationalism and morals. Whereas subject is not a criterion in a pictorial pattern theme, it is only what is expressed, that is, the driving energy of the emotion, that compels the artist to respond to his calling.

It is only a cause ; as such, cause cannot be valued in place of effect. To be more precise on this point, a few concrete examples are necessary. Let us compare two portraits, one of a king and the other of a beggar. The painter of royalty is a novice and that of the beggar a master artist. Now if the two pictures were compared and their qualities assessed on the intrinsic values of pictorial theme, the beggar's portrait will be held in awe and exaltation and not the king's, though the latter is more entitled to claim appreciation on the ground of the sitter's position.

The logical conclusion behind this estimation is that, though the king is identified in a canvas on account of faithful resemblance, yet what is portrayed is deprived of the majestic characteristics a ruler is supposed to be possessed of. The result is not only due to inexperienced handling but also lack of insight and sanguine execution. In the case of the king, it is the outcome of groping in the dark, and in the case of the beggar, a deliberate exposition charged with sincerity of study, a revelation of rich technical achievement and penetrating vision which found its way deeper than mere superficial resemblance.

Therefore to understand the beauty of a picture in keeping with its subject-matter, contact with the concealed skill of the artist is indispensable—the skill is the language—the vehicle that conveys the spirit of the effect to the receptive. It is the life-giving element which can make a dumb dead flat canvas live and speak, and in the other case resemblance of the living may turn out to be dead.

Here I may add that to make a picture vibrate with life, it requires a life-long study and struggle endowed with confidence and sincerity. The result eventually provides a means to create a thing of beauty which is transformed into a source of joy not only to the one who creates it, but also to those capable of reciprocating sympathetically.

Coming to the standard of beauty, I should say its range is so widely spread that the magnitude cannot be surveyed with a preconceived idea or given formula. For instance, I may say a scene of horror no less beautiful than the altar of a divine service its particular sphere. Slums in their grim poverty agony are no less a pictorial subject than the courtyard of a palace where beautiful damsels decorated with jewels and gems and dance in to please the master. The former is a picture of and the latter is a scene of lust. Each has its the proper receptive agent.

The man of the slums under the grip of and hunger has no time to enjoy the forms of dancing girls. He is in immediate need of food sheer existence. Nor will the man drunk in lust pity to a suffering humanity, the reason being pleasure and agony do not go together.

In the circumstances, value relative and to it is a matter of temperamental affinity. As such merits or demerits of the subject in graphic or art have to be assessed in relation to how theme in keeping with the subject has been revealed.

Now coming back to the objective of the confer it will not be out of place to say that such confer are considered ridiculous by some who hold creative artist must live a secluded life comple isolated from disturbing facts and controver opinions. Contrary to this conviction, the missio the artist is likely to be jeopardized.

In defence of this plea, isolation is urged to en the artist to get into the right depths of medita and ensure accessibility to the royal road to perfe This is a grand retreat towards renunciation. The comes from the fact that the artist cannot get from his commitments, being pledged to society his nation. Renunciation is no good to a man who live in this world with his ego, attachments ambitions.

The modern artist is not privileged to isolate self from disturbing facts as his predecessors Patronage in olden days was assured by kings religious institutions. Contrary to this, the mod artist is not only involved in economic problems is also perplexed by successive invasions of for influence directed by current issues of fashion. are ever changing, ever fleeting in accelerated speed one is accommodated, the other strikes a new note, before the discord of the new is adjusted in tune, found to be out of date. It has to succumb to natural doom no less quickly than it made its adv Hence the question of distinguishing the alive from dead keeps the artist preoccupied rather than per him to pursue the path of his own choice. He has other option because he does not know where he be landed if he failed to submit to fashion.

Engulfed in environment as the artist is, should not feel it strange if he did submit, maybe necessarily in spontaneous response but as a result coercion. The artist has therefore no business to his eyes to facts, nor can he afford it, since it will courting physical starvation.

The problem has to be solved by selling the prod of his emotions. But who is to buy ? Who is prepa to share the joys and sorrows of his struggle ? He g lost in bewilderment in quest of a sympathetic patron

In case his desperate efforts are rewarded success, he soon realises that he has exposed himself before a person whose queer sense of patronage serves to uphold a self-constituted dignity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

patronage is pity in disguise, a means for the buyer to live on reflected glory.

Similarly, there are critics who, I am reluctant to say, are in most cases no less susceptible to fashion, reinforced by a tendency to exploit the artist, whereas the virtue of a true critic is a helpful guidance in a constructive spirit, to point out the pitfalls that imminently lurk round the corner.

This should not be, for obvious reasons. I need not go into details. But one point I cannot help bringing to the notice of the public, and that is the deterioration that has come to stay as a result of the assertion of perversities in art. It is deliberately designed to frustrate progress. I admit it is an inevitable result of the tremendous unrest in the creative mind which must carve its own path for an easy stride, and to make things easy, it is but natural for him to abandon the complexities, indispensable in academical conventions.

The upheaval in the mind tends to unearth primitive methods. These methods might indeed be bold and executed in an effortless child-like manner, nevertheless the execution was not childish—the reason being that artists of the primitive age were not subjected to conditional approach to art. In the circumstances, it is but natural that their attempts were sincere and innocent of the complications of science that have developed today.

Whether the primitive man felt the painting was a natural urge or a decoration for his cave walls to enhance the beauty of his abode, or just a hobby or an aid to woo his lover, or a fine recreation after the toil of hunt, is not our concern now. What we are interested in, is his art, which was harmoniously adapted with his primitive skill, his cave abode and the wild environment he was obliged to live in.

What suited well a cave, surrounded by gorgeous landscapes and wild ferocious animals thousands of years ago cannot fit in with a city of the modern world, where the way of living, climatic effect and conditions of life today are completely different from what they were then.

It is absurd to imagine that we could revert to the mental equipment of primitive men, having all the benefits and shortcomings of civilization.

The cave-man's sincerity might have been an asset to him considering his peculiar environment. But the same in our times will turn into a liability.

Let me now tell a sad tale—the tale of the fascination at large for a primitive cult. A full-grown adult having all the cunning and shrewdness that higher intelligence confers, trying to be innocent like a child, proves that something is wrong somewhere.

My contention has particular reference to those artists whose struggle for higher technical achievements is frustrated by obvious incapacity. One can understand the resentment against proceeding scientifically for self-expression. What amuses me is the incomplete and funny disguise of the artist who prefers to deny the joy of creation in pursuit of being proclaimed dangerously original—so dangerous as is capable to give the shock of life not only by its contact but also for fear of its virulent type of contagion.

Those who have not succumbed to the contagion of dangerous originality have gone back to tradition which provides for peaceful existence. There is no taxation of brains in the pursuit of art, nor has the artist to bother about original patterns. He is perfectly happy to indulge in repetition just as a trained parrot does.

Tradition has a value of its own. It is a history of the past. But confining oneself to lost glory and exhuming the dead from the burial ground is a job that can lead the artist only to the glory of stagnation, where he must repeat and rot.

Repetition overdone often brings distaste even for dainty delicacies. But this is not accepted as truth because the cry of sentiment voiced emphatically by the mass overrules sense. Though I may say that the mass as a rule have no taste of their own, they have acquired one created for them by the thinker.

I think I have said enough by way of prologue to the Conference and the rest as to where we differ or concur may be left for discussion.

——:O:——

JOURNALISM

Book-Reviewing

By C. L. R. SASTRI

We have been told that some men are born great, that some achieve greatness, and that on some—the most fortunate of the whole lot, undoubtedly—greatness is actually thrust. I have always had a sort of sneaking admiration for the last group. I mean, it must be such huge fun to wake up one fine morning and find oneself mysteriously marked off from the rest of humanity. The rest of humanity on one side, so to speak, and oneself on the other. No income is so sweet as what the economists term the "unearned" variety, and, by the same token, no distinction is so enviable as that which, as Lord Melbourne said of the Garter, has no "d-d merit" about it. Of course, the vast majority of us do not come under any of these categories: we conspicuously fail to touch greatness at any point—the writing profession, commonness being our badge and mediocrity our bane. We may take any amount of thought, but not for all the wealth of the Indies can we add a cubit to our stature—mental, moral or spiritual.

As with humanity in general, so with books. Some books are born great, some achieve greatness, and on some greatness is thrust—almost by *force majeure*. With the passing of days one book no more tends to differ from another than, with the current phenomenal increase of population everywhere, one man can be set apart from another. At a time when books had been fewer than at present they were more esteemed, and, as a matter of fact, they deserved that esteem. Only the really erudite, only those born into the *purple* of took the trouble of writing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

books, and, as they invariably wrote them in their hearts' blood, as it were, they were thoroughly worth while.

The Plethora of Books

But that halcyon period was not destined to last long. We have now a plethora of books. They are as common as lip-sticks and powder-puffs. With the facilities of education reaching the remotest cottage-door this is, perhaps, inevitable : the supply *has* to catch up with the demand. Leisure also, owing to the bewildering multiplication of machines, to the employment of two where only one had been in service before (if I may parody Swift), is more abundant. One cannot, with the best will in the world, spend the *entire* day seeking (and ensuing) pleasure whether at cinema-halls or at cabaret-shows, at dog-racing or at pub-crawling. The public library system, too, has kept pace with this widespread advance in literacy. Poverty has ceased to be an insuperable barrier to a close acquaintance with the "Three R's," nor does sex interpose a marked hindrance. By this I do not imply that the man of scanty means necessarily enjoys the same opportunities as his brother of ampler resources. A lean purse has never been exactly conducive to the wooing of the Muses ; but the "March of Time" (thanks be !) is gradually obliterating these ridiculous discrepancies.

The Worries of an Editor

The supply, as I have indicated, has to catch up with the demand. That is one reason for the existing proliferation of books. There are always, however, *two* sides to every question, and I do not overlook the fact that this has its undoubted disadvantages : the principal one being that the much-harassed public cannot see the wood for the trees. One simply cannot cope with this Gargantuan output. It does not, it is true, operate so very disastrously on the individual reader, because, after all, if he does not want to read a book he is under no obligation to go through that painful ritual. He merely turns his back upon the book and goes about his lawful occasions, the book forgetting and by the book forgot. But a newspaper staff *must* find a "way out" of this *impasse*, in the memorable phrase of the redoubtable Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Those that are unacquainted with the workings of a modern newspaper office, "in its habit as it lives," can have no conception of the weight of new publications under which an editor's table groans. Not the least of his worries is the (successful) devising of a method whereby he can deal with them in a manner worthy both of the traditions of his paper and of the merits of what Milton has rightly called the "embalmed treasures" of men's intellects. To aspire after perfection in such a state of affairs would be to aim at the starkly impossible : the spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak.

Whatever his own personal predilections may be he is precluded from cutting the Gordian knot by ingeminating, "A plague on all your (publishing) houses", and depositing the whole undesirable lot in the municipal dustbins. Part (but only a part) of the difficulty was solved, in England and America, by engaging another person as the *Literary* Editor. Two heads are always better than one, and, anyway, there is much to be said in favour of decentralisation. But the difficulty was only transferred from the shoulders of the General Editor to the Literary Editor, it [illegible] the *latter's* turn now to "hold the baby." Indian newspapers, however, do not enjoy even this limited blessing.

The Way Out

It must be admitted that many books are not [illegible] out to be reviewed at all ; and that the few that [illegible] have not usually the luck to fall into capable [illegible] There is a noticeable difference in this matter between the dailies, the weeklies, and the monthlies. The dailies have seldom the requisite space for an elaborate review. I have not encountered in them reviews comparable to those in the weeklies, such as the *Nation*, the *Statesman*, the *Spectator*, and the rest. The *Times* has solved the problem by relegating them to a *separate* publication, *The Times Literary Supplement*. Except for a full-length "leader" (and even this is often a review) it consists only of reviews of books. The *Manchester Guardian* has also its own weekly. But it is not confined exclusively to reviews : it is an *olla podrida*, taking in, as it does, nearly everything that may interest newspaper readers. Other dailies get round the difficulty by providing for a few more pages once or twice in the week, like the *Daily Telegraph* and the *News Chronicle*. That monthly, so ably edited at one time by the late St. John Adcock, *The Bookman*, was, as its name implied, devoted mainly to books. The "Book Page" of nearly all English papers and periodicals is a delightful feature, and, in some instances, the most delightful feature. When the late Mr. H. W. Massingham edited the *Daily Chronicle*, he made the literary section the envy of all Fleet Street. It was the same story when, later, he presided over the destinies of the *Nation*.

Indian Papers

Indian journalism can boast of none of these things. The *Times of India* has, every Friday, a special column reserved for the reviews of books, and it is an eminently readable column. The *Statesman*, in its Sunday edition, contrives to dole out a little more space for this purpose, and that space, it is needless to say, is very eruditely filled. The *Hindu* is even more generous, and it makes a point (which may, with advantage, be copied by other papers) of not ignoring vernacular productions. Many other papers have also their Sunday editions, but book-reviewing is not a conspicuous feature in them. The *Hindustan Times*, which, in my opinion, is our premier daily, and deserves our highest praise in other respects, does not come up to our expectations as far as my present subject is concerned. I need not mention our weeklies in this connexion, because we have so few of them that are really first-class. As for the monthlies, *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, whose name must for ever be associated with that of the late Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, editor, which is decidedly our best monthly, is best in this respect also. It sets apart quite a large number of pages to cope with the new publications. But when this is said, all, or nearly all, has been said.

Fairness

It now remains for me to deal with the most important problem—that of how book-reviewing should be done. It is all the more difficult for me to deal with it, as it is done very prefunctorily in our country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the outset, however, I may state that we need not take into account what Charles Lamb, in his inimitable way, has described as "books which are no books—*biblia a-biblia*," such as Court Calendars, Directories, Almanacks, etc. But what about the rest? Here, as elsewhere, there is a great diversity of opinion. Let me be understood as treating only of *deserving* books, books where the reviewer is given that "generous amplitude," in the words of our beloved Secretary of State, Mr. Leopold S. Amery, without which, of course, even a modicum of justice cannot be done. Strictly speaking, such publications as *Mother India* and *Verdict on India*, for instance, should not be included in this category. But even here the reviewer would do well to be as fair as possible—going to the furthest limit of giving the Mayos and the Nichols of this world the benefit of the doubt: for, after all, as Shakespeare puts into the mouth of one of his characters, God has made them and we should let them pass. Fairness in the reviewer is a very desirable qualification. To quote Mr. Robert Lynd, a master of the craft, we should gently scorn, not only our brother man, but our brother author or sister authoress. It is true that this dictum makes enormous drafts on our charity, for Mrs. Mayo came to India and discovered that the vast majority of the Hindu male population are impotent and subsist on cow-dung (she did not pause to enquire whether they are impotent *because* they subsist on cow-dung, and Mr. Nichols's left foot sustained some serious damage in the same noble cause of traducing our countrymen right royally. Still, Mr. Lynd's advice should not be despised.

More Than a Mere Portrait

I am to be understood, I repeat, as treating only of deserving books where the reviewer has command of sufficient space to "spread himself" about them. I have insisted on one desideratum—fairness. Another is his obligation to render an *unbiassed* report of the trend of the book. Obviously, the author has a certain object in view in writing his book: *that object must come out in the review*. A review, however, should not be a mere synopsis of the book in question: else, where does criticism come in? But it should not be *all* criticism and no portrait: that would be to err at the opposite extreme. A reviewer is a critic in little. Criticism *must* find a place in the review. But what kind of criticism—destructive or constructive? I have no hesitation in voting for the latter. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth as Miss Mayo and Mr. Nichols ought to know. The reviewer should not say, gloatingly: "I have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." He should, on the contrary, come to praise him: *all other things, of course, being equal*. Else, let him keep away: there are others who can do the job better than he.

Good Reviewing is Appreciation

I am aware that this has its own dangers. At the present day there is more favourable criticism than unfavourable criticism. Good books, it would seem, are as plentiful as black-berries. They are to be met with in every publisher's window. The world is full to overflowing with, in another immortal phrase of Charles Lamb's, "perpetually self-reproductive volumes—Great Nature's Stereotypes." As Mr. P. G. Wodehouse puts it wittily:

> "There are no good books now-a-days—only superb books, astounding books, genuine masterpieces, books which we are not ashamed to say brought tears to our eyes. Some people (who ought to be ashamed of themselves) say that the reason for this tidal wave of sweetness and amiability is the fact that reviewers today are all novelists themselves. Old Bill, they claim, who does the literary page of *The Scrivener*, is not going to jump on Old Joe's *Sundered Souls* when he knows that his own *Storm Over Britain* is coming out next week and that Joe runs the book column of *The Spokesman*. This, of course, is not so. Nobody who really knows novelists and their flaming integrity would believe it for a moment. It is with genuine surprise that William, having added *Sundered Souls* to the list of the world's masterpieces, finds that Joseph, a week later, has done the same by *Storm Over Britain*. An odd coincidence he feels."

All the same, I hold that adulation is better than vituperation. That is why Pater, as Mr. Lynd has remarked, has called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why, in our own day, the late Mr. Chesterton's *Charles Dickens* is the most masterly book that has yet been written on that great novelist.

The Masters

In England reviewing is almost a fine art. The reviews of such distinguished persons as Sir John Squire, Mr. Robert Lynd, Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, Mr. G. W. Young, the late Mr. T. Earle Welby, Mr. Edward Shanks, Mr. R. Ellis Roberts, and others have acquired a significance of their own: they have a rare value—quite apart from the books reviewed. Mr. G. W. Young's reviews, in especial, stand in a class by themselves: "they form a vast species alone," as Cowley says of Pindar's Odes. I cannot do better than counsel my readers to steep themselves in the reviews of those masters. That is real book-reviewing.

I have a strong prejudice in favour of the essay-kind of review. If one has sufficient space at one's command one may let oneself go while reviewing a book, provided always that the book merits such treatment, and that the reviewer is a competent writer himself. If these conditions are satisfied, one may, without any undue risk, write an independent essay on the theme of the book, at the same time keeping an eye on its central point, or points. And why not? A review should not be a mere catalogue or prospectus: *it should throb with a life of its own*. Some of the most reputed reviewers have adopted this mode and have been none the worse for it. Did not Anatole France once observe that "the good critic is he who relates the adventures of his own soul among masterpieces?" This dictum loses none of its force even if the books under consideration are not masterpieces.

I should not like to conclude my article without entering a caveat against regarding book-reviewing as one of the minor branches of journalism. *It is nothing of the kind*. A journalist who is quite competent in the other branches may conceivably come a cropper when, once in a while, he is put on this kind of job. This is no place for mere rule-of-thumb processes: the man must be tolerably erudite himself before venturing to sit in judgment on the erudition of others. Were I an editor I should insist of an applicant for work that he should be an excellent book-reviewer. But this, obviously, needs a lot of stressing in our country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SPIRIT OF HINDU CIVILIZATION

By BUDHA PRAKASH, M.A.

II

Not content with the work of cultural synthesis of which we have given only a few hints, Indian civilization overflew the boundaries of India and impressed its mark on the world. The Tarim basin in Central Asia is scattered with ruins of small Buddhist shrines which contain stucco-images representing objects of Buddhist worship and Buddhist canonical writings in detached pothi leaves of paper. At Rawak, a great Buddhist sanctuary is discovered with an enclosing quadrangular court, the walls of which are lined with stucco images of the Buddha of colossal size. The hundreds of grottos honey-combing the rock-faces of Buddhist shrines, found at Miran and Kucha, reveal a profusion of beautiful tempera-paintings, showing the Bodhisattvas, often grouped in sumptuous settings of celestial attendants or Buddhist heavens with their wealth of mythological scenery.[22] Buddhist influence in Central Asia led to the growth of a new system *viz.* Manichaeism in 242 A.D. which spread in Asia Minor, North Africa, Spain, France and China. Even in Ptolemaic Egypt, Buddhist festivals were prevalent. Indian figures are found in Memphis and an inscription has been discovered at Thehados which is dedicated by 'Solon, the Indian.'[23] Towards the east, the influence that India had on China is manifest from the large number of pilgrims who defying the hindrances of nature and braving indescribable risks, visited India, learnt her language and translated her literature in their own mother tongue. The works of the best brains of India—Ashva Ghosa, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakirti and Nagarjuna, which are now lost to India, have been recovered in Chinese versions. In Korea, Buddhist figures are hewn out of the living rock in an environment of great natural beauty away from the haunts of man. It is from Korea that Indian art and culture reached Japan in the sixth century A.D. Prince Wumayado, who prepared the fourteen articles of the Japanese constitution, wrote some remarkable commentaries on the works of Nagarjuna. In these works we find a spirit of intense refinement and purity, such as only great religious feelings could have produced. Tibet received the light of Indian culture in the seventh century A.D., under Emperor Srong-Btsan-Sgam-Po (630-698 A.D.) who was converted to Buddhism under the influence of his Chinese and Nepalese queens. Under Khri-Srong-lde-Btsan (802-845 A.D.) who is called the Asoka of Tibet a great tide of art and culture of religious fervour and progress surged over the length and breadth of the land. The great pundits, Kumar, Silamanji, Tuna, Mahadeva and others translated the huge canon of the Buddhists in Tibetan language, the script or alphabet of which was invented by Thom-mi on the model of contemporary Kashmerian alphabets. Lastly, Emperor Muni-Btsan-Po (845-846 A.D.) who was brought up in an atmosphere charged with the extreme form of Bodhisattva ideal, which viewed with great approval even the renunciation of one's own salvation in rendering service to others and removing their sufferings, translated into action the real spirit of Buddhism. He appropriated the wealth of the nation and redistributed it amongst all, thus carrying out to the letter the ideal of equality which Buddhism preached. The innate and fresh energy of the Tibetan people which expressed itself in a great empire stretching over Tibet and portions of Central Asia and China was directed by Buddhism towards the behoof and betterment of man.[24] The result was that even the bloody Mongols under Kublai Khan succumbed to the charms of Buddhist culture and got the whole canon translated into Tukharien language. Similar were the cultural achievements of India in Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon and Burma. In Java stands the greatest monument of Buddhism—the stupa at Borobodur, where the naturalism of Ajanta appears in the shape of a veritable classicism.

This great saga of civilizing the world, of which we have noted only a few refrains, vouches for the inherent energy, vitality and vigour of Hindu civilization. It is now high time to jettison the false impressions which scholars like Maxmuller have created in our mind. At one place, the learned father wrote:

> "Greece and India are indeed the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan race. To the Greek existence is full of life and reality; to the Hindu it is a dream, a delusion. The Greek is at home when he is born; all his energies belong to his country; he stands or falls with his party; he is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters the world as a stranger; all his thoughts are directed to another world; he takes no part even when he is driven to act; and when he sacrifices his life it is but to be delivered from it."

How erroneous and gratuitous is this view is apparent from the sketch of the role of Hinduism as a civilizing agency of mankind, that we have given above. We take now some other aspects of Hindu life to show the falsity of this view. Let us first take art. Dr. Stella Kramrisch in a lecture delivered at the Calcutta University once said about the art of Bharhut and Sanchi:

> . . . "The symmetry to which Indian art subjects its gods *has nothing of transcendentalism*. Here it is the subtlest vibration of an accomplished state of spiritual existence and still it preserves the faint perfume of life. Life's unbroken continuity is expressed by the revolving ringlets of the lotus-stalk on the Bharhut-railings. This lotus-stalk unswerving and undisturbed, patiently carries the Buddha throughout his former incarnations and rocks each of them with great tenderness between its undulations."[25]

22 Sir Aurel Stein in "Revealing India's Past", published by the India Society, London, 1939.

23 Mahaffy: *History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, Vol. I, p. 297, et seq.

24 Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IX, pp. 55-144.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

About the art of Ajanta, a great French connoisseur has remarked :

. . . "Jamais, non pas chez Kalidasa, on n'a celebre avec un tel lyricisme la valeur d'art de ses lingges et de ses-attitudes, sa douceur inclinee et pensive . . . Il faudrait enumerer tons les couples d'amants d'Ajanta, dire leur languer volupteuse et leur simplicite raffinee, leur douceur de poses et la earesse restee chaste de leur gestes. Surtent cet abandon spritуel, cette tendresse infinie grace auxquels de tels motifs ne delonuent pas dansun sanctuaire Boudhique . . . "[26]

The same love of life and universe is manifest in Indian literature. Amidst a scene of rare bucolic beauties and sylvan calmness, the poet Bana has portrayed the triumph of the instincts of blood over the capacities of brain. Kadambari's fervour proves as effective as Kapinjala's penance. In Kalidasa, the truest creator of forms and images and a harmonious interpreter of the noblest sentiments of human heart, we notice an atmosphere of rare richness and exuberance. Every aspect of Hindu life in all its aesthetic phases has been painted in brightest colours. Going backwards we witness Ashvaghosa, "poet, musician, preacher, moralist, philosopher, play-wright, tale-teller, satirist. He is an inventor in all these arts and excels in all ; in his richness and variety he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant and Voltaire. He stands at the starting point of all the great currents that renewed and transformed India towards the beginning of the Christian era."[27] It should also be added that he gave a religious form to the purely philosophic tenets of Buddhism and was thus chiefly responsible for the expansion of Buddhist civilization abroad. Likewise in a multitude of other poets we notice the same elegance of arrangement, richness of colour, luxuriance of decoration, sonority of verse and concinnity of expression. The splendid *padavalis* of medieval Bengal and the stirring *powadas* of Maharastra, the songs of Tamil saints and the strains of Hindu Bhakta poets—all point to the keen interest in life that the Hindu felt.

A passage may pardonably be devoted to Hindu science. Chapter IV of the *Shukraniti* contains highly developed Agri-horti-flori-cultural ideas. So much specialization took place in iron industry that it was divided into three classes—Munda, Tikshna, Kanta, and each into three subdivisions, Mridu, Kunta, Kurar.[28] Ayurvedic Shastras mention humitide and iron pyrites and show familiarity with the process of the preparation of chloride, oxide and sulphide of iron. Shipping was very advanced. Ships were classified according to the position of the cabins as Sarvamandira, Madhyamandira, Agramandira, etc., the last being eminently suitable for long voyages, and *naval warfare*. (R. K. Mookerjee : *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 20.)

Trade with the world was highly developed. Buddhist Jatakas mention sea-borne commerce with the Indian archipelago and land trade with Greece and Babylonia (Yona and Paramyona) in silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armours, brocades, embroideries, drugs, perfumes, ivory and ivorywork, jewellery and gold.[29] Varahamihira in his *Brihat Samhita* refers to the manufacture of dyes, cosmetics, artificial imitations of natural flowers and scents which were exported to Europe. Prof. Laconperie believes that the monopoly of the sea-borne trade of China was in the hands of Indian merchants who transported to China pearls, rubies, sugar, aromatics, peacocks, corals, etc. According to Hamza Ispahan, the ships of India and China could be seen constantly moored at Hira near Kirfa in the Euphrates.[30]

We now take another feature of Hindu mind. The Hindu hates abstractions ; he eschews the dark and the mystic. He loves the concrete and the colourful. But all the same he is intensely deep and thoughtful. This is clear from the familiarity with which the Hindus approached their gods. They never stand in awe of them. A Vedic poet rebukes Indra for his parsimony and declares that had he been Indra, he would have lavished his gifts unstinted. The informality and friendliness with which gods mixed with people is manifest from a line of the *Harivansa-Purana,* which recalls the days when men and gods used to live together.[31] Likewise Asoka to have reunited men with gods : जम्बूदीपसि ये इमाय कालाय अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसा कटा —(*M. R. E.* I, Brahmagiri version).

These traits are mostly due to the character of Indian soil. Prof. Sylvain Levi has written in his inimitable style :

> "La terre abreuvee de l'eau par les milles canaux du Gange, s'y pare d'une floraison capiteuse qui trouble l'imagination, mure avaut l'appel precose des seus. L'inepuisable nourriciere semble repondre aux caresses fecondes du soleil par un hymme palpitaut d'amour. Absorbe dours ses-effluves l'homme reve a l'unison de transports et d'extases incessamment renouvetes ; l'esprit veut transformer a son gout les lourdes jonissances de la matiere. L'eternal feminin l'obsede."[32]

But this thoughtful feature should not be confused with pessimism. Another great French scholar warns us against this danger in the following words :

> "Rappelous ce que nous avous dit plus haut sur ce qu'il faut entendre par pessimisme Indien. Ce pessimisme qui n'exist qu'a l'eudroit de l'existance phenomenale se resont eu une inexprimable felicite des que le sage atteint son objectif supra-phenomenal, Brahma-Atman or Nirvana."[33]

The Hindu genius is anthropomorphic. He sees everything in the universe in his own image. Even the abstract qualities of mind, *e.g.*, virtue, sin, kindness, truth, etc., appear to him possessed of human personality.[34] This paganism among the Hindus, is not a fetish

---

26 Rene Grousset : *Historie de l'Extreme Orient Tome Primier*, p. 143.

27 Sylvain Levi : *Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Univerrity* (Oriental Dept.,) Letters IX, p. 12.

28 Cf. the iron-pillar of Mahrauli and the copper image of Buddha found at Sultanganj.

29 Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

30 For details see Warmington : *Commerce of India with Rome*, and S. K. Das : *Economic Condition in Ancient India.*

31 देवतानां मनुष्याणां सहवासोऽभवत्तदा (*Harivamsa*, III, 32, 1)

32 Sylvain Levi : Preface to M. Courtillier's French translation of *Gitagovinda.*

33 Louis de la Vallee-Ponssin : *Le Pessimisme Hindou*, p. 113.

34 Cf. the dramas— प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय of कृष्णमिश्र & मोहराजपराजय of यशःपाल in which abstract qualities are actually represented as characters

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or superstition but a perception of the fundamental asylums.[35] Every trade, commerce and industry centralized in royal monopolies. All land belonged the Crown and was leased to the agriculturaliste for with no rights of alienation, transfer or mortgage. Th who did not till it were ejected.[40] The State kept supervision over the manners and morals and and expenditure of the citizens and both—the vagant and the misers were punished.[41] Citizens made to take active interest in all that relates to affairs. The whole community was thus enjoined to an information bureau, vigilance committee and association for public safety. Citizens passing in streets are to be on the lookout whether the has paid the toll on his commodities at the Custo office or not.[42] The restaurant keepers had to exa the feelings of foreigners and the prostitutes expected to espy and assassinate persons suspected ill-will towards the State. A man not helping others extinguish fires, which were common[43] in wooden ho of those times, were fined. Every man was leg obliged to catch a certain number of mice in cases plague epidemic and failure to do was visited w fine.[44] It may be recalled that this is the ideal true democratic state as laid down by J. S. Mill in book on *Representative Government*. Every one is eq in the eyes of the State, for Asoka says in *P. E.* (Delhi-Topra version) :

इछितविये किति दण्डसमता वियोहालसमता च सिया ति।

These are enough hints to indicate the democ foundations of Hindu society.

Another prevalent misconception in presen educated people is about caste. Sir Henry Maine described it as the most blighted and inhu institution and Sir Jadunath Sarkar has attrib to caste all evils that led to the downfall of Ind culture. I need only submit that the four-fold organization was like Plato's division of mankind men of gold, men of silver and men of copper, pur traditional and theoretical. In actual practice it stood until recently in the way of social progress of Hindus. The earliest instance of a Kshatriya becom a Brahmana is that of Nahusa's son Yati who re quished his kingdom to his brother Yayati and bec

Another characteristic of Hindu civilization is its eminently practical nature. The word *Dharma* which is the pivot of the life and thought of the Hindus is a very wide and comprehensive term and cannot be adequately rendered by any expression as religion, ethics, morality or Mazhab. It is formed from the root 'Dhri' with the suffix 'Man'[36] and literally means that which holds on, which sustains, which keeps together. Hence it means the entire framework of rights and duties in which the fabric of human personality is set. Philosophy in India is a part of Dharma and not a mere mental gymnastic. Thus the very first *sutra* of Jaimini's *Purvamimansa* is, "Athato Dharmajijnasa" and the first *sutra* of Vaisheşika is, "Athato Dharma Vyakhyasyamah." This synthesis of religion and philosophy, or in other words the idea of carrying out the thoughts and concepts of brain into practical action, was the great cement of Hinduism inasmuch as it always kept open the avenue of free thought and always held together the fabric of Hinduism through many a period of stress and strain.

Hindu civilization is founded on a democratic basis and an equalitarian conception of life. According to the Chidrupabrahmavada, taught in 108 Upanisads and enumerated in the *Mauktikopanisat*, every human being virtually represents a "small temple," a "power-house" and a "wireless station" all rolled into one. Any one without distinction of race, creed, caste or sex, can systematically develop the spiritual power within and utilize it to the best advantage, benefit and service of all concerned. Democratic Hinduism or the Sankhya-yoga is entirely free from priest-craft or ecclesiasticism.[37] I do not mean that all Hindus, at all times followed these ideals. The Brahmanas were not quite free from selfish or sordid motives and more than once they tried to imprison the forces of Hinduism in their parochial pretensions.[38] But always Hinduism has been producing great teachers and masters of thought who understood the inner essence of things and proclaimed its real message to the world. The greatest of them was the Buddha whose communistic and somewhat republican ideas, culminated in the Maurya State. This State was responsible for the livelihood of every citizen. The infants, orphans, aged, invalid and addicts were maintained ; addled women and the children born to those in family way were kept in State

35 A poet gives expression to these feelings in the following verse :

मातर्मेदिनी तात मारुत सखे ज्योतिः सुबन्धोजल।
भ्रातर्व्योम निबद्ध एष भवतामन्त्यः प्रणामाञ्जलिः।
युष्मत्सङ्गवशोपजातसुकृतोद्रेकस्फुरन्निर्मल।
ज्ञानापास्तसमस्तमोहमहिमा लीये परे ब्रह्मणि॥

भर्तृहरि—वराग्यशतकम्

36 *Unadi*, I, 137.

37 See G. Krishna Shastri : *Democratic Hinduism.*

38 Cf. *Gautama Dharmasutra* (II, xii, 3)—

अथ हास्य वेदमुपश्रुण्वतस्त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपरिपूरणमुदाहरण जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः।

39 Cf. Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, p. 47 (Ed. Sham Shastri)—

बालवृद्धत्यधितव्य सन्यनाथाश्च राजा विभृयात्।
स्त्रियमप्रजातां प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान्।

40 *Ibid.*—

अकृषतामच्छिद्यान्येभ्यो प्रयच्छेत्।

41 *Ibid.*—

मूलहरतादात्विककदर्यँश्च प्रतिषेधयेत्।

42 *Ibid.*, p. 110—

ध्वजमूलमतिक्रान्तानां चाकृतशुल्कानां शुल्कादशादशगुणो दण्डः। पथिकोत्पथिकास्तद्विद्युः।

43 *Ibid.*, p. 145—

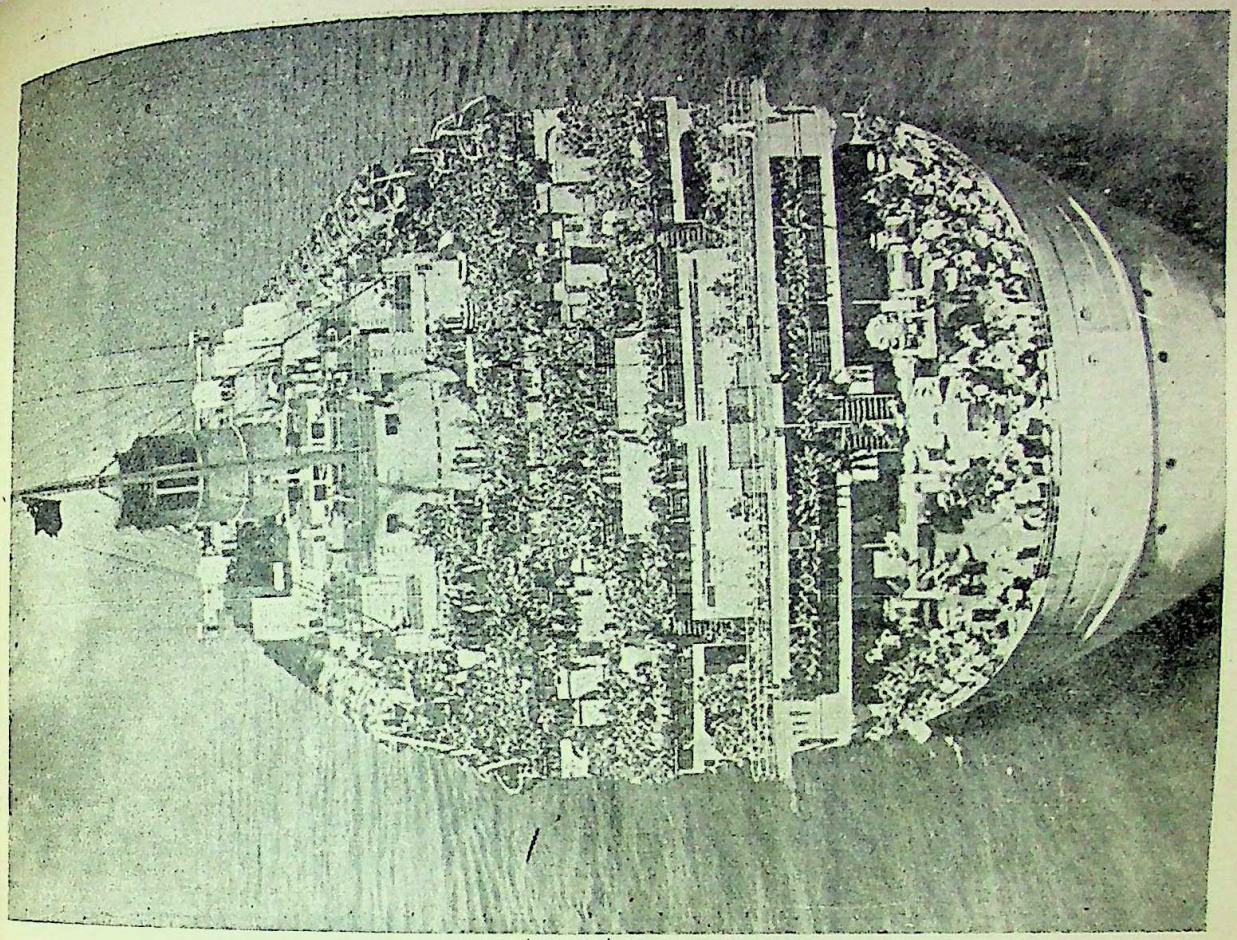
प्रदीप्तमभिधावतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः।

44 *Ibid.*, p. 209—

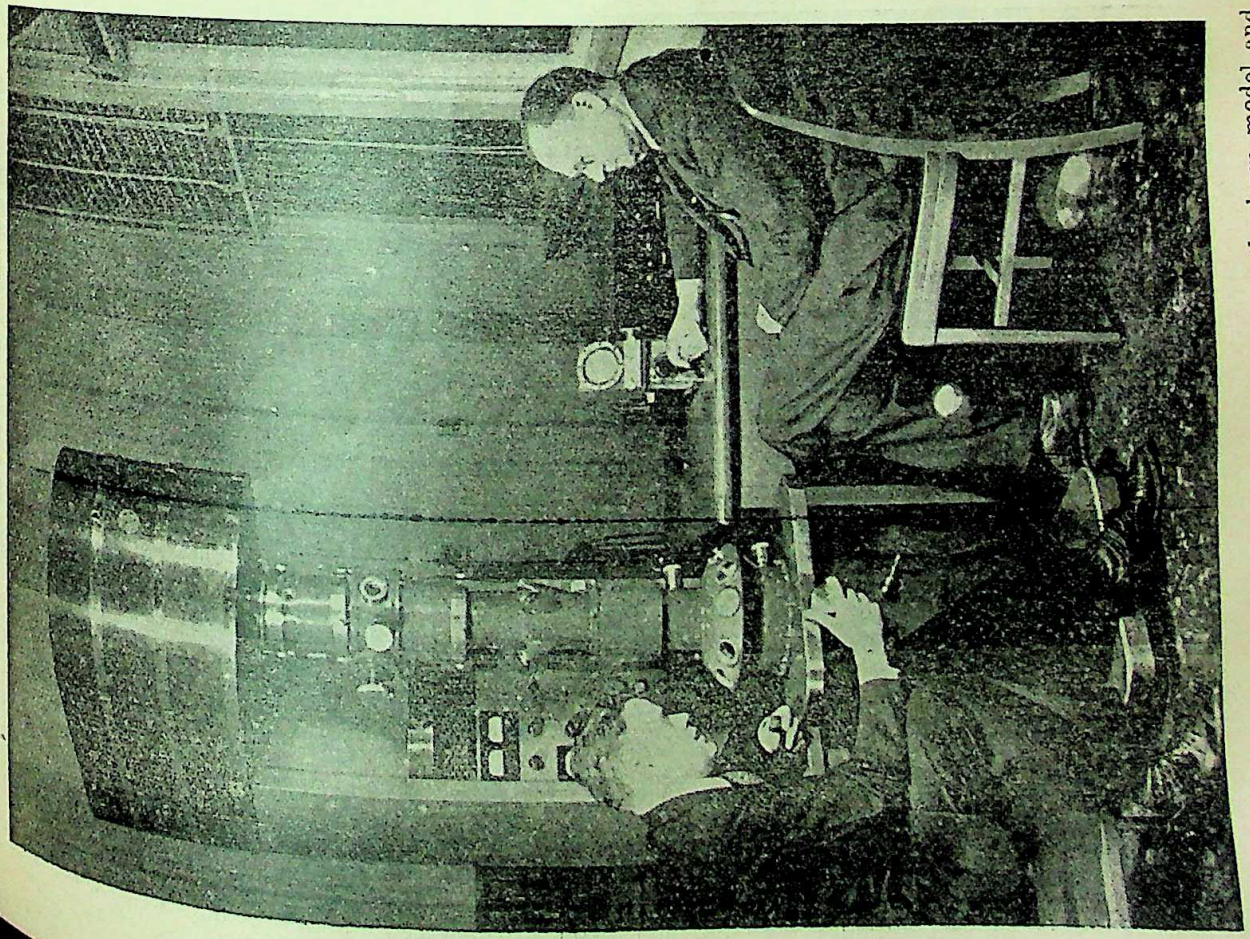
मूषिककरं वा प्रयुञ्जीत।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



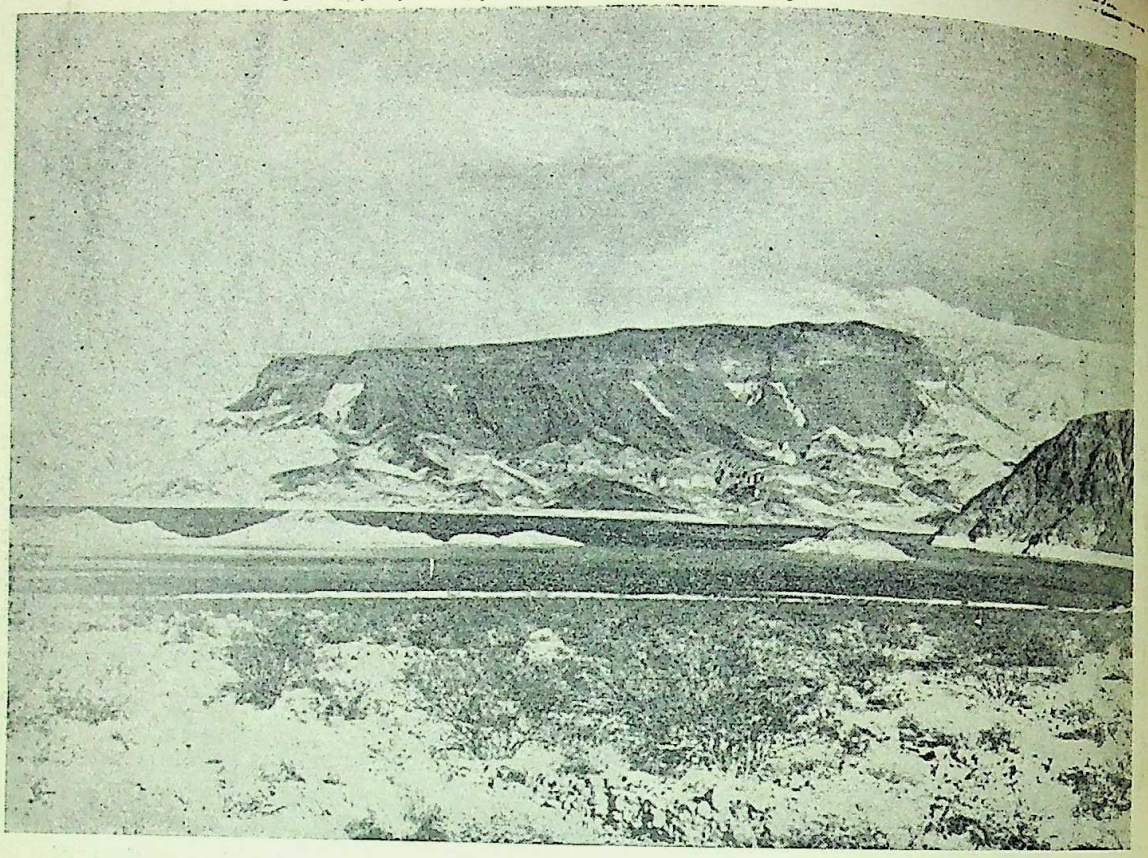
The picture shows the British luxury liner Queen Mary bringing 14,626 Americans to New York from the European theatre of war



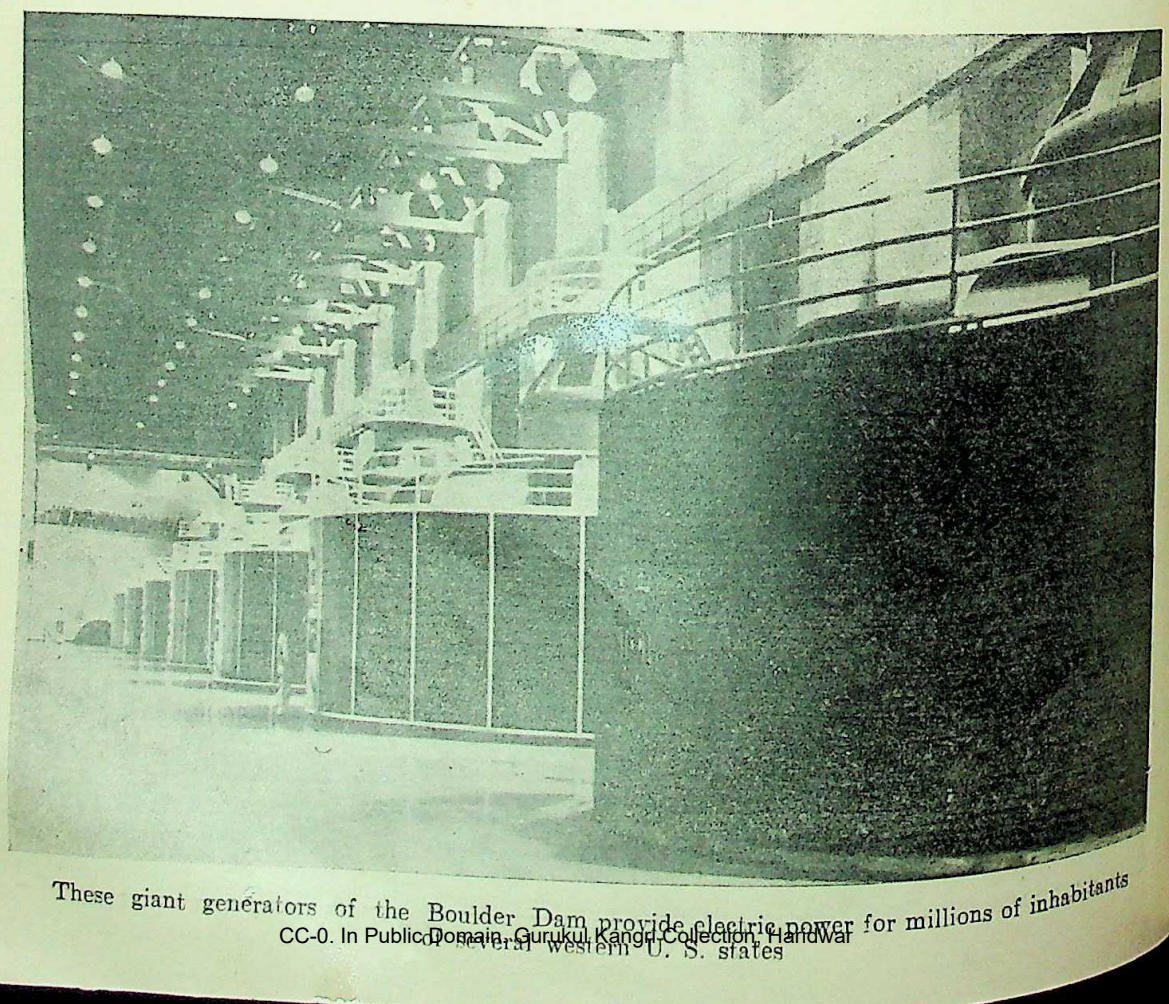
The two models of the famous electron microscope—the large model and the desk-size one—can magnify 100,000 diameters

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



This photograph of man-made Lake Mead, 120 mile-long Boulder Dam reservoir, was taken 30 miles above the huge dam



These giant generators of the Boulder Dam provide electric power for millions of inhabitants of several western U. S. states

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a Brahmana Muni. Others prior to Visvamitra were Mandhatriyauvanasva, Kasya and Gritsamada. Even the Bhagwata-purana (9th cent. work) and an avowedly Brahmana treatise acknowledges the origin of the Urukshaya, Kapi, Gargya, Priyamedha and Maudgalya families of the Brahmanas from the Paurava dynasty. The Nanda kings were of low origin, the Guptas were Karaskara Jats, the Palas were Sudras, the Vardhans of Kanauj were Vaishyas, but their title to rule was never questioned. Then in medieval times Namdeva, the tailor; Raidas, the cobbler; Dadu, the cotton butcher; Kabir, the weaver; and many others hailing from lower strata were recognized as great teachers by all. The Yogis, Tantrikas, Nathpanthis, all eschewed caste. The predominance of Jainism in tenth and eleventh centuries in Gujarat, Malwa and western India liquidated the rigidity of caste. Such being the condition of India when she fell, how are we to attribute the whole disaster to an element, which had a limited scope. If we are to search the causes of the decline of Hindu civilization we shall find it in such things as growing urbanization, narrowing weltanschaung, obliterous mentality of the masses of those times and lastly, enfeebled morale brought about by the feudal order of society.

Lastly, one more fact should be noted. The Hindus are keen about duties rather than rights. They are more adept in giving rather than in taking. Compare, for instance, Hindu cosmopolitanism with that of Rome. The Roman poet Rutilius Namautianus has written in a line, "Urbem fescisti qui prius orbis erat" (what was previously the world thou hast made a city). The Hindu idea of the same is contained in the expression "Udaracharitanam tu basudhaiva kutumbakam" (for the magnanimous-minded the whole world is a family). Thus while Rome conceived of the world as a city, India viewed the same as a family. In the one, the idea of right is predominant, in the other the idea of duty holds the field. This necessarily follows from what we have said above about the spiritual nature of Hindu civilization.

All this was mostly due, as the quotation from Sylvain Levi cited above shows, to the richness and prosperity of Indian soil. In such a country which is a world in itself, the struggle for existence was not very keen. Materially the people were very affluent. Quite content with their lot, they set themselves on a quest for truth and ultimately they succeeded. They were perfectly justified in saying :

चोदयित्री सुनृतानां चेतयन्ती सुमतीनां
यज्ञं दधे सरस्वतिः । *Rig-Veda* (I, iii, 11).

(Condensed from the inaugural address delivered to the History Association, Meerut College, Meerut, on 20th October, 1945.)

———:O:———

THE IMPENDING FAMINE IN BENGAL

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

The Famine of 1943 was not only one of the most tragic events of history but it was also one of the saddest and most cruel commentary on the British rule in India. But it is still more tragic that before Bengal could recover from the shock of 1943 she is being compelled to face again, within three years, another famine of far greater magnitude and intensity. Conditions, this time, are far worse ; there has been no bumper crop in Bengal this year or last year ; there has been drought in other provinces as well ; not only India but the whole world is facing acute food shortage. Possibilities of import are very slender and chances are that we shall have to depend on our own resources only.

Now, what is the present position ? As usual, the authorities have begun bungling by first trying to suppress facts and then giving out contradictory statements and confusing the issue. On the 26th February last, Mr. Casey, the then Governor, assured us that the situation in Bengal was much better than that elsewhere and he did not admit the possibility of another famine. On the 20th February last, Mr. Williams, the then adviser to the Governor, stated in a Press Conference that there were no reasons to apprehend another famine, for the Government had sufficient stocks. Again, on the 20th April, 1946, Mr. S. K. Chatterji, the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, stated in a Press interview that "the food position in Bengal should not give rise to any alarm . . . the worst enemy in regard to the situation in the province is panic, not shortage. If people do not yield to panic and start hoarding, there is no danger of famine in Bengal", But in a Radio discussion (broadcast by the Calcutta Centre of the All-Inda Radio on the 10th May, 1946) in which Mr. V. N. Rajan, I.C.S., Director of Supply, Bengal, Mrs. Renuka Roy, ex-M.L.A. (Central) and myself participated, Mr. Rajan, on being questioned, admitted serious shortage in almost all the necessary foodstuffs and indicated that outside help would not be available so far as rice is concerned.

The picture given by Mr. Rajan is something like this :

(*a*) Rice : Our annual requirement is estimated at 10·5 million tons. The carry-over from last year (427,000 tons) together with total rice production this year less seed requirements (9·3 million tons) will account for about 9·727 million tons. The estimated deficit is about 750,000 tons. No outside help should be expected.

(*b*) Wheat : Our annual requirement is about 300,000 tons per year. This is covered by the Basic Plan of the Government of India and comes mostly from outside Bengal.

(*c*) Dal and Gram : The Provincial annual deficit is estimated to be 35,000 tons of Mug, 37,000 tons of Arhar, 70,000 tons of Masur and 50,000 tons of gram—all of them to be supplied by the Government of India from surplus provinces.

(*d*) Sugar : Provincial requirement is estimated at 200,000 tons per year, but Bengal this year was originally allotted a quota of 149,000 tons which has been recently reduced by 13 per cent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(*e*) MUSTARD OIL : Bengal requires each year at least 27,000 tons of Mustard Oil and 172,000 tons of seeds (equivalent to 57,333 tons of oil) besides her own production, but in view of the increase in population and the change in its character, a much larger quantity would be actually required. But the Government of India have allocated during the current year (April 1946-March 1947) only 45,700 tons of oil and 56,300 tons of seeds (equivalent to 18,767 tons of oil), thus leaving a total deficit of 19,866 tons in terms of oil or a deficit of 23·6 per cent.

The picture, in itself, is disheartening enough, but on scrutiny the position will be found to be much more serious than what it appears to be. Let us examine the position with regard to these foodstuffs in greater detail.

RICE

It is strange that contradictory and completely irreconcilable statements have been made by responsible men with regard to the rice position in Bengal. Both Mr. S. K. Chatterji and Mr. V. N. Rajan have agreed that the estimated deficit in rice will be 750,000 tons. But in the report submitted to President Truman by Mr. Hoover, it has been stated that according to his calculations, *with which the Government of India are in full agreement*, Bengal would require, this year, 302,000 tons only, to be distributed in the following manner :

May	.. ..	nil
June	.. ..	nil
July	.. ..	90,000 tons
August	.. ..	106,000 ,,
September	.. ..	106,000 ,,

The public have every right to ask why there is such a huge divergence between the two estimates ? Whose fault it is that Mr. Hoover has not been appraised of the true position ? If it is the Government of India, then should not we be entirely in the right to infer that the Government of India are not serious to combat the impending famine, and are deliberately starving the people at least so far as Bengal is concerned ? For, what other meaning this can possibly have ? The Government of Bengal have estimated the deficit to be 750,000 tons and yet the Government of India inform Mr. Hoover that the shortage is not more than 302,000 tons ? This is an unpardonable mistake, if it is a mistake at all ; but it looks more like a deliberate policy to starve us to death than a mistake.

Coming now to the figures of the Government of Bengal, we have reasons to doubt their accuracy also. The estimated requirement of rice has been calculated to be 10·5 million tons. But taking the pre-war jail ration of 7 mds. per head per annum as the indispensable minimum, and taking, on the basis of 1941 census, 4,93,14,000 persons in terms of adults to be dependents on rice, the total requirement comes up to 13·0 million tons. (For detailed calculation, see my *Note on the Present Food Situation in India, Specially in Bengal*, dated, 29.3.43.) In taking 7 mds. per head per annum to be the minimum requirement what we are aiming at is not even the minimum nutritional standard but the bare subsistence level specially for the heavy manual workers in towns and rural areas. On this basis, the deficit, other things remaining the same, at once becomes as high as 3,273,000 tons, and not 750,000 tons. To calculate on the basis of an absurdly small quota of, say, 8 oz. per head per day, and to say that on that basis, there is no deficit at all, is only another way of leading us to starvation and death.

Taking the figures of supplies we find that the carry-over from last year is supposed to be 427,000 tons and total rice production this year less seed requirement to be 9·3 million tons. We first take the question of carry-over. From the final forecasts published by the Government of Bengal we get the following figures :

Production of Rice in Bengal

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
	Tons	*Tons*	*Tons*	*Tons*
Winter Rice	5,020,500	8,528,100	7,579,100	7,272,700
Autumn Rice	1,693,500	3,041,300	2,654,300	2,110,200

(For Winter Rice Final Forecasts, see *Calcutta Gazette*, 24.2.44, 1.3.45, 21.2.46 ; for Autumn Rice Final Forecasts, see *Calcutta Gazette*, 1.6.44, 18.1.45, 3.1.46).

It will be seen that the crop in 1942-43 was a very thin one, but the crop next year was a bumper crop. Yet in spite of it, the Famine occurred. It may be safely assumed that all carry-over was consumed during the Famine year and the year 1944 began with very small opening balance. But during 1944, the supply position, according to the Famine Commission, was satisfactory and the Government of Bengal were able to accumulate, by the end of the year, a reserve stock of 6,00,000 tons of rice and paddy in terms of rice. It is estimated by the Famine Commission that the carry-over at the beginning of 1945 was in all probability equal to several weeks' supply. But what has happened since then ? Two factors which have reduced the carry-over should be noted. First, the Government of India refused to undertake any further the responsibility of feeding Greater Calcutta through outside supplies and demand had to be made on the Bengal supplies for feeding Greater Calcutta, which, on calculation, comes up to about four lakh tons per year. Secondly, Bengal has given substantial loans to other provinces. According to Mr. S. K. Chatterji, Director of Civil Supplies, the Bengal Government sold 42,000 tons to Ceylon, 9,500 tons to Bihar, 12,641 tons to the U.P. and 29,100 tons to Mysore and Cochin. Bengal Government also gave a loan of 15,000 tons to Bihar. In 1946, we have given a loan of 2,800 tons to Madras. In view of the admission made by Mr. V. N. Rajan that loans due for replacement are not being repaid, we might take it that they will not be repaid, or at least not repaid in time. These figures, taken together, make the substantial amount of 1,11,041 tons. It is easily imaginable that this carry-over, in these circumstances, cannot but be a very small one. That our stocks are gradually becoming depleted and we are consuming our reserves thus every reducing the carry-over is evident also from the fact that while by the end of 1944, the Bengal Government held a *reserve* stock of 6,00,000 tons, the *total* stock (including the reserve) held by the Government of Bengal on the 24th April, 1946, is, according to Mr. Rajan, not more than 3,55,000 tons. The Bengal Government procured only 2,84,900 tons of rice from January to 24th April, 1946 ; the opening balance of the carry-over, therefore, is expected to be only 70,100 tons at the beginning of this year (*i.e.*, 3,55,000-2,84,900 tons). This gives a direct lie to Mr. Chatterji's state-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

meant that the carry-over from the last year is something to the order of 427,000 tons.

Turning to production this year, we find from the Final Forecast that the total supply less seed requirements may come up to 9·30 million tons. On the basis of these figures, the deficit turns out to be much greater than what has been officially estimated :

Bengal, 1945-46	Current supply	Carry-over	Requirement	Deficit
	tons	*tons*	*tons*	*tons*
Official Estimate	9,300,000	427,000	10,500,000	773,000
My Estimate	9,300,000	70,100	13,000,000	3,629,900

If we have to take a practical view of things and do not desire to delude ourselves deliberately by shutting our eyes to realities and calling a starvation diet a sufficient one not from any nutritional standard, but even from the point of view of barely keeping body and soul together, the deficit, then, would be much greater than the official estimate. *Instead of 773,000 tons, it is likely to be as high as 3,629,900 tons, i.e., about five times the official estimate.*

The question of paramount importance, therefore, is how to tide over this difficulty ? Mr. Hoover has said that if we want rice, and not wheat, we have to look to our neighbouring countries for help. As it is not possible for us to change our habits all on a sudden and take to wheat and as imports of wheat are also becoming doubtful, we must think in terms of rice mainly. Mr. Hoover has indicated that Siam has got an exportable surplus of 200,000 tons of rice and Indo-China 50,000 tons. Even we get the whole of this amount (which in itself is an impossible proposition, for even if the whole amount comes to India, it is hardly possible that nothing will be allocated to Madras and South-India and the whole supply sent to Bengal), still it will meet a very small fraction of the estimated deficit, in fact, only 33 per cent of the official estimate. But Mr. Hoover himself has admitted that the duty of the Combined Food Board ends with the allocation of supplies and in actual practice, the surplus countries have invariably failed to supply their allotted quota. So, with so many proverbial slips between the cup and the lip, it would be prudent to leave out of consideration all possibilities of import, while devising ways and means for meeting the shortage. That is why Mr. Rajan, in the Radio discussion referred to above, categorically asserted that "there is little chance of Bengal getting any assistance from the outside in the form of rice." The official suggestions are that we must tide over this difficulty by (*a*) effecting economy in consumption and (*b*) reducing wastage.

It is necessary to examine how far these suggestions will go and to find out whether they are meant to be serious or put forward merely as platitudes. How far can economy in consumption help us in tiding over the difficulty ? In making an objective assessment of the possible measure of economy, it is necessary to distinguish between different classes and different income levels. It is a fact that persons of low income, residing in rural areas,—for instance, the majority of agricultural classes, live from hand to mouth and can afford to be barely on the subsistence level. To say that their rations can be further cut down is to impose starvation diet on them. The Government have not undertaken full rationing in these areas and have shirked their responsibility by initiating only the modified rationing scheme. So, it can be hardly expected that there can be any substantial measures of economy so far as these classes are concerned. It is true that urban people and persons belonging to wealthier classes are generally better off and are in a position to consume more than is necessary. But the Government have introduced full rationing in most of such areas. According to a newspaper advertisement put in by the Civil Supplies Department, (*vide, Hindusthan Standard,* Dt. 31.3.46) the following towns have been put on complete rationing in Bengal, *viz.,* Calcutta and the industrial area, Dacca, Narainganj, Chittagong, Comilla, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong. Full-scale rationing will shortly be introduced in eight more towns, Midnapore, Kharagpur and Kharagpur Railway Settlement, Bankura, Kulti and Hirapur. In the same advertisement we find the following information : "The cut in the cereal ration means a saving of approximately 25,000 maunds per week in the Calcutta area alone. This saving will enable Bengal to build up her Food resources so as to be in a position to meet any emergency." How hollow this claim is, becomes apparent even to the most superficial observer. A weekly saving of 25,000 maunds in the Calcutta area means an annual saving of 47,272 tons per year. So far as the other towns put on complete rationing are concerned, the cut will mean an extra annual saving of approximately 12,000 tons only. (The ratio of the population of the Calcutta area to all those towns, on the basis of 1941 census is about 4 to 1). It would appear, therefore, that the recent cut imposed on cereal ration cannot but effect an annual saving of more than 47,272 tons + 12,000 tons, *i.e.,* 59,272 tons. It is, thus, futile to expect that the recent cut in the scale of cereal ration can reduce the deficit in any notable degree. It is rumoured that another cut of the same extent may be imposed from next July. To impose such cuts on people who are habituated to at least a seer of rice daily and whose only food is rice, substitute foodstuffs being beyond their power, is to force them to starvation. That, in itself, would, instead of solving the problem, lead to complications by imposing starvation on those people whom it wants to protect. But be that as it may, even such a cut would not bridge the gap ; for where the deficit is, according to the official estimate 750,000 tons, what does it matter if all our efforts for economy cannot reduce that deficit by more than 59,272 tons (or even double that amount) and that, by starving the people put on ration ?

Bengal's Net Deficit, 1945-46 (*Rice*)

	Estimate of deficit	Saving effected by cut in cereal ration	Net deficit
	tons	*tons*	*tons*
Official Estimate	750,000	59,872	690,728
My Estimate	3,629,900	59,272	3,670,628

Let us face facts squarely. It should be freely and frankly admitted that our deficit cannot be met by economy in consumption alone. The other method suggested by the Government is prevention of wastage. I shall not deal extensively with this matter. Suffice it to say that the Government is the worst offender in this respect. It has been calculated that the total loss, as reported in different newspapers, come up to a total of 19,886 tons of rice and 18,040 tons of atta from July

CC-0. In the Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1945 to May, 1946. It is up to the Government to prevent such wastage. In fact, had the Government been serious, much deterioration could have been stopped. Instead the usual procedure of setting up a top-heavy department called the Directorate of Inspection and Control, has been adopted and this is being turned into a pretext, as usual, of providing for fat-salaried officers and bringing in foreign experts, though every day we find newspaper reports about deterioration of foodstuffs in Government and private storage. But, however efficient might be the arrangements for preventing waste, one thing is certain : the huge deficit that Bengal will have to face in the coming months cannot be met by such tinkering measures alone.

The conclusion, to which the logic of facts forces us to come, is that if Bengal has to be saved from another terrible famine, there must be imports, and imports on a very substantial scale. At the beginning of World War II , United Kingdom did not grow more than one-third of her annual food-requirement, and through intensive measures she was able to grow two-thirds of her needs before the war ended. But even during those dark days bread was not rationed there and the Government provided sufficient additional food. But here we have spent Rs. 72,65,000 on "Grow More Food" campaign in 1944-45, Rs. 10,300,000 in 1945-46 and the budget for 1946-47 has provided for one crore two lakhs and thirty-five thousands, but what has been the result ? There has been an actual decrease of 6·4 per cent of area under winter rice in 1945-46 as compared to the previous year. But we are not prepared to tolerate that this "Grow More Food" campaign would be turned into "Grow More Officers" campaign and huge sums wasted for that purpose and we have a right to ask if it was possible for the United Kingdom to keep her cereals unrationed during the war and if it is possible for her not to put cereals on ration even now when there is acute food shortage all over the world, why should Bengal suffer from starvation in this way ? Why not vigorous efforts be made for securing outside supplies, more so when such supplies are available in neighbouring Asiatic countries ? Should we take it that such callousness in the face of such an impending calamity is possible only because the lives of subject peoples are nothing worth caring for ?

Other Foodstuffs

I now turn to examine briefly the position with regard to other foodstuffs.

(*a*) *Wheat* : Our requirement stands at 300,000 per year and it is hoped that the Government of India will find it possible to supply the major portion of this requirement. We can only say that in view of the very pessimistic utterances of the Government of India spokesmen, these hopes may turn out to be only pious hopes and nothing more; (*b*) *Dal, Gram, Mustard Oil* : It is the same position with regard to these foodstuffs; (*c*) *Sugar* : Even a superficial observer will be struck by the highly iniquitous arrangements regarding sugar and the very grave injustice done to Bengal in this respect. Under the present system, local production cannot be reserved for local consumption, but must go to the Basic Plan of the Government of India and distributed thereunder. The quota for Bengal has been fixed at 200,000 tons. In the first place, this is a grave injustice done to Bengal, for, if other provinces with a much less population get a proportionately much higher quota, why Bengal should not get what she is entitled to receive? But Bengal has not even received in full [illegible] meagre quota of 200,000 tons; she was, on Mr. Rajan's admission, originally given a quota 149,000 tons, but in view of the drought in other provinces which damaged the sugarcane crop, the quota was cut down by [illegible] per cent. But the matter does not end here. Recently an order has been issued prohibiting the production of *gur* in certain areas neighbouring sugar factories and over a certain period for maximizing sugar production in Bengal. When questioned as to whether Bengal gets the additional sugar thus produced. Mr. Rajan stated that "Government of India distribute the entire quantity produced in all provinces and the Bengal Government cannot take over such extra sugar produced by factories." This is, to say the least, highly unfair. The order not only reduces the production of *gur* but also hits an indigenous industry. But in spite of such sacrifice we are not entitled to get what is being produced as a result of this sacrifice.

Conclusion

It is, therefore, desirable that the gravity of the situation should be properly realised. The first step towards that realisation would be the complete abandonment of the present hush-hush official policy and the usual habit of issuing misleading, if not deliberately false, statements. We had enough of this dangerous habit in 1943, when such statements from responsible quarters ultimately undermined public morale more than anything else. People refused to believe them even when they were true. We are again moving on those dangerous lines. Secondly, no efforts should be spared to have outside supplies, and if the India Government fail to do their duty that is no reason why Bengal Government should sleep over the matter. But, then, the people of Bengal cannot be blamed if they do not feel very optimistic about the Ministry that has been installed in office. Another Muslim League Ministry was in office during those dark days and some of the old faces have reappeared in the present Ministry. But what was their record ? I quote a few lines from the Report of the Famine Commission :

> "Due weight has been given in our report to the great difficulties with which the Bengal Government were faced, but after considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place. While other Governments in India were admittedly faced with a much less serious situation than the Government of Bengal, their generally successful handling of the food problem, and the spirit in which those problems were approached, and the extent to which public co-operation was secured stand in contrast to the failure in Bengal."

Where is the guarantee that the tragedy will not be repeated on a much greater scale this time ? It is difficult to find any solace from the composition of the present Ministry or from the complacent attitude of the officials. It is for the people of Bengal to force this guarantee, if they want to save themselves from death and destruction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NABINCHANDRA'S RELIGION OF HUMANITY

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), F.R.A.S.B.,

Professor, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta

I

Nabin Chandra Sen, one of the greatest of Bengali poets whose Birthday Centenary was celebrated all over Bengal on 12th February last, was essentially a poet of Humanism. He was a prolific writer, but all his works reveal an essential unity of thought,—a fundamental spirit of love and service of Humanity, of universal brotherhood and equality, of unselfish action and ungrudging self-sacrifice. His ideal was the great utilitarian ideal of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." According to him, God is the sole cause of the Universe, its efficient as well as material cause. As such, He is actually present in every part of the world. So, the world, the image of God, cannot be really impure or unpleasant. As the product of the All-blissful, All-beautiful Being, it too is bliss and beauty in essence, but it is through our own fault that we fail to see this eternal bliss and beauty inherent in the world. All the mundane pains and sufferings are due to our own narrow, selfish outlook, to our misconceived attempt to break ourselves asunder from the rest of the world. We can never be happy in selfish isolation, but we must learn to be happy in the happiness of others—for what is good for all, is good for us also, and nothing else. Hence, the summum bonum of one's life is to dedicate oneself to the unselfish service of humanity. No doubt, our individual natures, capacities, learnings, and destined functions are different. Each has a special destiny to work out, for which alone he is specially fit. This is called his *Svadharma*. But, in spite of these different *Svadharmas*, the general goal, the highest ideal, the summum bonum is the same for all, *viz.*, the ideal of universal love and service. Hence, Nabinchandra conceived of a Kingdom of God on earth in which there will be no distinctions of caste and creed, no special prerogatives for a favoured few, no crushing down of the poor and the lowly. This ideal of equality and fraternity is the keynote of Nabinchandra's philosophy of life. But, alas ! our poet's great dream has not as yet come true, even after a century. The present world, torn between conflicts of nation and nation, community and community, white and black, rich and poor, has a special need for Nabinchandra's message of universal love and brotherhood.

For non-Bengali readers we give below English translations of a few extracts from Nabinchandra's famous epic poem "Kurukshetra." We, further, hope that the Birthday Centenary Committee will undertake a complete translation of his famous works, and thereby propagate his eternal message of patriotism and philanthrophy. This, we think, will be one of the best ways of perpetuating the hallowed memory of one of the greatest sons of Bengal.

II

Ideal of Womanhood

"O hapless one ! would you endanger your health through thus not sleeping and not eating ?"—said Sulochana sorrowfully, when having returned to the camp, tired Subhadra, mercy incarnate, placed her withered, exhausted body on the bed half lying down. The loosened braid came down and the dusky, dust-covered hair fell down in a heap on the bed. Sulochana sat beside her and began to part it gently by her lovely, soft fingers.

Sulochana : "O hapless one ! would you endanger your health through thus not sleeping and not eating ? Days and nights alike you are sticking to the bodies of the wounded like a healing balm. Because of thus roaming through camp after camp in tending the wounded, what a state you have been reduced to ! Your eyes have become sunken, your face filthy and pale, your hair dusky with dust.

"This is the eleventh day of this unfortunate war, and since then I have not seen a smile on your face. I do not know what pleasure you derive through thus dying for the dead day and night !"

Subhadra : "What greater happiness can women have ? Alleviation in disease, mercy in misery, a soothing shadow of consolation in sorrow—such, my sister ! is the heart of a woman in this world. What greater happiness can a woman have ?

"Just as God created both fire and water, so having created, my sister, diseases, sorrows and miseries, He created the feminine heart, filled with infinite love.

"What other happiness can there be, if, alas ! the holy river of a woman's life does not flow on by thus pouring nectar to the dead, alleviation in pain ? Behold ! many a gem of a man are daily sacrificing their lives by doing their respective duties. Are we similarly doing our own duties ?"

Sulochana : "I agree that nursing the sick and the wounded is the highest duty of a woman, but why should one nurse one's enemies ? Let them die for their own deed. Why should you bother yourself with them ?"

Subhadra : "Enemy ! Is the enemy not a human being like me ? Is he not made of flesh and blood ? Is not your and my life just the same as the enemy's life ? Water is the same, only receptacles of water are different. Even he is made of the same elements. He is wounded by weapons all over the body in exactly the same manner. He too suffers the very same pain,—friend and foe alike fall victim to the clutches of the same death.

"Enemy ! the same God lives in all, the One God, without a second, contains all. Who are you, who am I, who is a foe, who a friend ? Whom do you call friendly and unfriendly ?"

Sulochana : "But for that reason should we take even a foe as a friend ? Are Karna and Duryyodhana our friends ? Should we feel sorry in the sorrow of even the wicked ? Should we welcome poison and nectar alike ?"

Subhadra : "He who is virtuous, who does not love him ? What magnanimity is in that ? He who loves

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the sinner, him I love—he really is Love incarnate. Behold ! on the lap of Mother Earth, fragrant and odourless flowers exist alike in exactly the same manner. The endless heap of sand is flowing inside the sea together with the brightest gems. Such is the principle of equality of the world, such is the blissful song of love—what a great example is it to man ! Everywhere the same love, everywhere the same mercy, everywhere what a great unity ! No, my sister ! we women are the living images of the Mother of the World. To us there is no difference between a friend and a foe. Let us go on pouring everywhere this ceaseless mother-love like the rain. He who loves a friend—selfish is such a love, it is nothing but a narrow give and take. He whose heart cries out in the same manner for friend and foe alike—he alone is a god to me.

"The narrow world of a child consists only of the faces of its parents. The child does not know anything else. Gradually the range is widened—the boy and the girl see their families as consisting of brothers and sisters, too.

"During youth, the husband and the wife gush forth in amorous sports, embracing earth and heaven. Gradually, filial love gives them a vision of infinity, the holy place where the river merges into the sea.

"This, my sister, is the mission of love. Yesterday my vision of the world was like that of Krishna and Arjuna. Today, with my heart filled with mother-love, I am looking on every one as my own son and daughter.

"This love of mine does not find full satisfaction in father and mother, brother and sister, husband and son, in this wide wide world. Even beyond this infinite universe, there is something else infinite—my ocean of love flows towards that." (3rd Canto)

III

Ideal of Altruistic Happiness

Bhadra says : "O Sailaja ! the whole world is longing for happiness. Search for pleasure is the prop, the motive force of the world. But this world is full of happiness, eternally full of happiness like its own Creator. Bliss pours down in a ceaseless flow with moonlight, blows both with storms, thunders with the thundering clouds, rains down with rain, sings with the song of cuckoos, breathes forth with the cool southern breeze, fructifies in trees, blossoms borth in flowers, floats on the water, smiles in daylight. Bliss is in forest, bliss is in home, bliss is everywhere. Only man laments, failing to get this happiness. Man's happiness does not lie in home, not in forest ; alas ! he has failed to see that it does not consist in the world, in kingdom, in asceticism."

Sailaja : "Say then, O respected Madam ! in what does the happiness of man consist ?"

Subhadra : "The whole world is replying in one voice eternally. The happiness of the bird consists in being a bird, that of an animal in being an animal, that of a flower in being a flower. Hence, O sister ! the happiness of man consists in being a 'Man'."

Sailaja : "What is that you call 'Humanity'?"

Subhadra : "The summum bonum of a bird lies in the fulfilment of its destined functions as a bird. Say, O sister ! for what is a man a 'Man ?'—Because of his soul, mind and body. 'Humanity' is nothing but the fulfilment of the destined functions of these three. The maxims that promote the physical, mental and spiritual functions of man—of the Humanity of Man—constitute the highest ideal of mankind. The more a man performs his own duties, the more he works out his own destiny in an unselfish spirit, the more he advances step by step the more he attains 'Humanity,' pure happiness, perfect 'Humanity', salvation from sorrows, Heaven, absolute bliss, and God."

Sailaja : "Is it a Vedic Religion ?"

Subhadra : "Yes, Sailaja, it is a Vedic religion. That is the first step in the path to Heaven."

Sailaja : "Madam ! cannot this 'Humanity,' cannot this ideal be attained in the forest ?"

Subhadra : "Sister, home is a better field for this kind of religion. The foundation of this great religion is service of Humanity, its foundation is doing good to all." (13th Canto)

IV

Ideal of Equality and Fraternity

Jaratkaru says : "But I am a non-Aryan woman. An Aryan woman incurs a great sin if she touches even my shadow. We non-Aryans do not get a drop of even that mercy that birds and beasts get from the Aryans."

"No, my sister !" said Bhadra, "the Aryans and the non-Aryans are all sons and daughters of the same father. All have the same blood, the same flesh, the same life, the same soul—the water is just the same, only the receptacles of water are different. Due to differences of place, time and actions in different births this water become impure in some places, pure in others. Through the light of knowledge, remove this impurity by actions—water will become the same water. That attribute in virtue of which man is superior to others is man's attribute of humanity. This attribute of humanity, sister ! is the highest ideal of mankind. The infinite, unknown God pervades the entire universe as the highest culmination of this attribute of humanity. We, small human beings as we are, are rowing in a boat through the river of this attribute (of humanity), proceeding towards infinity. This journey is the eternal mission of man. The more a man, the more a nation advances in the path of this great ideal, the purer is his soul, the higher is his religion. Humanity ! Men differ from one another only in respect of this humanity. The Aryan race has become superior because of this ideal, because of humanity. The non-Aryans have lagged behind because of defect in this respect. Still the Aryan religion is imperfect. The clearest proof of that imperfection is this Kurukshetra. The undisciplined sense-organs are like double-edged swords—if you thrust them at others, you are sure to get a counter-thrust,—Oh ! what a terrible counter-thrust ! Behold ! the proof of that is this battle of Kurukshetra. Know in your mind that if two men hate each other, both have fallen off from humanity. You must have seen how if two stones strike against each other, both come to be powdered and destroyed. Do not grieve, my sister ! By hating the non-Aryans, see how the Aryans themselves are hating one another. See this mass suicide, this rise of sin and fall of virtue. But God is All-beneficent. Even in this great catastrophe, His beneficent ordinance prevails. After this storm is over, what a peace will reign, what a nectar will mankind drink ! God Himself has descended on earth. When after reducing all sins to ashes, this great funeral pyre will come to be extinguished, what a great kingdom of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nectarine bliss,—will come to be established on earth ! Do not grieve, my sister ! Then the Aryans and the non-Aryans, will proceed eternally, like brothers and sisters, through that path to eternal bliss, singing the hymn of Saviour Brahma and the name of Krishna. The Aryans will lead, the non-Aryans follow, the former extending their right hands in love and friendship to the latter, and taking the latter with them with pleasure, meditating on the foot-prints of Krishna. Then men will realise that God exists in all beings, that the greatest and purest religion is doing good to all. Through this new religion, sister, man will gradually become God and the world Heaven." (8th Canto)

V

Ideal of Unselfish Action

Subhadra instructs her son : "Just as the eternal universal ether, moving everywhere, pervades the sky, so all beings exist in Him alone, He alone is God. Just as the ether, being unattached and subtle, pervades all things and is present in them all, so the Supreme Soul, though present in all the bodies, is not subject to changes and is absolutely unattached. God is not responsible for man's agenthood, actions and fruits of actions—it is the individual soul itself that acts according to its own nature. An individual soul, a plant, an animate being or an inanimate being—all have separate natures of their own. God Himself engages Himself in actions according to His own Nature, without being attached to them, *viz.*, in the actions of creation, maintenance and destruction. Similarly, the performance of actions, in an absolutely unselfish manner, according to his own nature is the eternal summum bonum of man. He, who engages himself in actions in an unselfish spirit by dedicating them to Brahman, is not besmeared by sins, like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf. Brahman is present in all beings. Do good to all, and then your actions will be dedicated to Brahman. What is good for the ocean, is good for the drops of water. What is good for the world. my child, is surely good for you too. Having controlled the sense-organs by practice and knowledge, having identified your own good with that of the world, do your own duties according to your own nature, thus dedicating the fruits of actions to Brahman. The trees are fructifying, the clouds are pouring rain,—but what good are they doing to themselves ? The ideal of the world is unselfish action. The trees are producing fruits, the clouds are pouring down rain according to their own natures, and thus they are doing their supreme duties, they are working out their own salvation by doing good to the world. Bravery is your nature, fighting is your duty. To a Kshatriya, there is no higher duty than fighting a just war. So, my child, fight on, without thinking of pleasure or pain, benefit or loss, victory or defeat."

———:O:———

RELATIVE HEROISM OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS OF INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

Quid-e-Azam Jinnah is threatening civil war if his demand of Pakisthan is not conceded. The weak policy pursued by the *Indian* National Congress in this matter is well-known. One day Mahatma Gandhi calls vivisection of Mother India to be a sin ; the next day he dances attendance upon Mr. Jinnah to moderate—not to abandon, his demand of Pakisthan. The British Cabinet Mission, true to its *British* character, is most likely to concede Pakisthan in actuality, if not in reality. Ultimately "Hindusthan" and "Pakisthan" shall have to fight each other to make United India possible, and to make it great.

No amount of concessions by the freedom-loving Northern States of the United States of America could persuade the slave States of the South to remain in the Union. The Southerner President, James Buchanon, took advantage of his position, in stocking the southern forts with guns and ammunition too well and leaving the northern forts practically undefended. So when the southern States seceded and formed the confederation of the South, the Federal Government of the U.S.A. found itself weak and almost helpless in spite of its wealth and resources both in men and materials. It took four years of bloody Civil War, and much loss of life and property to weld the U.S.A. into the powerful and progressive State it was to be to-day. That is the lesson of history. If the Hindus concede the Pakisthan demand of Mr. Jinnah even partially Mr. Jinnah will lose no time in utilising his position in a Free India to establish a warring sovereign Muhammadan State. The Hindus will then have to choose between either to submit unconditionally or to fight. Pakisthan, the *Dar-ul-Islam*, will make the lot of the heathen Hindus that of mere helots.

If there is to be a Civil War, it is high time for the Hindus to think whether they will be able to fight the Muhammadans. We are all familiar with the "criminal war" the Muhammadans have been carrying on against the Hindus in Bengal during the last 25 years under the aegis of the British police from picking pocket during daylight, stray stabbing during dusk, to abducting and molesting women in dark. Without the British police, the Hindus are confident of accepting the Muhammadan challenge in "criminal" war. We are speaking of Civil War in the military sense. It is time to think of the relative heroism of the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India in actual warfare. In *The Modern Review* of February, 1938, we tried to find out the Relative Readiness of the Hindus and Muhammadans to defend India. We found that where there should have been 75 Muhammadans actually there are only 36, *i.e.*, a number *less than half* their proper quota, to defend India. For the 151 Hindus and Sikhs who presented themselves for admission to the Indian Military Academy, only 36 Muhammadans offered themselves. They were 19 per cent of those who were ready to shoulder the responsibility of defence.

The Victoria Cross is the highest award for valour in the British Empire. The simple bronze medal is worn before all other decorations. It was instituted in

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

January 1856 by the late Queen Victoria ; and until March, 1942, used to be struck from the metal of guns captured by the British at Sebastopol during the Crimean War. Formerly the right to receive Victoria Cross was confined to men of European blood only. In 1911 at the Delhi Durbar, His late Majesty King Emperor George V extended the right to receive it to the Indian soldiers also.

The proportion of the Muhammadans to the total population of India is 24 per cent. In the Army on account of the policy pursued by the British Government and the division of population into martial and non-martial races, the proportion of the Muhammadans was much higher. During the First Great War of 1914-1918 it was in the region of about 40 per cent. Yet out of the 11 V.C.'s won by Indians, 3 or 27 per cent were by Muhammadans. They were hardly able to keep up their communal quota. The first Indian to receive Victoria Cross was Risaldar Badlu Singh of 14th Murray's Jat Lancers.

In the last World War 31 V.C.'s have been won by the Indian Army. Of these 3 are by the British officers of the Indian Army, of the remaining 28, only 4 are by the Muhammadans. The recipients are :

HINDUS AND SIKHS

1. 2/Lt. (now Major) Premindra Singh Bhagat —July, 1941.
*2. Subedar Richpal Ram—Feb., 1941.
3. Hav. (now Subedar) Parkash Singh—Jany., 1943.
4. Subedar (now Sub-Major) Lalbahadur Thapa —April, 1943.
*5. Company Havildar-Major Chhelu Ram—April, 1943.
6. Habildar (now Jemadar) Gaje Ghale—May, 1943.
7. Naik (now Havildar) Nand Singh—March, 1944.
8. Sepoy (now Lance Naik) Kamal Ram—May, 1944.
9. Rifleman Ganju Lama—June, 1944.
10. Naik Agansing Rai—June, 1944.
*11. Subedar Netrabahadur Thapa—June, 1944.
*12. Naik Yeshwant Ghadge—July, 1944.
13. Rifleman (now Havildar) Tulbahadur Pun—June, 1944.
*14. Rifleman Sher Bahadur Thapa—September, 1944.
*15. Jemadar (Actg. Subedar) Ram Sarup Singh— —October, 1944.
16. Sepoy (now L/Nk.) Bhandari Ram—Nov., 1944.
*17. Rifleman Thaman Gurung—November, 1944.
*18. Jemadar Parkash Singh—February, 1945.
19. Naik Gian Singh—March, 1945.
20. Havildar Umrao Singh—December, 1944.
21. Rfn. (now L/Nk.) Bhanbhagta Gurung—March, 1945.
22. Sepoy Namdeo Jadhao—April, 1945.
*23. Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge—Mar., 1945.
24. Rfn. Lachhiman Gurung—May, 1945.

MUHAMMADANS

*1. Jemadar Abdul Hafiz—April, 1944.
*2. Lance Naik Sher Shah—January, 1945.
3. Naik Fazal Din—March, 1945.
4. Sepoy Ali Haidar—April, 1945.

* Those whose names are marked with an asterisk are posthumous awards.

The first man to receive a V.C. in this war is a Hindu ; another interesting thing is that while all Hindu recipients are of all ranks from the commissioned officer to the sepoy to the King's commissioned officer n Muhammadan officer has received the award. But these are minor points. The broad fact remains that the Muhammadans have secured only 14 per cent of the V.C. in the Second World War. This is very much less than their population quota. According to an answer given in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 1st of September, 1943, the strength of the respective classes in the different branches of the armed services is as follows :

	Combatant I.O.R. & V.C.O's	*R.I.N. officers*	*I.A.F., R.I.N., & I.A.F. officers*	*Other*
Hindu	47%	32·3%	47·6%	59·5
Sikhs	7%	3·5%	11·7%	2·0
Gurkhas	5%	..	..	..
	59%	35·8%	59·3%	61·5
Christians	5%	..	..	..
Muslims	32%	18·1%	16·6%	17·0
Others	2%	..	..	..

	Artillery	*Indian Infantry*	*R.I.A.S.C.*
	57%	41%	55%
	10%	7%	5%
	..	24%	..
	67%	72%	60%
	..	..	..
	28%	24%	36%
	5%	3%	4%

So we find the proportion of Muhammadan V.C.'s to be very much below their strength in the different categories of the armed forces. As the Indian V.C.'s are mostly drawn from the Indian infantry ; and as in absolute numbers the infantry is the largest category we shall assume that the all-round strength of the Muhammadans is not greater than 24 per cent—an assumption which is in favour of the Muhammadans. In this view, the relative heroism of the Hindus and the Muhammadans works out to be in the ratio of $\frac{86}{76} \cdot \frac{14}{24}$ or 1·94 : 1. In other words the Hindus are *twice* as much courageous and brave as the Muhammadans.

The Hindus are *twice* more ready to defend India ; they are *twice* more courageous and brave than the Muhammadans. This coincidence of the measure does not seem to be accidental but fundamental. The same factors and causes which make the Hindu more ready to defend India make him more courageous and brave and heroic to perform acts which merit the award of the Victoria Cross.

Thus the higher the level of heroism the less becomes the number of Muhammadans. Where deliberate and complete self-sacrifice is required—a very high stage of heroism, the number of Muhammadans is likely to be *nil*. Is it for this reason that the number of the Muhammadan "revolutionaries" is so as noticed by the Sedition Committee ?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN (An Essay on the Influence of Sea-Power on Indian History) : *By K. M. Panikkar. Pp. 109 and five plates. London. 1945.*

In this short but extremely well-written and timely monograph the author who has to his credit a number of important works on Indian politics and economics, has attempted "to trace the influence of the Indian Ocean on the shaping of Indian history and to discuss the vital importance of oceanic control to the future of India." How much need there was for the appearance of a work of this kind is proved by the author's complaint in his Introduction (p. 7) that till now the whole problem of Indian defence has centred on the question of securing the north-west frontier, whereas the verdict of history is that ever since the sixteenth century the future of India has been determined not on the land-frontiers, but on the Ocean encompassing her on three sides. "For 157 years from the departure of Suffren in 1784 to the fall of Singapore in 1941," the author continues (p. 9), "the question of sea-power did not arise as the Indian Ocean was a British lake,"—a fact which accounts for the one-sided outlook of British Indian frontier-policy just mentioned. Now that America is well established in the Pacific and other powerful nations are likely to make their appearance in the eastern waters, the question has to be faced, "Can the Indian Ocean become once again a protective area ?" (p. 15) The author answers this question in the following thoughtful words (p. 15) : "With the islands of the Bay of Bengal, with Singapore, Mauritius and Socotra, properly equipped and protected and with a navy based on Ceylon, security can return to that part of the Indian Ocean which is of supreme importance to India." For effecting this devout consummation, the author frankly looks to the joint co-operation of India and Britain. Addressing a note of warning to his countrymen in this connection, the author says (p. 16) : "The future of India will undoubtedly be decided on the sea . . . India cannot, therefore, afford to take the selfish view that the control of the sea is Britain's job." The author concludes his thoughtful Introduction with the hope that "the un-Indian wave of pacifism (*ahimsa*)" now sweeping over the country will pass away, so that it will be possible for us to realise that "Indian freedom can be achieved and upheld only by firmly deciding to shoulder our share at all costs in the active defence of the areas necessary for our security."

In the following chapters (Chs. 1-6) the author passes successively in review the centuries of Hindu control of the Indian Ocean ("the Hindu period in the Indian Ocean"), the period of Portuguese domination, the years of Anglo-French duel for the mastery of the Ocean and the period of complete British mastery during which the Indian Ocean became "a British lake." Referring to the maritime activities of the Indians and other peoples in pre-historic times, the author says (p. 22) : "The Indian Ocean was undoubtedly the first centre of oceanic activity." Though the early navigators of the coast of the Indian Ocean, the author continues (p. 24), were of all races, Phoenician, Chaldaean and Asiatic Greek, the Hindus had the preponderant share. "Neither the Egyptians nor the Greeks sailed the Arabian Sea as they did not know the routes till Hippalus made the epoch-making discovery of the monsoon winds in 45 A.D. But the Indian navigators sailed across and had discovered Socotra long before their time and navigated the Red Sea." "The Hindus had already in use a magnetic compass known as *matsya-yantra* for determining direction" (p. 26). It would be interesting to have full references to this highly interesting statement. The supremacy of the Hindus in the Bay of Bengal, specially, was naval as well as political, being based on an extensive colonisation of the islands and it ceased only with the breakdown of the Chola power in the 13th century (p. 28). The Portuguese voyages of maritime discovery were of the nature of an innovation, for "till the last decade of the 15th century none of the European nations, except perhaps the Vikings, had ventured into oceanic navigation" (p. 37). Even the voyage of Bartholomew Dias round the African coast to the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 was in no way remarkable in comparison with what the Indian and Arab navigators had achieved in sailing across uncharted seas, though it was an epoch-making event as paving the way for the direct voyage to India (p. 37-38). The Portuguese for the first time claimed a complete monopoly of the seas in peace-time —a claim which led to a prolonged and historic conflict with the Zamorins of Calicut (p. 40). After a short but bitter struggle the Portuguese established their supremacy in the Indian Ocean, but the Zamorin's fleet, thanks to the services of a remarkable family of naval commanders of Malabar Moslem stock, was able for more than ninety years to hold its own in the home waters of Calicut (p. 44). Meanwhile, the foundation of Europe's empire in Asia was laid by the genius and foresight of Albuquerque, the greatest of the Portuguese Viceroys of India (p. 49). In the interval between the breakdown of Portuguese authority and the establishment of British supremacy there was a remarkable revival of Indian naval power under the auspices of the Sidis of Janjira and the great Marhatta Admiral Kanhoji Angria (pp. 58-63). For a time, as an English historian says, Kanhoji, "victorious alike over the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese, sailed the Arabian Sea in triumph." "In the 19th century after the French fleet was annihilated at Trafalgar in 1805, Great Britain was the only naval power in the world . . . So far as the Indian Ocean was concerned it was, even more than all other oceanic areas, a British lake . . . The one development in the 19th century which affected the Indian Ocean, the construction of the Suez Canal, only strengthened British hold on the seas" (p. 72). In the period immediately preceding the Great War of 1914-1918, Great Britain sailed the seas of the Indian Ocean as an absolute mistress. But the major

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

European nations (French, Germany and Italy) had acquired interests in the Indian Ocean by virtue of their territorial gains on the East African coast (p. 76). The war of 1914-18 eliminated Germany from the Indian Ocean, but France built a powerful naval base in Madagascar, while Mussolini not only converted Massowa on the Red Sea coast into a mighty naval station, but planned to unite Abyssinia and Eritrea into a great land empire (pp. 76-77). The World War changed the entire situation in the Indian waters. "After the fall of France and the intervention of Italy in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, Great Britain was in no position to make her voice effective in the Far East. With the fall of Singapore in 1941, the safety and security of the Indian Ocean, for 150 years a British lake, vanished at one stroke . . . In the critical month of April 1942, the fate of Ceylon hung in the balance" (pp. 80-81).

In the concluding chapter (Ch. VII) the author points out that "the peninsular character of the country with its extensive and open coastline and with a littoral which is extremely fertile and rich in resources, makes Indians entirely dependent upon the Indian Ocean" (p. 82). Again, "the history of the last three centuries has shown that any power which has unquestioned mastery of the sea and strength to sustain a land campaign can hold the empire of India, monopolise her trade and exploit her unlimited resources" (p. 83). From this it follows that "India's lifelines are concentrated in the area [of the Indian Ocean] . . . No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless the Indian Ocean is free and her own shores fully protected. The Indian Ocean must, therefore, remain truly Indian" (p. 84). What then are the dangers ahead facing India? "The elimination of Japan from the ranks of naval powers," says the author, (pp 85-89), "will no way solve India's problem, for there is every reason to think that victorious China will embark on a naval career . . . America has developed considerable interests in the Middle East. The possibility, therefore, has to be visualised of America entering the Indian Ocean as a major naval power. . . . [Above all] "the political, industrial and military organisation of Central Asia under the Soviets will obviously demand an outlet into the sea. The lines of traffic developed for the purposes for Lend-Lease aid to Russia in the present war has demonstrated the vital importance of the Persian Gulf to the Soviets." The author concludes with the practical suggestion (p. 95) that "the control of the Indian Ocean must be a co-operative effort of India and Britain and other Commonwealth units having interests on the Ocean with the primary responsibility lying on the Indian Navy to guard the steel ring created by Singapore, Ceylon, Mauritius and Socotra."

The book is unfortunately disfigured by a number of misprints of which we give below a number of examples: Mahen-jo-Daro and Baberu (p. 23), Periplus Maris Erythraei (p. 25), Alexanda, Bir Kassim and eight century (p. 28), Marrvas (p. 32), Chu Fau Chi and Heith (p. 34 and n.), Barthelmy (p. 36), Garrnor (p. 66). Champa is twice (pp. 31, 32) wrongly identified with Siam. The account of Pulikesin (*sic*) II, the Chalukya king leading a naval expedition round Cape Comorin for the conquest of Puri, the capital of the Kalinga kings (p. 32), is a tissue of inaccuracies.

The book is enriched with three appendices and six plates reproduced from ancient historical drawings.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHI: WORLD CITIZEN: *By Muriel Lester. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1945. Eight illustrations. Pp. 201. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The author has not only had the advantage of knowing Mahatma Gandhi intimately for the last twenty years or so, but has also been an active

of the principle of non-violence in the West. This gives her a singularly advantageous position; and she has made ample use of it in her present book on Gandhi and his ideas.

The first part of the book consists of eleven chapters in which she describes Gandhiji's position with reference to questions like Truth or Non-violence, Prohibition or Education, Women and Machinery, and so on. Miss Lester makes frequent use of anecdotes in order to illustrate what she means; and this undoubtedly proves very helpful to the average reader when he has to understand Gandhiji's very original approach to numerous social questions. The second part of the book is a chronicle of Gandhiji's life, which differs from similar chronicles published by others in more ways than one. The author not only gives us her analysis of the chief events which have gone to shape Gandhiji's life; but she also shows very successfully how Gandhiji's non-violence has gradually developed from a technique initially employed to right wrongs in the private sphere, or the narrow sphere of family or social life, to one which may well claim today to take the place of war in the settlement of international disputes.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE LAST PESHWA AND THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS (1818-51): *By Pratul C. Gupta. Published by S. C. Sarkar & Sons, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. i-v + 117. Price Rs. 6.*

The downfall of the independence and political power of the Marathas is admitted on all hands to be due to the character and doings of the Peshwa Baji Rao II and his regime 1800-1818, forming a sorry episode, is naturally viewed with dislike and disfavour. But we cannot forget that it was his dream and ambition to revive the decaying Maratha Power. True, he lacked many qualities and gifts of a ruler, *e.g.*, far-sighted vision, organising skill, reforming spirit, was nurtured in vices from early boyhood and was even deficient in personal courage but there was one quality in which he excelled—an extraordinary capacity for subtle diplomatic moves and intrigues, "a ceaseless spinning," to use the more appropriate words of Sir Jadunath, "of diplomatic cobwebs" that occasionally peep not merely in the minutes of the G.G.'s but are amply revealed in the volumes of the Poona affairs edited by R. B. G. S. Sardesai as also in the pages of Dr. P. C. Gupta's volumes "Baji Rao and the East India Company" and its successor, the one under review.

The last of the Peshwas showed himself at his best in wiles and subterfuges, dissimulation and the lengthening out of negotiations by endless tricks and stratagems. Concealing the dagger within his velvet glove he frisked and flirted with the British Residents almost with a feline delight but mere feline cunning without the tiger's (paw) always ends in futility, particularly when pitted against the British, superior not only in technical skill but also in public virtues. Yet the interest in him does not diminish altogether, for Sir John makes such a statesman-administrator as Sir John Malcom a victim of his blandishments and coaxes him to hold a brief for him with the G.G. even after all his doings during 1817-18.

Dr. Gupta in the present monography shows us this quality of the Peshwa did not forsake him even in his exile at Bithur; many of the British Commissioners, *e.g.*, Messrs. Low, Cooke and Manson supported the Peshwa's point of view and sometimes pleaded his case before the G.G.; secondly, that Baji Rao led the same life in Bithur as he did in Poona by dabbling in futile intrigues. Naro Pant Aptes' visit to Bithur and then retirement to Gwalior to take up permanent residence, the errands to Aurangabad and Poona for obtaining fruits and flowers, and oil for the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cure of rheumatism, apart from his seditious intercourse with Pratap Singh of Satara were highly suspicious; nor possibly did his desire for annual pilgrimages to Mathura, (why not to Benares?) arise from his religious fervour, particularly when we bear in mind his doings at Pandarpur, Mahad and Nasik during the days of his Peshwaship now revealed in the Poona Residency records. And it is not strange that this annual pilgrimage was suspended in 1825 by order of the Government. We applaud Dr. Gupta's restraint and dispassionate judgment on this matter, p. 103, but beg to differ from him in the view that the ex-Peshwa had really no hand in the many intrigues, but was merely influenced by his designing councillors. He was not, after all, an invertebrate.

The book is the result of much industry and we have no doubt that it will interest not only those who would like to obtain a glimpse into the Peshwa's life, but also others who want to acquaint themselves with the careers of the British officials associated with him during 1818-1851.

N. B. Roy

VERDICT ON SOUTH AFRICA (The Tyranny of Colour): *By P. S. Joshi. Published by Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pages 365. Price Rs. 9-12.*

I must congratulate my learned friend Shri Pranshanker Someshwar Joshi on this fine piece of work which will be valued by all interested in the problems of our people domiciled in the Union of South Africa. No better person could be found to undertake the laborious task, and without labour this great record of Whitemen's tyranny could not have been prepared. Joshiji has spent the best part of his life in the Transvaal as a teacher as well as a leader, and has intimate knowledge of the Indian problems. The book is a clear indictment of the policy based on racial discrimination hitherto pursued by the Union Government masquerading under the plea of self-preservation. In this brief review I can give only a general impression; it is essentially a book which every one must study for himself. The general conclusion which its history conveys is that no Empire, the greatness of which is the boast of its island people, can maintain that boast in the world of today, if overwhelming millions of its subjects are estranged by real enemies of the Empire under the eyes of the nation which is expected to hold it together. Those foes, secret and open, are in South Africa dancing to the tune of a new Messiah of the White Race Supremacy Religion, Jan Christian Smuts. He is a foremost exponent of racial discrimination, and his latest legislation now before the Union Parliament, if carried out, will degrade our people to a status of helotry against which we put up a fight vigorously since 1893 when Natal was a crown colony. This drastic measure so alarmed our countrymen that the South African Indian Congress has sent a Delegation to India in order to apprise the people and the Government of India of its implications and ultimate consequences. In reality this legislation is an open insult to Inlia and a challenge to the whole of Asia. Hence the book dealing with the Indian problems of South Africa is undoubtedly a timely and illuminating publication. The book makes a most painful reading and reveals the wholly irresponsible character of the alien Government of India. It throws a lurid light on the incalculable mischief and misery that the tyranny of colour inevitably entails. It also reveals, in brutal nakedness, how hopeless and miserable the Indian's lot is in British Colonies and Dominions, but worst of all, in his own Motherland owing to foreign domination. The Indian labourer or soldier is in requisition everywhere to solve the Whitemen's economic and military problem and facilitate their struggle for wealth and expansion, but there is none to save him from tyranny abroad and starvation at home. The book will serve as an eye-opener to those who want India to remain under the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations.

Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi

SIMONE: *A novel by Lion Feuchtwanger. Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., London. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Price Rs. 6-14.*

A story of the fall of France in 1940. The heroine, a 16-year old Burgundian girl named Simone, a St. Joan born long after her time, is impelled to resist the Germans in her own way, by setting fire to the patrol and the lorries, the property of her uncle, lest they should fall into the hands of the Germans. The tense moments of her psychological thought and action have been vividly described. The treatment has been psychological.

The remarkable feature of the novel is the way in which the author has woven the dreams which a young girl can have of her heroine and her attempts at realizing them in practical life—the idealism of the past, never dead, thus springing into life and inspiring the young.

Simone's is the only character which has been drawn, the others forming into the background, and her portrait gains all the more charm and dignity for that.

P. R. Sen

CAPTIVE SOIL: *By Mrinalini Sarabhai. International Book House, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In technique and in theme, this little play in two acts offers certain arresting and original features. It is a poetic drama with a chorus, a prologue and an epilogue, and if it does not present a moving action which is said to be the life of a drama, it is deeply charged with a passionate idealism, which at times gives out an incandescence of beautiful poetry.

It is an incomplete saga of an enslaved soil, or for that matter, any enslaved soil, which, unarmed and unaided, has to wage a war of soul against the overwhelming antagonism of brute force and tyranny, with the only weapon of self-sacrifice. "No, our weapons differ," says the patriot in the play. "We shall overwhelm them in our death." The story element is meagre. It is rather the typical picture of an enslaved country with typical characters, which make the impression, that of an oppressive, alien rule, with all its hollow paraphernalia of justice and legislation, trembling at the mighty impact of a passive resisting nation grappling for its inalienable birthright, freedom. Neither the rosy dream of love, nor the siren-songs of beauty and art, can lure away the patriot from his country's struggle for freedom. A new love has crept into his heart, "a love, but not a woman: A love born of the soil."

Gandhian technique of non-violent passive resistance forms the background of the play. It ends with a solemn epilogue which voices the rebirth of the one and indivisible freedom in the society of man. The play presents the most vital problem of all times, namely, the problem of peace, and the most unhappy soil of today, namely, the captive soil of India, stands behind the veil of a thin allegory.

Sunil Kumar Basu

BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: *By Chaman Lal. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 125. Price Rs. 3-12.*

Mr. Chaman Lal has done a service to his country and for the cause of truth by exposing in this small volume, the vile British propaganda against India carried on in America by hired men both Indian and European. That a large amount of Indian tax payers' money is spent in this nefarious business, is no longer

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a secret and was indirectly admitted by the Government when figures for such expenditure were given to the members of the Central Legislative Assembly in reply to a question. To keep her Imperial grip over India, England wants the moral support of the civilized world and in her shameless efforts Indian men and money are utilized for the purpose. Mr. Chaman Lal put in some straight questions to Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, Agent-General of the Government of India in U.S.A., but this ex-member of the Viceroy's Executive Council could not give any satisfactory reply. Mr. Chaman Lal in his own way contradicted all these mischievious publications during his tour in U.S.A. and other Indians in America and their American friends are doing the same, but so long the Government of India is in the hands of an alien bureaucracy, the source of mischief cannot be stopped.

A book of this nature should have widest publicity in the country, so that Indians may know that insult is being added to the injury to India's cause by a Government which pretends to be one of the most advanced and civilized in modern times.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

BRIHASPATI-SMRITI (Reconstructed) : *By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Honorary Professor of Economics, Benares Hindu University. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXV. Oriental Institute Baroda. Royal 8vo. Pp. 186 + 546. Price Rs. 15.*

The present work puts together about 2,400 *slokas* found attributed to Brihaspati in about 200 later works a number of which still remain unpublished. These are arranged in seven sections, *e.g., Vyavahara, Samskara, Acara, Sraddha, Asanca, Apaddharma* and *Prayascitta*. So this represents a fuller reconstruction than the one made by Dr. Jolly more than half a century back and highly acclaimed by scholars as well as jurists. A long introduction covering more than 100 closely printed pages deals with topics like the relationship of Brihaspati with older authors ; his peculiarities and special features ; the authenticity of portions cited only in later works and the genuineness of verses ascribed to different authors in different works. Some of these involve controversial issues, the satisfactory solution of which must await the discovery of more definite evidence. The labours of the learned editor are highly commendable. No pains have been spared to make the work useful in every respect by the addition of a number of indexes and appendices. The method followed in the foot-notes in referring to sources is, however, not very clear especially in connection with variants the sources of which have not been indicated.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PATABHUMIKA : *By Ramapada Mukherjee. To be had of Ramesh Ghosal, 35, Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Sj. Rampada Mukherjee has made his mark in Bengali literature as a novelist and short-story writer. The theme and characters of his fictions and stories are mostly selected from our everyday life. He sees something uncommon in the most ordinary and commonplace things and gives a tinted description of what he sees. He possesses the power of picturesque embellishment and his lucid and graceful style is enlivened by sweet humour. The manner in which he narrates his stories is fascinating. *Patabhumika, (i.e.,* the background) a collection of ten short stories from the pen of this distinguished writer has, undoubtedly, enriched our literature. The best story in this book is 'Patabhumika' wherein the talents of the author are fully displayed. From the very beginning he describes the story in a highly enjoyable humorous way but in the main [illegible] gives such a twist that the reader is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sight of the sorry plight of the poor rickshaw driver sitting beside his broken rickshaw. In the background of this as well as some other humorous stories the writer deftly depicts such pathetic scenes which not only touch the reader deeply but also stir the innermost in human consciousness profoundly. With the exception of one or two all the stories contained in the book will be highly appreciated by all lovers of literature.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

ANTARAL (Behind the Screen) : *Sri Digindra Chandra Bandyopadhyay. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

A problem-drama dealing with the issue of illegitimate children in society. It is difficult to weave in the fine texture of art one's social views, but the writer has partially succeeded in the task.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

PHALAHAR CHIKITSA : *By Kaviraj Mahendranath Pandeya, Ayurved-Sastri. Mahendra Rasayanalaya, Katra, Prayag. 1943. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author, who is a progressively minded Ayurvedic practitioner, describes in this book the properties of various fruits commonly available in India. He is of opinion that a judicious use of fruit-diet, coupled with hygienic methods of treatment, is sufficient to rid the human system of most forms of diseases without the intervention of drugs. The author has made use of modern researches in dietetics ; and his book also contains practical instructions with the help of which the common man will be able to maintain a high standard of natural health. We recommend this book to all those who are interested in the drugless way of treatment.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MARATHI

MANGALADHAMA : *By Gopinath Talvalkar. Published by R. J. Deshmukh, 191, Shaniwar Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 3-8.*

An excellent treatise on Gandhism as a code of conduct and philosophy of life is this book by Mr. Talvalkar, done in absolutely chaste and simple Marathi. Based faithfully on Gandhiji's own writings, it can become a correct reflection of the great teacher's ideas and thoughts as regards human behaviour, how it is and how it should be, if the human race is to be saved from self-destruction. For summer and winter classes of Seva Dals, it is an ideal text-book for the exposition of Gandhism as a social, economic, industrial, educational and political cult.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

MENDINO RANG (Henna Dye) : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 175 + 5. Price Rs. 3.*

The cruelty of this capitalist world, as it affects poor men and women particularly the latter, if they happen to possess good looks and beauty, is handled here, with first-hand knowledge although the author happens to belong to the Princely class. Mendi (Henna) is the name of the heroine of the story, who with [illegible] husband undergoes various vicissitudes in life, till she comes back to her village home. It is a picture which grapples one's attention and if only the lesson it teaches is taken to heart, society will greatly benefit.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America :**—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). In case of failure, Money refunded.

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	As.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, 4, 5, 8 & 9 out of Stock*) each No. at	4	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji each Vol.	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Eminent Americans: Whom Indians Should Know— Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland	4	8
Emerson & His Friends— ditto	4	0
Evolution & Religion— ditto	3	0
Origin and Character of the Bible ditto	3	0
Rajmohan's Wife—Bankim Ch. Chatterjee	2	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	3	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust.*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
History of the Reign of Shah Alum— W. Franklin	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	0	8
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4
Indian Medicinal Plants—Major B. D. Basu & Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar—Complete in 8 Vols. [Authoritative Work with numerous Superb Plates]	320	0

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ— রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	
চাটার্জির পিক্‌চার এল্‌বাম (১, ৪, ৫, ৮ ও ৯ বাদে)	প্রত্যেক ২৲
চিরন্তনী (শ্রেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা দেবী	
উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ	
সোনার খাঁচা— শ্রীসীতা দেবী	
আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ	
বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ	
উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী	
কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক	
গীত উপক্রমণিকা—(১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) প্রত্যেক	
জাতিগঠনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ—ভারতচন্দ্র মজুমদার	
কিশোরদের মন—শ্রীদক্ষিণারঞ্জন মিত্র মজুমদার	
চণ্ডীদাস চরিত—(৺কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সেন) শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র রায় বিদ্যানিধি সংস্কৃত	
মেঘদূত (সচিত্র)—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	
হিমালয় পারে কৈলাস ও মানস সরোবর (সচিত্র)— শ্রীপ্রমোদকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
পাথুরে বাঁদর রামদাস (সচিত্র)— শ্রীঅসিতকুমার হালদার	
জল্পনা—শ্রীহেমলতা দেবী	
খেলাধূলা (সচিত্র)—শ্রীবিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার	
বিলাপিকা—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	
ল্যাপল্যাণ্ড (সচিত্র)—শ্রীলক্ষ্মীশ্বর সিংহ	

ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়
১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Basis for a World Religion

Hamilton Fyfe suggests "Love is God" as the foundation of a world religion. Gandhiji's formula is also correct: "Truth is God." There is no religion higher than Truth. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Hamilton Fyfe observes:

Bagehot, as bold a thinker as he was cautious in his banking business, suggested in the middle of the nineteenth century, when philanthropy flourished as never before, that on the whole benevolence perhaps did more harm than good. He might have hinted also that religion lay open to the same criticism, because of the conflicting, dogmatic and mutually destructive views of its professional advocates.

Mankind has suffered, ever since history gives us any glimpse of its activities, from the absence of a faith that could appeal to all with the same force and the same beauty. Those of us who recognise this must be always on the lookout for a religion—that is, a bond, a tie, a fellowship—which might unify the whole human race, piercing beneath mere surface differences as Tagore put it, "down below race, rank, religion, to the fundamental humanity, man as man." We cannot be content to hope patiently for William Penn's millennium when "all Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious and Devout Souls shall know one another, though here the divers liveries they wear make them strangers." We want, we need, a world religion now.

I read, therefore, with eager interest a sermon kindly sent to me by the head of the Terapanthi Sect of Swetamber Jains, together with a Short History of the Sect. I found in these publications much that seemed excellent to me, but I was disappointed not to find anything that pointed to Jainism (about which before I had known nothing) as a possible world faith. This disappointment I should have kept to myself but for the invitation given me to express a "considered opinion" on the matter. I shall be grateful to *The Aryan Path* if I may do so in its widely-read pages.

The Jain system, as explained in the history, consists almost entirely of rules for the priesthood, or rather the preaching friars who travel about giving instruction, but not taking part in "any social, political or legal affairs" and paying "unstinted homage to their Head" who is described as "the highest living deity" and referred to as "Him" with capital H.

In some ways the rules laid down are more severe than those under which Christian monks and friars were supposed to live. The Jains are not allowed, for example, to warm themselves at a fire in cold weather or to cool themselves with a fan when it is extremely hot. The reason for this is that "fire lives" and "air lives" might be injured. They are not to eat meat or vegetables: what they do eat is not stated. They must not drink unboiled water because there may be "water lives" in it; but why it should be more humane to boil these to death instead of swallowing them is not explained. It looks as if the idea was to safeguard the consumer's interior from the entrance of animalculae rather than to show kindness to the animalculae themselves.

Now it seems to me that any faith which can be offered with hope of acceptance to the mass of humanity in all lands must be of a social character and must, if conduct is shaped by it, lead to political action, using "political" in its proper original sense—"related to the well-being of the community." I feel also that to follow blindly, without reserve, the orders of any fellow-man as to what we shall think and believe is unworthy of intelligent men and women. To deify their chief, as Jains do, can be described only as relinquishing intelligence altogether.

In the sermon on World Peace delivered by this God-man I have looked vainly for any wisdom that is not contained in similar discourses by other religious leaders. Indeed, I find rather less, for the sermon asks us to credit the possession by certain people of "a Soul Force which can reduce to ashes sixteen provinces" and denounces the teaching of Evolution, calling for education concentrated on the Soul and the Afterlife, subjects about which we know nothing and which are seldom referred to nowadays in pulpit utterances elsewhere. This, by itself, makes it impossible that Jainism should exert any wide or deep influence over the peoples of the world today.

For education must deal, if it is to have any lasting and strengthening effect on character, with what we know, not with what we imagine or fancy. Children should be told what theories have been put forward as to the nature of the universe and Man's place in it; but no theory should be represented to them as fact. To do that would be not merely immoral but futile.

Most of us heard a good deal aout the soul and the after-life when we were young, but very few indeed could now explain what are their convictions on these matters.

The terms are but cloudy symbols of something they never really believed in—any more than their teachers did.

What we know about the world we live in is that it certainly was not planned as a habitation for Man. That is proved by Man's unceasing efforts to alter it, to make it suitable for him to live in. Man departs as far as possible from the natural order, in which all other living creatures live and move and have their being without any attempt to escape from it.

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The force we call Nature must therefore be distinguished from the idea of God—unless we conceive of God as heedless of us and all other species ; as coldly just in certain aspects and callously unjust in others ; as almighty, but neither loving nor merciful. For that is how we are forced to conceive of Nature and, although they have never resolutely faced up to the problem of God and Nature, all religions that have spread widely assume that God is our Father, kindly, affectionate, tending us as a shepherd tends his sheep.

To pretend in schools and colleges, in temples, churches and mosques, that the world was designed for Man by a benevolent Creator is, I repeat, futile. Even while they are young, many boys and girls detect the falsity of it. If they think at all when they grow up, they turn resentfully against the religion that has atempted to deceive them. They find, if their reading is of any value to them, that the whole of the world's literature negatives the assumption that Man is a superior creature because he is gifted (or cursed) with self-consciousness.

This, the one attribute which sets him apart from other animals, is supposed to have been conferred on him as a special favour by a divine ruler. Yet throughout the ages Man has been depicted in literature as weak if not wicked ; as greedy of power and wealth ; as a victim to his own passions or to the cruelty of his kind. From the earliest recorded times Man's "crimes, follies and misfortunes" have been the theme of fiction, as Gibbon declared them to be the stuff of history.

From the author of the Book of Genesis describing how the human race was cursed by Jehovah ; Homer perceiving "no more piteous breed that creeps on earth's crust"; Burton declaring in his *Anatomy* that Man had many enemies such as lions, wolves and serpents, but that the worst enemy was himself, "since no fiend could torment, tyrannize and vex as one man doth another"; to William James pronouncing Man "the most formidable of all the beasts of prey and the only one to prey systematically on its own species," almost all writers of note throughout the ages have been in agreement as to Man—at any rate, civilised Man—being a misfit.

Yet, while we are compelled to admit that it is largely true, if not the whole truth, our observation notices a quality in Man which struggles towards a life at once more natural and more rational, to use Matthew Arnold's words. We can benefit ourselves by studying Nature closely and obeying its rules, reducing the artificial elements in our lives by reverting to natural conditions as far as we can. But in another direction this quality sets us against Nature.

Nature has no pity, shows no mercy, creates and destroys with the same disregard for suffering, seems at one moment to be a kindly parent and the next annihilates its offspring with unaccountable violence. In humanity there are chords of sympathy, of fellowship.

Many animals, possibly all, have these in rudimentary, unconscious forms, such as mother love, such as the protection by males of their mates. These are instinctive. We are aware of our feelings ; we can strengthen or weaken them at will—or by atrophy of will. If they were strengthened to the utmost, we should behave to all our fellow-creatures, non-human as well as human, "as we would have them behave to us," according to the rule Confucius formulated 500 years before Christ. That would be rational behaviour, the only firm basis for a society that could hold out hope of happiness, stability or long duration.

Here then is the divine element in Man ; here the one result of intellect (sprung [illegible] self-awareness) which gives it value as an aid to living. This element which we alone can cultivate and develop, contains that was implied in the phrase "God is Love," which by experience we know to be untrue if God and Nature are one. Turn the phrase round ; make it run "Love is God" and it seems to me we have hit on the true formula, the only possible formula, for a religious bond or tie which can unite all mankind.

I prefer the term "comradeship" to "love," which has been soiled and for many spoiled by being applied almost exclusively to one kind of love and disgustingly exploited by film producers and composers of songs for crooners. "Comradeship" strikes a healthier, sounder note. It gets rid of much smug pretence. We cannot say honestly that we love a thief or a murderer, but it is quite possible to feel towards them as comrades who have been unfortunate ("There but for the grace of God . . .") and, while we take away their liberty or their lives, to treat them as we should wish to be treated if we had sinned against comradeship.

This acceptance of equality and brotherhood was at the root of all great religions when they were founded.

It was soon overlaid by forms and ceremonies, regulations and glosses ; it was hidden away by hierarchies, made of small account by priests and presbyters. They spoke of "all men equal in the sight of God," though they professed belief in a God who had made them anything but equal. They meant that the society of comrades was to be looked for only in a world to come.

That form of religion, like all forms which depend on belief in heaven and hell, is dying. The world cries out for a faith, a rule of life, more substantial, more effective, more in harmony with its knowledge of itself. Offer "Love is God" to children for a generation and it would be well on the way to acceptance as a working religion. Children would go more than half-way to meet it. They are ready for comradeship, quick to make friends, to trust, to show sympathy. Sadly we watch the spirit of comradeship being crushed in them as they become adolescent and usually disappears when they have grown up.

It would be easier to keep it alive than to kill it, it dies hard. "Race, rank and religion," Tagore's three obstacles, have to be forced on young minds which instinctively repel them. What Jesus meant when he said we should all be like little children is clear to everyone who understands the child character. It is his child-like readiness to treat all alike, to be friendly and helpful, to be always the good comrade, that has kept his personality vivid and given his savings power. The legends encrusted on him have hindered rather than helped.

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1-8

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Get rid of your miracles and the whole world will fall at Christ's feet," Rousseau cried; there was truth in that. Nowhere can we build religion any longer on the miraculous, the supernatural. Nor is this to be regretted, for never have religions so based been efficacious. We can do better; we can use a foundation vastly more secure, base a rule of life, not on faith, but on certainty—the certainty that only through comradeship with all living creatures can happiness come to man, woman or child.

C. F. Andrews

G. A. Natesan writes in *The Indian Review*:

C. F. Andrews is one of the few Englishmen whose friendship I have been really proud of. When he was with you, you felt you were in the presence of a really superior being. A devout Christian, he was a true servant of God and he ever sought to serve suffering humanity not only in India but in several other parts of the globe. He was really a Deenabandhu, champion of the oppressed and the lowly. Suffering and distress in any form affected him deeply. He would not hesitate to rush immediately to places infected by plague, cholera and the like if he could be of any service to those in that area. In him you really found "the cry of duty springing at once from a great soul." The enslavement of one individual by another was to him a moral abomination. Hence his strong condemnation of indentured labour and his successful and indefatigable efforts for the stoppage of the same. The domination of one race over another was a greater abhorrence to him. The granting of independence to India was with him a moral question and many may not be aware that long before Nehru, Gandhi and even the Congress thought of it, he advocated independence for India. A genuine soul and a true Christian, he felt deeply the wrongs inflicted by Englishmen on India. His life was truly a dedicated one. In him you saw the true triumph of Christianity and humanity reaching its high water-mark.

As I think of dear Charlie, many things come to my recollection. His benignity found expression in his affectionate smile, his flowing beard and his hearty embracing of his dear friends, of whom I could certainly count myself as one. It was my good fortune to be closely acquainted with him during my stay in London in 1928 for over three weeks. And in later years, I had the honour more than once of having him as my guest in my residence at Madras. When he was staying with me, I never felt I had an English guest. He was really an Indian among Indians. I had many opportunities to know the innate greatness of this man. You found no trace of racialism in him, nothing of the pride and arrogance which you notice unfortunately in some of the members of the ruling race in India. In his case it was all gentleness, love, affection and tenderness to an extraordinary degree.

In 1938, Mr. Andrews was staying with me for a few days. It was then that I was laid up with a serious heart attack and my life was despaired of. I well remember his entering my room one morning, sitting by my bedside and telling me: "This morning I thought of you in my prayers." In the days of my illness, several pujas and offerings were held, but I confess I felt at that time, and the thought is still present in me, that the prayer offered by Andrews was one of great comfort to me. The fact that he was a Christian never occurred to me. It was a great and kindly soul that prayed. Hence it was that a few years later when Andrews suggested that I should be the publisher for his "Sandhya Meditations" a series of discourses delivered in the Christkula Ashrama at Tiruppattur—I readily responded to his suggestion, and Andrews was greatly pleased with me, his Hindu friend, for undertaking the publication.

Here are two incidents which I heard in London in 1928. A good friend of mine had purchased for Andrews a fairly costly overcoat. A few weeks afterwards, Andrews turned up at that friend's house on a cold evening without the overcoat. "What is the matter? Have you lost the overcoat?" exclaimed the friend. "No," replied Charlie, "I gave it to a poor fellow last week who was shivering."

One day, an Indian student in London turned up at Andrews's place, and wailing over his lot, desired some pecuniary assistance from him. Andrews's noble soul was deeply touched and without hesitating to enquire about the antecedents of the visitor, but deeply anxious to help him in some form or other, explained to the young man that at that moment he could not afford to spare him any money, but that he had the manuscript of a book which he wanted to have typewritten, for the cost of which he had some little amount left. The fellow clutched at the opportunity, asserted he knew typewriting, took the manuscript and some money for typing. Poor Andrews! He never saw the man nor the manuscript afterwards. Andrews would not say any harsh word of him; he forgave him altogether.

The End of a Chapter

The New Review observes:

The twenty-first session of the League of Nations was its last. From the first it was clear that the League was not viable. It was a league of some nations and not an international association; it was based on power and not on law; though worked on a power basis, it never exerted power and was satisfied with vocal performances. The U.S.A. whose President had fostered it abandoned it from the start. Britain and France which dominated its policy never came to any agreement about the international police force that would have enforced its mildest sanctions.

When the World War came on, the League was moribund and left to die in its Geneva isolation. At the official obsequies this month, there was no mourner. Yet the League had a department which did most useful work, the International Labour Office which fostered timely social legislation in many countries, not through dictates but by dint of discussion and publicity.

The United Nations Organisation which replaced the League has not yet officially taken up the I.L.O. owing to Soviet prejudice, and it has all the radical deficiencies which crippled the League. The U.N.O. also is worked on a power basis and is dominated by Britain, Russia, and U.S.A. Will it ever evolve into an international society based on law, open to all countries on equal terms, and armed with a suitable force?

Its latest proceedings are not reassuring.

MANGO AND LICHI FRUITS AND GRAFTS.
(And other Fruit Plants)

FRUITS.

Selected Bombay, Langra Mango Fruits per 100.
Rose Scented Lichi per 1000, Rs. 20 respectively.

GRAFTS AND PLANTS.

Langra (Darbhanga, Benares, Patna) Alfanso (Bombay), Ktishanbhog Mango. Seedless Rose scented Lichi Grafts Rs. 24 per dozen. Guava, Wood-Apple ever-bearing. Kaghzi Lime, (all seedless) Rs. 2 each. Pomegranate Bedana (Kabul) Apple, Peach, Pear (Kashmir), Sapota or Chickoo (ever-bearing) Rs. 2 each. Orange Nagpur, Twice bearing Rs. 2 per plant. Plantain green, red Rs. 2 per plant. Advance essential. Cost extra.

SIRKARI GARDEN, Darbhanga No. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Second Para of the Second Chapter

The same *Review* observes :

The second session of the Security Council which is the executive of the U.N.O. was convened at the end of April at Hunter College in the Bronx. The basket-ball court had been turned into a light-panelled meeting-room and the smell of fresh hangings and fresh varnish told of America's sanguine welcome. The representatives of the Big Eleven were there : Quo Tai-chi the soft-spoken president ; James F. Byrnes clear, sharp and gathering laughter from the gallery; Andrei A. Gromyko the stern, stubborn and suspicious bureaucrat ; Sir A. Cadogan cool, clipped and careful, representing Eton, Oxford and the Empire ; Pedro L. Velloso the bald bespectacled lawyer of Brazil ; Mahmoud H. Pasha the plain-speaking, table-thumping magistrate who often reminds people of his work in the Egyptian High Court ; Francisco C. Nejera surgeon, poet, guitar-player and gesticulating diplomat who speaks French with a Mexican accent ; Henri Bonnet the long-nosed wary worried searcher after *le mot juste* ; Lt.-Col. W. R. Hodgson striking his reddish mustache and betraying cockney affinities in his Australian dialect ; Dr. Eelco van Kleffens the neat, thin and brisk Hollander who speaks logic in an illogical world ; finally Oskar Lange the rotund, high-pitched, pedantic champion hair splitter of Poland and lackey of Soviet Russia.

It was good to see Comrade Gromyko at the table, for the Soviet has acquired the reputation of a bad mixer among nations. At the first sessions of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission in Washington last year, Russia was absent as she had been absent, months before, at the international meetings on civil aeronautics and as she was to be absent at the London International Education Conference. At the Quebec world-conference on food she was present, but remained sullen and she withdrew before the end.

ONWARD MARCH
ONE STEP FORWARD
NEW BUSINESS COMPLETED
IN 1944 over Rs. 1,67,00,000
IN 1945 over Rs. 1,86,00,000
INCREASE OF OVER 19 LAKHS
This is clear proof of the growing faith of the public
IN COY'S INTEGRITY.
BEST COMPANY
TO INSURE WITH OR TO REPRESENT
Western India Life
Insurance Company Limited,
Satara.

The Calcutta University and Its Critics

In the concluding portion of his article in *The Calcutta Review* Prof. Dharam Pal observes :

The Government of India approved the general principles of the Punjab Government's proposals (1865) for the establishment of a new University in the Punjab in the following words : "The Government ought to aim at giving to the people of India education in science and in all branches of true knowledge through the medium of their own vernacular languages ; and as the best means of improving those languages, and for other weighty reasons, the Government ought to afford every practicable encouragement to the study of the classical languages of the east. Indeed, it seems to His Excellency in Council impossible to suppose that the people of this country can ever be educated except through the medium of their own languages. The system of the Calcutta University is in some degree founded on the assumption that true knowlege, in its higher branches, can only be imparted to the people of India through the English language, and that the only literature that has any real value is that of Europe. But both these assumptions are open to question. The present difficulty of conveying scientific truth through the vernacular languages of India is indisputable, but there is no reason to doubt that this difficulty may be gradually overcome.

"In Bengal, so far as the power of the language to express scientific ideas with precision is concerned, this difficulty has been to a great extent overcome already. Within the last thirty years the Bengalee language has undergone such a process of improvement and expansion that, in the opinion of those best able to pronounce a correct judgment in the matter, it can now without difficulty be made the instrument of conveying knowledge, and the vehicle of accurate thought and abstract ideas" (Government of India to the Punjab Government, 19th Sept., 1868; Parl, Papers 1870, No. 397, pp. 363-65). The Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, sanctioned the establishment of "University College, Lahore" and added, "The institution will be competent to grant certificate, but not degrees, and may hereafter, if attended with due success, be expanded into University (Argyll's Ed. Despatch, No. 13 ; 5th Aug., 1869).

The Post-Mutiny era was of great importance in the history of Calcutta University, for the criticisms levelled against the constitution and curriculum of the University suggested the lines on which the future reform of the University was to be carried out.

The critics of the Calcutta University were right in emphasising the importance of vernaculars as the medium of education. Much of the superficiality of the present-day educated classes and their lack of originality in spite of abundant assimilative genius, are due to the defects of bilingual thinking (Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, p. 210). As pointed out by Rabindranath Tagore, "Our foreign learning of today remains a thing of the school or college, is kept hung up like a sign-board and does not become a part of our life—or remains in our note-books and fails to get transcribed into thought and action." It would be idle to deny the advantages which we have derived from a study of European science and literature. "India would have been shorn of its fulness if it had missed contact with the West. The lamp of Europe is still burning : we must kindle our old extinguished lamp at that flame and start again on the road of time." Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that we cannot hope to develop any great literature in the English tongue. The modern educated Indian is a false copy of his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Western contemporary. His voice is an echo, his life a quotation, his soul a brain, and his free spirit a slave to things." The only solution of the difficulty is to make the vernaculars the medium of education. "The true way to touch the heart of the people would be to make vernaculars the means for the spread of knowledge. This is the only way to carry the good tidings to every corner of India. If we do not preserve the sacred Sanskrit and the beautiful vernaculars of India and help them to grow by use and exercise, then the very springs of Indian higher life are destroyed." Dr. John Matthai pointed out the drawbacks of English as the medium of instruction in his Convocation address to the graduates of the Allahabad University delivered on 8th December, 1945 :

"No genuine interest in the substance of knowledge can be created while so disproportionate a demand is made on the faculties of the young in acquiring the medium through which knowledge is imparted. We have now reached a stage in the development of University education in India when we can no longer postpone a final decision on this vital question. It is true that the English language opens to us a literature which, as a living, growing embodiment of human thought and experience, is perhaps unequalled in richness, variety and amplitude. It also places in our hands a vehicle of expression which in a rare degree combines beauty and elasticity and which, moreover, enables us to reach out to the uttermost parts of the earth. Many of us who have employed it as our main medium of expression during our working lives would not merely find it difficult to discard its use but could hardly do so without a pang at the thought of the beauty, pleasure and inspiration which its use has brought into our lives. The fact still remains that it is a language, which, in spite of its widespread use in the country and the mastery of it which Indian scholars have achieved, remains essentially foreign to what is deepest in us and incapable of providing an organic link between the few who have received the blessings of education and the many who have not, nor between us who are alive today and those who in the past created our great heritage of culture. Knowledge is a continual source of interest and power. But the path that leads to it is strait, narrow and hard, which is not easy to tread if we try to walk by the dim and unfamiliar light provided by a language that is not ours."



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878

Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding). ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,

261-263, Hornby Road,

Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Geophysical Prospecting in India

Science and Culture observes :

Geophysics is a part of what has now come to be recognized as the *Earth Sciences,* which include geography, geology, geodesy, geochemistry and geophysics. In the broadest sense, geophysics comprises the study of physical phenomena occurring in all parts of the Earth from all possible angles. Under geophysics, the following sciences are included : Meteorology, or study of weather ; Seismology, or study of earthquakes ; Terrestrial Magnetism, Oceanography, Volcanology ; Hydrology, or study of rainfall precipitation and the subsequent passage of it to the lakes and seas ; Terrestrial and Atmospheric Electricity ; and Geophysical Prospecting.

We quote from the annual presidential address of Prof. M. N. Saha to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal :

"Oil has been located in the past either from ground seepage or from certain surface geological evidence, and oftener by wild-cat methods. But in this particular case (of the discovery of oil in Kuweit in Northern Arabia), it has been found by geophysical methods, by the use of very delicate physical apparatus and by performing seismic experiments . . . This foreshadows the advent of a new age, the Age of Deeper Exploration of the Earth's Crust. Man has so far, with the tools and appliances at his disposal, been able only to scratch the surface of the earth, but science has now placed such delicate appliances at the disposal of mankind that he can explore the crust of the earth some thousands of feet below the surface. This new science of geophysics is scarcely two decades old, but in the U.S.A. the number of geophysicists runs to several thousands, distributed amongst universities, employees of oil and mineral companies, and among governmental departments. . . ."

"I later learnt in Russia that the second Baku which the Russians had discovered north of the Caspian Sea is a region with the same physical characteristics as Kuweit. This oil region which gave Russia sufficient oil for her tanks and aeroplanes at a time when the Baku supply was cut off by the Germans was discovered by similar geophysical methods, with the aid of the gravimeter and seismic methods . . . The orthodox methods of geology are unable to indicate to us the valuable ore deposits which may be lying hidden deep under lava or alluvia. The geophysical methods, which have brought to light Kuweit and the second Baku, will be of great help in these regions, but so far the Government of India has employed one geophysicist of Italian extraction for this purpose. If the work is to be tackled seriously, we must have a *Central Geophysical Laboratory* to train a numerous personnel in geophysics."

There is a great scope for the application of geophysical methods to the exploration for oil and minerals in India. Such application has been made, to a very limited extent, by foreign oil and mining companies and by local bodies, and activities in this direction, on a small scale, are still in progress. For instance, the Burmah Oil Company has engaged at different times well known foreign geological firms which have carried out electrical, seismic, and gravity surveys. Geophysical prospecting, in a similar way, has also been conducted by the Attock Oil Company. It is known that hundreds of thousands of square miles have been surveyed geophysically at an expenditure of several lakhs of rupees.

Some of the progressive Indian States, such as Mysore, Travancore and Gwalior also

BE TALLER



In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½″	2 Weeks
19½	5″	6 Weeks
22	4″	18 Weeks
28	1½″	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen REGD.

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.
Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.
(Copyright)

Other Products :—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs. 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-3, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

Commons Bank of India Limited

Estd. 1913. Phone: Cal. 4610.

1, British Indian Street, Calcutta.

One of the oldest and respectable Banks of India.

Invest in our 'SILVER JUBILEE CERTIFICATE' and receive double amount. They are never failing securities.

Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen Roy,
Managing Director.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

claim to have applied geophysical methods for purposes of survey and mineral exploration.

The Geological Department of Mysore has carried out several electrical surveys on sulphide ores and graphite deposits and has determined the depths of water-table in a number of instances. The Governments of Travancore and Gwalior are now using magnetic methods in their explorations for magnetic ore bodies.

Recently the Survey of India and the Geological Survey have shown great interest in geophysical methods of prospecting. Mr. B. L. Gulatee of the Survey of India, under request from the Geological Survey, carried out geophysical prospecting for hidden deposits of manganese ores in the alluvial area of Parsoda in the Central Provinces. The deposits of manganese ores buried completely under thick deposit of alluvium were located by gravity methods. The geophysicist in the employment of the Geological Survey of India is at present deeply interested in the application of geophysical methods to the problems connected with water supply and dam foundation.

The geophysical work so far carried out in India has been scrappy and unsystematic, and proper organization needed for such work is mostly non-existent, or utterly inadequate.

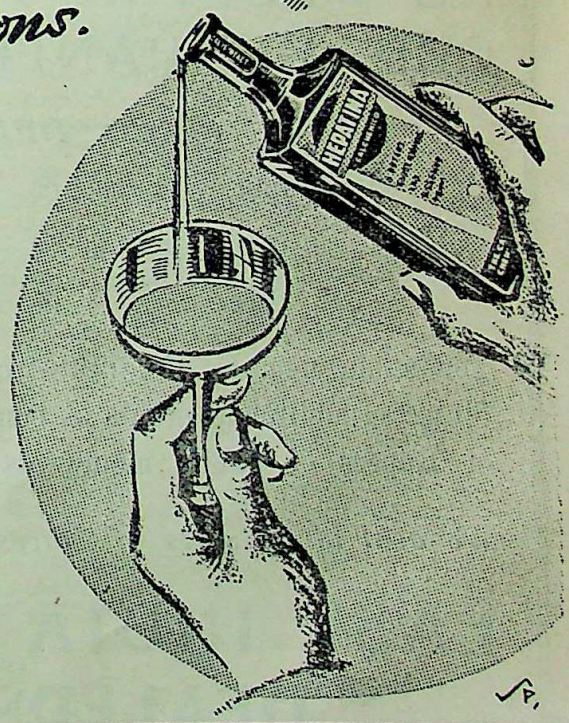
The vastness and immensity of the scope of geophysical prospecting in this coutry is reflected in the fact that over half a million square miles lie buried under surface alluvial deposits of late geological age. The depth of the alluvial cover in the vast stretch of land from Sind and Assam is estimated at about 6,000 ft. under which lie buried the three most economically productive rock systems of Indian geology, *viz.*, those of Dharwar and Gondwana systems as also of the Eocene age.

Examination and survey of such deeply seated mineral deposits are beyond the scope of surface geological surveys. Geophysical methods, such as magnetic, gravimetric, seismic and electrical, alone provide reliable techniques for exploration of minerals at such great depths. In his lecture before the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science on the occasion of his receiving the Jay Kissen Mookerjee Gold Medal, Mr. D. N. Wadia, Mineral Adviser to the Department of Planning and Development, expressed his optimism regarding the scope of geophysical prospecting for mineral oils in the following words :

"Intensive geological exploration supplemented by geophysical prospecting, notably by seismographic refraction methods and by gravity determination with the help of torsion balance, remains to be done in areas of East Baluchistan, the N.-W. Punjab and the foot-hill zones of the Punjab and Assam, the alluvium and sand covered tracts of southern Punjab (South of Salt Range) and Assam which may yield encouraging results.

"Gravity tests for determining the presence of petroleum saturating the rock-beds in quantity, or other physical tests for sub-surface structures of a more favourable nature underlying these sites, have not been used in these Punjab areas so far. Potential oil fields of this nature occur at Fatehgunj, Golra, Bakrola, Chak-Dalla, Shirani Hills and Kopat and in the Jammu Hills; to a less extent in Kangra and Garhwal."

During Convalescence in Anaemic Conditions.



A tonic *par excellence* for anæmic and dangerously run-down conditions after malaria, typhoid, confinements, etc....

It contains : LIVER Extract (only goats' liver is used), Vitamin-B-Complex, Iron, Quinine, Phosphorous, Strychnine, Senna, Malt (in digestible liquid form) in a thoroughly assimilable emulsion.

HEPATINA
A BLOOD-FORMING TONIC

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO, LTD. CALCUTTA · BOMBAY MADRAS · DELHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden		*Mill*
Bengal Cotton Estate	MARCH 1942 — 15%	SONARPUR
Tripura	„ 1943 — 10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
	„ 1944 — 10%	
	„ 1945 — 10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For one	year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„ two	years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„ three	„	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—Honeycomb. Phone :—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

An American Estimate of Nehru

We publish this interesting article by Louis Fischer from the Editorial page of *New York Times* of March 17, 1946 :

On March 3, an article by Jawaharlal Nehru, appeared in *The New York Times Magazine*. On March 5, Winston Churchill delivered a speech in Fulton, Mo. The two documents are intimately related even though Nehru had not seen Churchill's address when he wrote his essay, "Colonialism Must Go" and Churchill had completed his text before Nehru's piece was printed.

Nehru's words constitute a statesmanlike utterance. Churchill spoke like an ex-statesman, an elder statesman who can say what statesmen refrain from saying.

Nehru placed India in the new framework of post-war international politics. He showed his awareness of many new factors in world affairs which alter the old problem of Indian independence. "The end of colonialism and imperialism," he says, "will not mean the splitting up of the world into a host of additional national states intent on their isolated independence. It will lead to a new grouping together of all nations, a new outlook, to co-operation gradually replacing competition and conflict."

Great Britain, and certain Americans, have always regarded India's independence as a threat and danger. Nehru here suggests that it contains a promise. In every paragraph he manifests his internationalism. He heaps scorn on "one decadent empire (which) tries to help another still more ramshackle empire": in this process the British speed the dissolution of their empire without saving the Dutch empire. Indonesia and Indo-China must go free, Nehru insists.

Moreover, he relates the freedom of the Arab countries to the liberation of India. "A free India," he also contends, "will link together the Middle East and China. India is so situated as to form the center of a group of Asian nations for defense as well as trade and commerce." He also advocates a closer union of India with the countries of the Indian Ocean, including Australia and New Zealand. Here speaks the mature world leader rather than the irresponsible agitator. He sees his own movement in the context of everybody's interests. Separatism and divisive strategy cannot succeed in the air-atomic age.

Warning Against Delay

Independence, Nehru acknowledges, is only a first step. It must not be delayed. Then "other questions can be discussed as between equals." Attlee, Pethick-Lawrence, Cripps, Alexander and Wavell should ponder that sentence. And also this : "If, however, freedom is delayed or circumscribed, and colonies and dependencies are used as pawns in the game of the power politics of a few great powers, then these dependent or semi-dependent countries will also play their part in power politics to the extent they can, and side with this or that power as suits their convenience and advantage." This spells Russia. Nehru does not like that alternative because if the colonies grasp it, "they will add to the confusion and chaos of a distracted world and be victims, together with others, of the inevitable disaster."

Prime Minister Attlee's declaration, offering India freedom without or within the Empire, may indicate that Britain is aware of its new position in the world and of the new mood in India. If the Attlee Government goes beyond the Churchill Government's Cripps offer of 1942, it may find India responsive especially in view of the imminent famine.

The fact that Attlee offers to free India in the spirit of Nehru while Churchill urges an Anglo-American alliance which would, by implication, hold India in the Empire, demonstrates the superiority of Attlee and Nehru over Churchill.

The ex-Prime Minister also feels that a constantly expanding Russia is a menace to peace and to freedom-loving countries. But what does he propose ? An Anglo-American military alliance tantamount to an American guarantee of the British colonial empire. This is a nineteenth century solution, out of date, ineffective, disastrous. Churchill is always the super-nationalist and imperialist. Nehru is the internationalist. Churchill helped make the atomic bomb. But he misses its significance. Nehru uses the language of the atomic age. Churchill urges a dual entente. Nehru advocates a "world order."

Threat by Russia

Since Russia threatens, Churchill, and with him some short-sighted Americans, reason : hold on more tightly to the British Empire. Since Russia threatens, Nehru replies, give freedom to India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, etc.

A free India would resist Russian encroachment as a danger to its freedom. An enslaved, unhappy, disaffected India—or Egypt or Java—might court Russia.

Several members of the Senate and House have alrady answered Churchill : America cannot assume responsibility for British imperialism. That is the way of exclusiveness, not of international co-operation.

Mr. Churchill's address took on special significance not only because of his own past and present positions. In his introductory remarks at Fulton, President Truman said : "I know that Mr. Churchill will have something constructive in his speech." Is this what Mr. Truman calls "constructive"? We are lost if this is how the American Government views the future of mankind.

President Truman has used Wilkie's expression, "One World." One World means that there is no Russian problem ; there is no Indian problem ; there is no problem of the defense of Great Britain or of the United States. Russia and India and America and Egypt and Germany and Greece are all one indivisible problem. To attack one segment of the problem, as Churchill did, is folly.

Churchill's proposal is a power proposal. It would preserve the *status quo* and the diseases it has bred. He does not promise to liquidate the British Empire after the Kremlin's imperialism has been checked. If his plan stops Russia the evils of imperialism, balance-of-power politics, nationalism and racial discrimination still remain. If he does not stop Russia it means war with Russia.

Nehru's solution, on the other hand, is curative, therapeutic and democratic. It would extend the area of freedom. It would be an enormous step toward the solution of the Russian problem, for Russia would lose its appeal to the oppressed peoples of Asia if those oppressed peoples received their independence.

New York, March 15, 1946. Louis Fischer

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Development of Education in Turkey

In an article under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946, K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop trace the history of gradual Westernisation of education in Turkey from the eighteenth century to the present day :

To understand the aim and achievement of modern Turkish education it is essential first to consider the main principles of Ottoman education and to realize how, since the eighteenth century, educational progress in Turkey has been indissolubly linked with the development of the idea of Westernization. The Islamic religion not only regulated the duties of the individual to God and his fellow-men, but provided the basis on which depended the administration of justice and the growth and organization of education and learning. To Muhammad himself are attributed the sayings, "The ink of the learned and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in the sight of heaven," and "a father can confer upon his child nothing more valuable than a good education"; and therefore Sultan Mahomet "the Conqueror" dutifully followed the tenets of his religion in founding eight "medreses" (theological seminaries) round the mosque which was named after him in Constantinople and in making his new capital a centre of learning and culture. It is, however, the age of Sulayman "the Magnificent" (1520-1566) which can be described as the most enlightened period of Ottoman education. In his brilliant reign the study of medicine, mathematics (considered the basis of the study of law), natural science and Arabic literature, as well as purely theological studies, flourished in the reformed 'medreses'; primary schools attached to mosques and preparatory "medreses" ("tetummes") were established ; and Sulayman's services to Turkish education are remembered by his reorganization and extension of public instruction and his liberal and far-seeing patronage of learning and the arts. Yet it is not surprising that after Sulayman's reign the "medreses" became centres of narrow scholasticism and sophistry and made no intellectual advance. The spirit of Turkish learning was based both on the Koran and on the survival of Greek philosophy, which had been transmitted to Turkey through Muslim scholars writing in Arabic, and the influence of Aristotle, as interpreted by Muslim philosophers, still lingered on among the "Ulema" or learned men, who were averse from taking advantage of the contacts with Europe opened up by Sulayman's enormous European empire. Confining their intelligence to Oriental modes of thought and expression and to traditional methods of teaching they were opposed to any new ideas and experiments. Thus during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while in Europe the boundaries of knowledge in science, medicine and the humanities were being swiftly advanced, Turkey was left outside the main stream of Western culture and decay soon set in.

The movement for Westernization may be said to date from the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730). Under the stimulus of misfortunes and disasters abroad progressively minded Turks began to realize that European civilization possessed certain valuable qualities from which Turkey might benefit, and a small though insistent demand for reform gradually arose.

A more definite shape was given to the efforts for reform by Sultan Selim III, who was convinced of the necessity of radical reform in all branches of government and education. Beginning his rule in the same year as the outbreak of the French Revolution, he made energetic efforts to raise the level of education among all classes of his subjects and encouraged the translation of many European works of science

Turkish. He was anxious to obtain all the information possibl concerning the nations of Europe and to find out the cause of their superiority on the field of battle.

Throughout the reign of his successor Mahmud II (1809-1839) "the Reformer," when Turkey was immersed in troubles in many parts of the empire and in financial difficulties at home, both the movement for Westernization, symbolized in the military sphere by the abolition of the Janissaries, and the opposing forces gathered strength ; and in 1824, although there were as yet hardly the means to put it into practice, compulsory education for all as part of a general drive for Europeanization was proclaimed by the Sultan, and plans were made to modernize the existing schools. In spite of fanatical opposition the first secondary schools or "Rustiyes" were established and a medical school opened. Sultan Mahmud's first efforts to send 150 students to study in Europe were defeated, but later some officers of the artillery school and various others including the chemist Dervish Pasha, succeeded in going to England. Among the many services which Sultan Mahmud rendered his country, the careful education of his successor, Abdul Mecit, must not be forgotten, and his father's instructions that the reforms already initiated must be continued and extended were faithfully observed by the new Sultan.

The historical period commonly known as the "Tanzimat" or "Reform" dates from 1839, when legal sanction was given to the movement by the Sultan's proclamation of the "Hatti Serif" (Imperial Charter). This resembled the French "Proclamation des Droits de l'Homme," and proclaimed equality of civil rights for all citizens, Muslim and non-Muslim, based on the principles of liberty and justice. It was followed in 1856 by another important edict which decreed that education in the existing primary schools was to be free and made secondary education, hitherto practically not

The Book You Need at This Hour!

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY, 1946

Reappears in June with its Reliable Lists of Classified Trades and Industries.

Only limited number of copies in compact form are being published under instructions from the Government of India.

Price Reduced to Rs. 8,

Postage As. 12.

Book Your Order Right Now

Those making remittances in advance will get the volume post free.

INDUSTRY PUBLISHERS Ltd.,

22, R. G. Kar Road, Shambazar, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

existent, compulsory. A new programme of education for the whole empire was announced, reform of the medical and military schools decreed to be necessary, and proposals made for the foundation of more primary and secondary schools and of an Ottoman University. A Council of Public Instruction was set up to supervise the execution of this policy, and, a significant pointer to the future, while the "medreses" remained unchanged, the new primary schools were made independent of the monopoly previously exercised by the "Ulema" and of the control of the highest religious authority of the country, the Sheikh-ul-Islam. Up to this point the move away from the traditional conception of education as the prerogative of the religious organization was only indirect, but in 1860 progressive educationists founded the Ottoman Scientific Society whose avowed aim was the promotion of secular education. A few teachers were therefore sent to Europe to get the necessary training for becoming teachers at the Turkish University; while in 1858 the Normal School for Boys and the School of Political Sciences were founded, the latter in order to provide the country with a competent and trained civil service, capable of administering the new reforms.

There is no need here to elaborate the early history of the Kemalist revolution, but only to put into proper perspective the remarkable achievements in the field of education. The situation was briefly that outlined above, when in 1924 the American Professor John Dewey was invited to visit Turkey and report on the state of education to the new Government. The aims and the nature of the organization of education in Turkey today afford proof of the extent to which his recommendations were followed. Among the many enormous tasks which confronted the Republic the importance of the problem, often attempted in the past, but never solved, of providing universal education was this time taken to heart, and in order to make full use of the experience of educationists in other countries the Minister of Education, accompanied by a commission of experts, made a series of visits to inspect the systems of Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Italy and England, while numerous reports were published, notably that of Professor Ismail Hakki on the experimental schools of Europe, and others on the commercial and technical schools in England, the People's high schools in Denmark, and the Sokol organization in Czechoslovakia. The help of Switzerland was also invited, and in 1932 Professor Malche of the University of Geneva was asked to propose measures for the reorganization of Istanbul University. These foreign contacts have continued; a delegation of Turkish educationists visited technical colleges in this country just before the war, and Professor S. J. Davies has lately been studying Turkish technical education under the auspices of the British Council. In 1939, the State had sent and was maintaining abroad no less than 560 students.

While foreign advice and help was welcomed by the new Republic, the system devised by Ataturk's Government was especially designed to solve the many intricate problems which were peculiar to Turkey, and it reflects in all its aspects the ideals and aspirations of the Republic. The problem of eliminating illiteracy was helped by the adoption of Latin characters and the energy and enthusiasm brought to the task of extending education in primary, secondary and higher grades may be measured by a study of some recently published graphs which illustrate the remarkable achievements of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

—

DRINK
SNOW VIEW
DARJEELING TEA
SOLE DISTRIBUTORS —
Kamalalaya Stores L.

For
ALL
YOUR
REQUIREMENTS,
AND ON
ALL OCCASIONS
Let
KAMALALAYA
STORES, LTD.
MEET YOUR
DEMANDS
156A, Dharamtolla Street,
Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

War of Ideas in Iran

In the same Journal F. J. Goulding writes about the progress of education in modern Iran :

All those who have lived in Iran and learned to love the country and her people may feel for her deeply today. She is falling a victim to that all-pervasive war of ideas which is sweeping every country of the world. Iran's plight is the more tragic because she is caught up in a world tide of conflict at a time when she was struggling highly successfully for progress within herself.

As is only natural in advance of every kind, not everything is perfect, and faults and defects can be found. But it is always easier to point a critical finger than it is to give constructive aid, and this is a moment when in Iran, as in every other country, the forces that are fighting for the intellectual, moral and spiritual advance of the whole country and all its 13,000,000 citizens, need every supporting hand.

The recent visit of distinguished Iranian professors to the World Education Conference has drawn attention to the great strides which the country has been making. They were a charming and gifted group. A standard of great distinction is set by men like Dr. Ali Asghar Hikmat, who has served as Minister of Education, and at various times held three other Ministries, Dr. Ghulam Ali Ra'adi, Director-General of the Ministry of Education, Dr. Ghulam Hussein Sadighi, Director-General of the Secretariat (Dabirkhaneh) of Tehran University, and Dr. Isa Sepahbudi, all professors at the University and all members of the National Commission for Scientific and Intellectual Co-operation.

Dr. Ra'adi is a poet of very high rank in present-day Persia, and follows in the true tradition of the country's historic culture.

These men are among the leaders of the new education and cultural movement in Iran which has arisen since the last war. The revolutionary Government of Reza Shah were quick to realize that education was a tool with enormous possibilities for good or ill. For it is ideas and not material force that finally have the greatest creative or corrosive influences in the life of men and of nations. In Iran education has been a great instrument of change. A new educational system sprang up sporadically all over Iran after 1921. People were dissatisfied with the old Islamic instruction by rote. In 1928 a general order for the unification of the syllabus of all schools was issued. Schools were divided into primary, middle and senior, mostly on a French model. A few mission schools were encouraged to maintain American and English methods. In 1931 the primary schools were all nationalized and all foreign influences excluded from them. This was the price paid to prevent what were, to the Shah's mind, more sinister influences getting any hold on the people.

Still, there has been a great and rapid increase in education in the country during the twenty years 1920 to 1940. It is perhaps the greatest single influence on the life of the people. In 1920 expenditure was less than £100 000. In 1940 it was between £2 000 000 and £3,000,000. In 1922 there were only 612 schools. In 1940 there were 8,237, with a total enrolment of practically half a million students (496,960) and 13,646 teachers. In the same period the University in Tehran grew from practically nothing to the graduation of over 400 students annually. Adult education also in 1940 showed a total of 157,197 students in over 2,000 classes.

In 1945 a law was passed urging universal primary education. This will, of course, take years for completion. But it means that the country is rapidly becoming literate, while only a few years back it was 95 per cent illiterate.



BEFORE you spend your time in needless worry, over difficult days and fear of delays, why not try Novum. A high-grade ethical product with an open formula. Recommended by doctors and nurses. Complete relief. Quick sure and effective.

Made in 3 strengths.

Price per container of 21 capsules of ordinary strength of NOVUM, Rs. 12-8-0; per container of 63 tablets, of strong NOVUM (Forte) tablets, Rs. 21-0-0; price per container of 21 red capsules, special extra strong strength, Rs 50-0-0.

Also available in "special injection form" for advanced and unyielding cases of female complaints.

Take 'Novum' at the first sign of delay—and see how comfortably you sail through your difficult days!

Available at all druggstores.

ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR describing a few of our outstanding products and our "Free Medical Advice Department":

NOVUM

A Product of

HERING & KENT

P. O. Box No. 323.
Opp. Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay. Phone: 24297

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASOKA & HIS INSCRIPTIONS

By **Dr. Beni Madhab Barua,** M.A., D.Litt. Price Rs. 15 only.

Of Asoka *H. G. Wells* said :—

"Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousness and serenities and royal highnesses and the alike, the name of ASOKA shines, and shines alone, a star."

This evaluation of the great Maurya emperor finds a striking confirmation in the present monumental work. The entire position of the history of Asoka has been critically reviewed mainly from a first-hand study of the inscriptions and other source materials. And in this searching analysis nothing has been taken for granted, no reliance placed on foregone conclusions. It is a challenge to traditional thinking in Asoka and a blow to many of our cherished notions in the field. An expert, authoritative, well-documented study. Indispensable alike to historians, students and general readers. (Size—Royal. P. 500).

THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE CROSSROADS

By **T. Cliff.** Price Re. 1-4 only.

An expert, authoritative, well-documented study of the Middle East. Wide in its range and unique in its approach, the book will be of immense help to those who want to understand the problems of the Middle East

THE LEAGUE DEMAND

By **Dr. Rajendra Prasad.** Price As. 12 only.

A unique study of the communal problem of India in all its facets. A 'must read' book for every Indian.

NEW AGE PUBLISHERS Ltd., 22, CANNING STREET, CALCUTTA.

MARXIST-LENINIST BOOKS

SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF MARX AND ENGELS :

500 pp. Cloth bound. **Rs. 5**

The character and contributions of two correspondents give this book an extraordinary fascination. They discuss their practical work in the labour movement, comment on current political events, elaborate their REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, and discuss in outline their fundamental books.

A TEXT BOOK OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM :

By DAVID GUEST. 90 pp. **12 As.**

Written by a brilliant young English philosopher who was killed in Spanish Civil War in 1938, the book deals briefly and lucidly with such aspects of dialectical materialism as the general nature of dialectics, dialectics and society, and the philosophical struggle today. It also includes suggestions for further reading.

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION :

By R. P. DUTT. 390 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 4-8**

This is incomparably the best book on Fascism that has yet been written. It is not too much to say that it is the duty of every anti-fascist in the world not only to read but master thoroughly every word of it.

V. I. LENIN :

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

Prepared by

Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.

284 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 3-8**

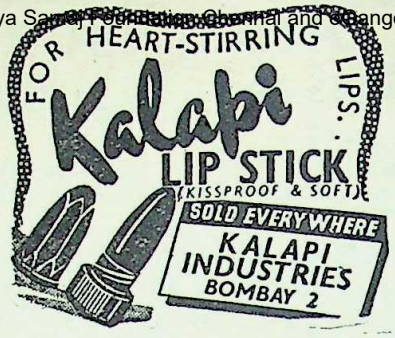
This is a text-book of Marxism as put into practice by Lenin and can best be compared with the "Short History of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevics)". It will appeal to the academic mind which wants to make a thorough study of Lenin's work. It is a concise, well-documented account of Lenin's life and work as revolutionary leader and man of action, and as thinker and philosopher. It is a piece of research, the work of people who are thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and who are at the source of all information available.

NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY LIMITED, 12, College Square, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Sole Agents:
KALAPI STORES
BOMBAY



DOCTORS RECOMMEND—

BLOOD-VITA

FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES

ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 28, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.

Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

Sir Francis Younghusband

In an article entitled "Some British I Admire" in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946, Ranjee G. Shahani writes about Sir Francis Younghusband as follows :

Sir Francis was not one of those men who, in Shakespeare's words "smile and smile . . ." Indeed, charm, in the conventional sense of the word, he had not. He was apt to be gruff and somewhat aloof. Also, when in the company of old familiar fakes, he spoke in grunts. He was at his best—so at least I felt—during a quiet chat by the fireside. Then he seemed to throw away his armour and relax. One realized at once that he was a transparently sincere man : he said what he felt and he did exactly what he thought. On the very first occasion I met him—that was in 1932—he spoke of stainless and boundless peace ; of space unlimited ; of untrodden snow ; of wild flowers that blushed unseen; of the virgin hills whose tips kissed the distant stars.

Slowly, gradually, as he talked of his beloved Himalaya, one understood that he was somehow different from other Englishmen.

There are, roughly speaking, two kinds of thinkers : the creative and the constructive. To the first group belong, among others, Shakespeare, Goethe, Ibsen and Turgenev, who think through the act of creating. We do not ask these writers for true ideas, but above all for suggestions as to how thought works with various people at various crises. We expect them to make us feel how human beings reason not only when they are at leisure, but when the vicissitudes of life shake them to their foundations. More than that, we look to these great spirits to unite us to our fellow-men in sympathy and a kind of indulgent comprehension. The authors who preach, exhort, or wish to nail us down to narrow conclusions appear less divine than these masters. In brief, creative thinkers are those who do not believe in partial truths, are not dominated by theories, and do not let single, isolated ideas weigh out of proportion to the various strains in their theme. They contemplate life with a serene smile. Constructive thinkers, on the other hand, are mainly preoccupied with their own speculations and build out of these, with the aid of the cement of logic, rounded systems of thought. Plato, Shankara, Descartes, Hegel, Bergson, Whitehead—to mention but a few names at random—belong to this group. The value of the work of these men depends on the beauty of their intellectual edifices and on the truth and coherence of their respective visions of reality.

Frankly, Sir Francis cannot be placed in any of these two classes of thinkers. He did not try to see life through the eyes of various characters, nor did he elaborate a new theory of the universe. His importance lies elsewhere.

He was an instinctive lover of beauty of thought and action, or, rather, a born connoisseur of ideas and character.

Spiritual arrogance would seem to be the bane of most theologians and thinkers. Many cultivated spirits in the West believe that their wisdom is the highest attainable by man. Most Easterns hold the same lofty opinion about the illumination of their race. Sir Francis was refreshingly free from this myopia of the spirit. Indeed, his was a stereoscopic vision, which embraced the best of the Orient and the Occident. Although a good Christian, he fully appreciated, nay reverenced, the inwardness of Asia. He held that the soul of Hinduism and Buddhism was at one with Christianity. He was thus a real reconciler. He believed that the more intensely spiritual we became, the more quickly we would meet and mingle and broaden out into a happy brotherhood of man. This conviction led to the founding of the World Congress of Faiths, which owes practically everything to him. Sir Francis was sure—and he had a faith that dispels all clouds of doubt—that a new Renaissance, more glorious than any that was upon us. This is the marriage of East and West.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REACTIONS TO THE CABINET MISSION PROPOSALS

Supplement to THE MODERN REVIEW, June, 1946

BRITISH PREMIER'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OPPOSITION REACTION

The British Premier Mr. Clement Attlee, to a tense and expectant House of Commons read on May 16 the plan outlined in the White Paper which the British Cabinet Mission to India consider "the best arrangement to ensure speedy setting up of a new constitution for India."

The plan, which makes six major proposals to be submitted to majority parties in India urges immediate formation of an Interim Government for India, in which all portfolios including that of war, would be held by Indian leaders.

The plan, which has full support of the British Government, further states that the Cabinet Mission have endeavoured "to be just to the smaller as well as the larger sections of the people", and is designed to set in motion machinery "whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians."

Before reading the Cabinet Mission's statement, Mr. Attlee said: "I rise to give the House an important statement, which is being issued simultaneously in India by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. "It is, I am afraid, a long statement. I shall have, I fear, to make a rather heavy demand on the patience of the House, but after consultation with the Opposition leaders it was thought that this was so important a document that it should be on the record of the House, and should be read to the House as a whole, because it is impossible to summarise it adequately.

"I propose, therefore, to read it in full with the exception of two tables—rather long tables of figures—which I propose to summarise.

"Before reading the statement the House will perhaps allow me to express my gratitude to members of the Mission and to the Viceroy for undertaking a very difficult task and for their patient endeavours to try to get agreement between the two major communities (Hindus and Muslims)."

"This", continued Mr. Attlee, "is the statement by the Cabinet Mission to India and His Excellency the Viceroy."

The Prime Minister then proceeded to read the statement.

Cheers greeted the Prime Minister when he sat down at 3-18 p.m. G.M.T. (8-48 p.m. I.S.T.) after speaking for 32 minutes.

Churchill's Speech

Mr. Winston Churchill, leader of the Opposition, rose immediately. He said: "I think the Prime Minister was right to read to the House the able but melancholy document to which we have listened, and that it was appropriate that he should read it instead of merely circulating it.

"Certainly I have heard nothing for a long time which so deeply deserves the attention of Parliament and the British nation. The respectful attention which the House gave to every word uttered by the Prime Minister is proof that this opinion is well-founded.

"It would, of course, be most unwise this afternoon for any of us to attempt detailed comment on the long complicated proposals which have now been laid before us.

"The Prime Minister did me the courtesy of sending me a copy last night, but although I read it carefully in the small hours of the morning, and I have now had the advantage of hearing it again, I should certainly not commit myself at this juncture to any thing but observations of a most general character.

"Moreover, these observations, such as they are, arise from the situation in respect of India which we have known for a long time rather than from the new proposals, to which, however, I make a brief reference.

"I am bound to make it clear however, without delay what is the position of the official Opposition.

"The head of the Coalition Government, I and my colleagues of those days, are committed to the offer made to the people of India at the time of the Cripps Mission of 1942, by which we offered Dominion Status as expressed by the Statute of Westminster, including the right of secession.

"We offered this to the many peoples of India, subject to certain provisions, the first was that there should be a broad, real and sincere agreement between the main Indian parties, and the second was that in the constitution we should have provision for honourable discharge of the obligations we have contracted in India towards the minorities, who, added together, are themselves a majority, and also for the discharge of those obligations, embodied with treaties with the Indian States.

"These proposals were made at a moment when the danger of Japanese invasion threat-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ened India in a terrible manner. I personally was induced to agree to them by the all-compelling war interest of trying to rally all forces in India to the defence of their soil against Japanese aggression, and all horrors which would have followed therefrom.

The Cripps Mission

"The Cripps Mission failed. The answer which Mr. Gandhi gave to the British Government at that time was 'quit India.' He and the Congress proceeded to raise or encourage a revolt or a widespread disturbance affecting principally communications on which the British and Indian forces relied for holding the threatened fronts.

"These disorders, although seriously fomented, were suppressed with surprising ease and very little loss of life, and the inducement to revolt found no response outside political classes from the great mass of the Indian people.

"We persevered and presently the tide turned. India was successfully defended and emerged from the second world convulsion in our lifetime, protected against external violence by the armies, sea power and diplomacy at the disposal of the British Empire, including the valiant contribution of the Indian forces themselves and the Gurkhas.

"Nevertheless, we still persisted in our effort which had been rejected in 1942 and the late Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, on June 14 last, when Government had ceased to be Coalition and was a Conservative Government, used the following words which were quoted by Mr. Eden when the proposal was made to send a Cabinet Mission to India in February.

"These are the words of Mr. Amery: 'The statement makes clear that the offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer was based in two main principles.

The first is that no limit is set to India's freedom to decide for herself her own destiny, whether as a free member and partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, or even without it.

The second principle is that this can only be achieved under a constitution or constitutions framed by India, to which the main elements of India's national life are the consenting parties.'

A New Situation

"By that statement we were and are bound. Now, however, a new situation has arisen. We are confronted with the fact reiterated in the Prime Minister's statement. That there is no agreement. The main elements of Indian national life are not at present time consenting parties, to quote the words of Mr. Amery.

"No one will doubt the sincerity and earnestness with which the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy have laboured to bring about a solution of the Indian difficulty and worked for a solution with a zeal which would be natural, were it to gain an Empire and not to cast it away.

But the fact is that they have failed through no fault of their own, despite all their efforts and devotion and ingenuity, which is a fact which should be education in Indian matters, not only in this country but throughout the world.

"During these negotiations it has been increasingly clear that the object sought for was not Dominion Status and the subsequent consequence of the right of secession, but direct and immediate independence. I am not sure that results had been realised by the House—it certainly came as a surprise to me.

"The new proposals that we have had seen at first sight to shift the onus of deciding the future Constitution of India from Indian parties to the British Government, who have themselves come forward with an elaborate and detailed scheme.

In so far as this shifting of onus may prove to be the case, it certainly seems to have been an unfortunate step which goes beyond what we understood was the purpose of the Ministers' mission, the mandate they received, which was defined by the Prime Minister as to set up machinery for Indians to decide their form of government.

Discharge Of Obligations

"It will, I hope, however, be common ground that we cannot enforce by British arms and a British-made constitution upon Indians against the wishes of any of the main elements in Indian life (cheers.)

"There remains the discharge of our obligations to Indian minorities and the States. We must study the documents with long and searching attention in order to see that these duties have been faithfully safeguarded.

"It would seem at first sight that attention should be particularly directed to the position of the Muslim community of nearly 80,000,000 already most formidable of all races and creeds in the Indian sub-continent, and whose interest and culture are a matter of great consequence to the commnuity as a whole and vital to the peace of India.

"Secondly, we must examine the provision made for the depressed classes, or untouchables as they are called, who number nearly 6,000,000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and for whose status and future repeated assurances have been given and pledges made by many British Governments in ancient and more recent times.

Paramountcy Of Crown

"Finally there are relations which the Indian States, which comprise a quarter of the population and one-third of the territory of the Indian Sub-continent, are to have to the Crown and to the new Government.

At present these relations are defined by solemn treaty, dependent upon the Paramountcy of the Crown.

Apparently this is to be abolished.

In a sentence which was obscure and could be either one thing or the other, they would be relegated to a kind of Noman's Land—this question of Paramountcy—and if that is so, it would seem that all foundation for those treaties would be swept away.

"All these matters and many others which will occur to Members as they study the White Paper will require several weeks of profound and earnest consideration, and it would certainly not in my view be desirable to bring this whole matter to debate in the House with all that a debate in these circumstances may entail —It would not be right to bring it in any precipitate manner.

Legislative Steps

"We do not even know at the present time what are the Legislative steps which would be required either for the setting up of an Interim Government or in the event of an agreement being reached, what legislation would be necessary for the creation of a New Constitution or abrogation of the King's title of Emperor of India.

We know nothing of that. Therefore, I say in the name of the Opposition that a new situation has been created, that we are bound to review it in the light of the existing facts, and that we reserve our entire freedom of action as to the future course we should take."

Mr. Davies' Statement

Mr. Clement Davies, Leader of the Liberal Party, said the Prime Minister's statement was one of the most momentous that had ever been made before the ancient House of Commons.

It would be necessary to study this statement with the very greatest care, and he hoped the House would also wait to hear, understand and appreciate the views of the Indians themselves.

Mr. Davies added: "But a united expression of gratitude from here and from India is due to the three members of Government for their patience, courage and efforts to resolve this difficult matter, which affects not only the position of India among world States, but future Government and well-being of four hundred million people.

"This is not a moment to utter any thought which might, in any way, jeopardise or affect adversely the possibility of a satisfactory settlement being arrived at by all.

I would only like to say that in the history of our relations with India for over 200 years, our history has been honourable one of which any people and any Government may justifiably be proud.

We may have made mistakes, and have had our faults, but never in the whole course of history can any Empire show such a fine record of tolerance, understanding and justice.

CABINET MISSION'S PRESS CONFERENCE
Sir Stafford Cripps Speaks

Explaining the Cabinet Mission's statement at a Press conference, which was also attended by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. A. V. Alexander, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept this statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the Interim Government may be formed."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, joined Sir Stafford in stressing "the determination of the British people as a whole to do everything in their power to assist you in securing a constitution which will enable your future to be great in the annals of your country and in the history of the world."

"You have heard two broadcasts on the statement and you have the document before you. This evening the members of the Mission wanted an opportunity to meet you to give you a few words of explanation and to-morrow we shall be meeting you again to answer questions which you may have to put.

I will make a few remarks about the statement while we are waiting for the Secretary of State to come from the Broadcasting studio.

The first thing I want to point out is what the statement does not purport to do. Let me remind you that this is not merely the Mission's statement, that is the statement of the four signatories, but is the statement of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Now the statement does not purport to set out a new constitution for India. It is of no use asking us 'How do you propose to do this or that?' The answer will be: We don't propose to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

do anything as regards decision upon a constitution, that is not for us to decide.

What we have had to do is to lay down one or two broad principles of how the constitution might be constructed and recommend those as foundations to the Indian people. You will notice we use the word "recommend" with regard to the ultimate constitutional forms with which we deal.

You may quite fairly ask, "But why do you recommend anything; why not leave it to the Indians?" The answer is that we are most anxious to get all Indians into some constitution-making machinery as quickly as possible and the block at present is in this matter. We are therefore by this means trying to remove the block so that the constitution-making may start and progress freely and rapidly. We hope very earnestly that that will be the effect.

Now, that it has been finally and absolutely decided that India is to have the complete independence she desires, whether within or without the British Commonwealth as she chooses, we are anxious that she shall have it as soon as possible and the soonest is when there is a new constitution structure decided upon by the Indian people.

But of course we cannot just stand by and wait till that time comes. It is bound to take some time to reach that point of completion of the new constitutional structure.

So, as you know, the Viceroy, in whose province Government-making primarily lies, has already started his talks with a view to the immediate setting up of a representative Indian Government. We hope that with the other issues out of the way on the basis of our statement he will be able very rapidly to get that new government representative of the main parties set up and in operation.

This matter of the Interim Government is of supreme importance because of the enormous tasks facing India at the moment. It is these great tasks, and perhaps the greatest of them is to deal with the food situation, that makes it absolutely essential that we should between us arrange a smooth and efficient transition.

Nothing could be more fatal to the Indian people today in the face of dangers of famine than a breakdown of administration and communications anywhere in India, and that is why we stress as we do the vital need for co-operation between all parties and communities including the British in this time of transition.

Provinces Option

Elucidating the Interim Government plan, Sir Stafford said:

"So much then for the vitally important point of the Interim Government. Some of you may wonder how soon this means that the British will sever their Governmental connection with India—I hope that in any event we shall remain the closest friends when India's freedom comes.

"Well, we certainly can't say that. We can foretell how quickly constitutions can be hammered out? One thing is however absolutely certain and this is the quicker you start the quicker you will end and the sooner we shall be able to withdraw, handing over the power to the new Governments of the Union provinces and, if it is so decided, of the groups.

Constitution-Making

"This brings me to what has been decided rather than recommended. It has been decided to make a start with the constitution-making right away. This does not mean a decision as to what the constitution shall finally be, that is for decision by the representatives of the Indian people.

"What it does mean is that the deadlock which has prevented a start on the process of constitution-making is to be removed once and for all.

"The form in which we propose that the constitution-making bodies should be assembled is important for this reason. It permits of arriving at constitutions in the recommended form. It goes a little further than that in one respect. As we believe and hope that the two parties will come into this constitution-making on the basis of our recommendations it would not be fair to either of them if the fundamental basis which he recommend could be easily departed from.

"We have tried to get a scheme as near as possible to the full adult suffrage which would be fairest but which would take probably two years to work out—and no one believes that we could wait that length of time before starting on constitution-making.

"Some discard the present legislatures as decisive for the option and say let it be exercised when the first new elections have taken place when no doubt there will be a much fuller franchise and when, if necessary, the precise issue can be raised at the election.

"So the three sections will formulate the provincial and group constitutions and when that is done they work together with the States representatives to make the Union constitution. That is the final phase.

Position of States

"Now a word about the States. The Statement in Paragraph 14 makes the position quite

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

clear that Paramountcy cannot be continued after the new constitution comes into operation, nor can it be handed over to anyone else. 'It isn't necessary for me to state—I am sure—that a contract or arrangement of this kind cannot be handed over to a third party without the consent of the States.'

"They will, therefore, become wholly independent but they have expressed their wish to negotiate their way into the Union and that is a matter we leave to negotiation between the States and the British Indian parties.

"There is one other important provision which I would like to stress as it is somewhat novel in constitution-making. We were met by the difficulty of how we could deal fairly with the smaller minorities, the Tribal and the Excluded Areas.

"In any constitution-making body it would be quite impossible to give them a weightage which would secure for them any effective influence without gravely upsetting the balance between the major parties. To give them a tiny representation would be useless to them.

Smaller Minorities

"So we decided that minorities would be dealt with really in a double way. The major minorities, such as the Hindus in Muslim provinces, and the Muslims in Hindu provinces. The Sikhs in the Punjab and the Depressed Classes who had considerable representation in a number of provinces would be dealt with by proportional representation in the main construction of the constitution-making bodies.

"But in order to give these minorities and particularly the smaller minorities like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and also the Tribal representatives a better opportunity of influencing minority provisions, we have made provision for the setting up by the constitution-making body of an influential Advisory Commission which will take the initiative in the preparation of the list of fundamental rights, the minority protection clauses and the proposals for the administration of Tribal and Excluded Areas.

"This commission will make its recommendations to the constitution-making body and will also suggest at which stage or stages in the constitution these provisions should be inserted, that is, whether in the Union, group or provincial constitutions or in any two or more of them.

"Now that, I think, gives you some picture of the main points with which we have dealt in our statement.

"There is only one other point that I want to stress before leaving the matter with you until tomorrow morning.

"You will realise, I am sure, how terribly important is this moment of decision for the Indian people.

Cripps' Appeal

"We are convinced that this statement offers an honourable and peaceful method to all parties and if they will accept it we will do all that lies in our power to help forward the constitution-making so as to arrive at the speediest possible settlement.

"Let no one doubt for one moment our intentions. We have stayed here so long and worked so hard only to carry out what has long been the policy of the British Labour Party and that is to transfer power to the Indian people as quickly and smoothly as possible and as co-operatively as the difficulties of the process permit.

"We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept the statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up, and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the interim Government may be formed."

SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRESS CONFERENCE

The British this time intended to quit India, the powers of the Constituent Assembly will virtually be unlimited, British troops are to stay on during the interim period, no time-limit has been fixed for framing the constitution, it is possible for recalcitrant groups to wreck the constitutional procedure, and the new proposals are not an 'award' and so the question of using British troops to enforce them does not arise.

These statements were made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, replying to a battery of questions put to him at a 90-minute Press Conference on May 17.

As to the right to opt out of a Group formed by a section, he said, it would arise only after the constitution had been framed and the first election to the legislature had taken place.

The Secretary of State said that no legislation by the British Parliament would be required either for setting up any Interim Government or the constitution-making machinery.

He added that some legislative steps would have to be taken when the new constitution comes into force, but the Labour Government anticipated no serious difficulty in getting it through.

Viceroy's Veto

Asked what powers the Interim Government will enjoy and whether the Viceroy's veto will remain, or a convention could, as in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Provinces, be mutually agreed upon whereby the power of veto will remain in suspense, the Secretary of State said that this was a matter for the Viceroy. The Viceroy was negotiating with various bodies about the formation of an Interim Government on the assumption that the constitution-making body would be set up.

Asked if there was any time-limit put for the constitution-making body Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that this matter was discussed by them but they considered it wise not to prescribe any time-limit. The process of constitution-making could proceed rapidly as complexities of the task permitted.

The India Office

The Secretary of State smiled when the question as to what would be the position of the India Office during the interim period while the constitution-making body would be going ahead with its task, was put.

Coming events cast their shadow before, he observed. Already before his statement was laid, he said, months ago the India Office had been proceeding on the assumption that the time would come when a great change would be made in India and the position of the India Office would be altered. If the constitution-making business went on, that process would be accelerated. The India Office has an enormous administrative machine. That machine would be at the disposal of the new constitution in India. The India Office would gradually be transferred to the control of the new Government.

Bengal Votes

Answering questions about the eligibility of election to the Constituent Assembly, the Secretary of State made it clear that persons outside Provincial Legislatures, as regards the term "General" used in the table representation from Provincial Legislatures, included Europeans.

So far as Bengal was concerned 25 votes in the Bengal Assembly might slightly alter the voting at the election of representatives but it would not affect the Constituent Assembly which would have one representative per one million of population.

Constituent Assembly's Powers

Could the Constituent Assembly be considered sovereign in view of ruling out of adult suffrage and keeping British troops in India during the interim period and previously laying down procedure of constitution-making?

Replying, the Secretary of State said that adult suffrage had not been ruled out. Adult suffrage, if the constitution-making body so decided, would be an essential basis of the future constitution.

Secondly, if the futur constitution of India was based on independence outside the British Commonwealth naturally one of the first steps would be the withdrawal of British troops. British troops would remain until the constitution was made but not for forcing the constitution. The question of British troops remaining did not affect the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly.

Thirdly, the procedure for constitution-making was laid down by the Cabinet Delegation as Indian parties could not come to any agreement.

No Award

Answering another question whether it was intended to enforce the award of the Cabinet Delegation and use British forces in the event of resistance to the proposals, the Secretary of State said that their statement did not announce any award. It was a recommendation as to the function of the constitution-making body and a decision to summon Indian representatives to make their own constitution. Therefore, quite clearly there was no question whatever of the British enforcing an award, and the question of using British troops did not arise.

British Anxiety

The A. P. A. writes: Battery of correspondents today probed into every corner of the Cabinet Delegation's new constitutional plan to determine whether it contained loopholes which would permit the British to retain power in India, and were met by answers insisting that Britain this time intended to quit India.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, flanked by Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, answered questions in an effort to convince reporters that they wanted the plan accepted in a form which would permit the British to surrender control of the country at the earliest possible moment.

Most of the questions were directed at the section dealing with Indian States. These have a special position in India since they are ruled by Princes who technically have certain amount of status as independent nations.

At the same time, these Ministers made it clear that once the constitution-making body was in session, its powers were virtually unlimited.

In reply to scores of questions, they said that the Viceroy would take on the job of forming an Interim Government at once.

During the interim period when the constitution will be in the making, British troops

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

will remain in India. Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that the Government would remain responsible to preserve law and order until the new Indian constitution was finished and could not give up the means of enforcing such law and order.

Position of States

As to the Princely States, he agreed that their status was left intentionally vague in the constitutional plan published last night. He said they had a special position and must be brought into the proposed Indian Union by negotiations between the constitution-making body and representatives of the Indian States.

To a direct question whether certain Princely States might choose to remain independent and stay out of the Indian Union altogether, the Secretary of State pointed out that their relationship with Britain was to terminate immediately upon formation of the Union.

Without definitely denying that they might remain out as islands of independence within the Indian Union, he pointed out that they had agreed to co-operate in forming the Union.

These questions were prompted by the situation which developed during the negotiations of four years ago, when a provision was made to permit the States to remain out as independent countries with treaty relations with Britain. This time, no such special provision is made.

A big question remained unanswered at the end of the session, and that was whether the Congress and the Muslim League would participate in the setting up of the constitutional machinery.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence said the Cabinet Delegation would remain in India, because "our next job is to get the plan accepted by the two main bodies."

The plan, as proposed by the Cabinet Mission, provided for a Central Government with powers to act in matters of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communcations. Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that it lay within the powers of constitutional convention to go beyond these proposed limitations, however. He said that safeguards to protect the rights of such a body as the Muslims had been put in. There was the special provision that no decision affecting Muslim and Hindu communities as such could be taken without the approval of a majority of each community.

To a question as to what would happen to French and Portugese colonies, the Secretary of State explained that this was a question for the Indian Union to determine when it took charge of its own foreign relations.

The A. P. I. writes: Speaking easily and with an even temper and occasionally helped by Sir Stafford Cripps, who sat to his left, Lord Pethick-Lawrence answered scores of questions.

He said that the constitution recommended by the Mission could not be modified in favour of one party to the disadvantage of another.

Provinces And Union

The question of the right of the provinces vis-a-vis the proposed Union was one of the questions.

He was asked: Just as the provinces have the right to opt out of the groups, will they have the right to secede from the Indian Union, say within two years?

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied: They will not have the right to opt out in a period of two years. What they will have the right to do is to ask for a revision of the constitution at the end of ten years.

Q: Supposing Assam, which has a Congress Ministry, decided not to come into group C. with Bengal, which has a Muslim League Ministry, would Assam be allowed to join any other group?

A: The right to opt out comes later, for this reason, that the whole picture should be understood before the option is exercised.

Q: Can a province, if it opts out of one section, go into another section?

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied that if the right was given to a province to opt into another section and that other section did not want to receive it, a rather awkward situation would arise. An answer to the question was not laid down in the statement but it would be open to the constituent assembly to deal with it at the appropriate time.

Q: If any province does not wish to join the group in which it has been put, can it stay out?

A: The provinces automatically come into the sections "A" "B" and "C" which are set out in the statement. Initially they are in the particular sections to which they are allocated in the statement and that particular section will decide whether a group shall be formed and what should be the constitution.

The right to opt out of the group formed by that section arises after the constitution has been framed and the first election to the legislature has taken place after that constitution. It does not arise before that.

Q: There is a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years. Is there included

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the words "call for a reconsideration of the term of the constitution" any right to have secession considered ?

A: If you revive the constitution quite clearly the whole basis of the constitution can be considered again. Any province can ask for a revision of the constitution. And so far as I can see, when that revision is undertaken, all questions in the constitution are open to rediscussion.

Q: If the provinces in section "B" which formed a Muslim majority area, decided to form a group but would not come into the Union, what would be the position ?

A: It would be a breach of the condition under which all three people met together for the purpose of making the constitution and, therefore, the constitution-making machinery would break down if it was persisted in.

That is contrary to the understanding on which these people came together. If they are coming together on an understanding, presumably honourably accepting the major premise, and if they were to refuse that later on, it will be a breach of the understanding and we do not contemplate such a thing.

Q: Could the provinces in section "B" at the end of ten years decide to be a separate Sovereign State ?

A: If the constitution is being revised, of course all proposals for its revision will be open for discussion. Whether they would be carried through is quite another question.

Q: Supposing a group decides not to come into the Union Constituent Assembly, what would be the position as far as that group is concerned ?

A: This is a purely hypothetical question. You cannot forejudge exactly what would be done in the event of people not co-operating but there is every intention to proceed with the constitution-making machinery as it is set out in the statement. What will happen if one person or any person or groups of people in some way tried to put spanners in the wheels I am not prepared at this stage precisely to say, but the intention is to get on with the job.

Will it be open to the Constituent Assembly to endow the Union with all powers of taxation, customs, income-tax and other taxes.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied that the statement left it open to the Constituent Assembly to interpret the words relating to finance, subject to the condition that any resolution raising a major communal issue should require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. Subject to that, and subject to alternations in the basic formula, a bare majority in the Constituent Assembly could carry a proposal.

TEXT OF TRIPARTITE CORRESPONDENCE

Points of fundamental difference which caused the failure of the Simla Conference are revealed in the Tripartite correspondence published on May 18 comprising 21 documents and running to 14 printed pages.

Letters exchanged by the three parties set out the principles and suggested points of agreement put forward by the Cabinet Mission, a memorandum embodying the minimum demands of the Muslim League and points suggested on behalf of the Congress as basis of agreement.

The Conference, which opened on Sunday, May 5, came near breakdown on May 8. On that date Mr. Jinnah, in a letter to the Secretary of State, said that no useful purpose would be served by discussing the points suggested by the Mission.

In a letter, dated May 9, the Congress President stated that the Mission's suggestions were not acceptable, and went on to suggest the formation of an Interim Provisional Government and reference to an independent tribunal of matters in dispute concerning a constituent assembly.

Meetings between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah followed.

In letters concerning these meetings, Pandit Nehru discussed the question of choosing a suitable umpire and said it would be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. He added that he and his colleagues had drawn up a list from which a choice could be made, and he presumed that Mr. Jinnah had also prepared a list of possible umpires.

Mr. Jinnah replied that in their meetings not only the fixing of an umpire but several other points were discussed and that no agreement was arrived at on any of them.

Letters To Leaders

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. Jinnah, dated April 27, 1946.

"The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have carefully reviewed the opinions expressed to them by the various representatives they have interviewed and have come to the conclusion that they should make one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

"They realise that it would be useless to ask the two parties to meet unless they were able to place before them a basis of negotiation which could lead to such an agreement.

"I am, therefore, asked to invite the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Muslim League to send four negotiators to meet the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy together with a similar number from the Congress Working Committee with a view to discussing the possibility of agreement upon a scheme based upon the following fundamental principles:

"The future constitutional structure of British India is as follows:

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects:—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights.

"It is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them.

"I would point out that we do not think it either necessary or desirable further to elaborate these principles as all other matters would be dealt with in the course of the negotiations.

"If the Muslim League and the Congress are prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, you will perhaps be so good as to let me know the names of the four people appointed to negotiate on their behalf. As soon as I receive these, I will let you know the locus of the negotiations which will in all probability be in Simla, where the climate will be more temperate."

Congress Reply

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated April 28, 1946:—

"I thank you for your letter of April 27th. I have consulted my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the suggestion made by you, and they desire me to inform you that they have always been willing to discuss fully any matters concerning the future of India with representatives of the Muslim League or any other organisation. I must point out, however, that the 'fundamental principles' which you mention require amplification and elucidation in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

"As you are aware, we have envisaged a Federal Union of autonomous units. Such a Federal Union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer. Thus among the common subjects in addition to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, there should be Currency, Customs, Tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them.

"Your reference to two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, is not clear. The only predominantly Muslim provinces are the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Bengal and the Punjab have a bare Muslim majority. We consider it wrong to form groups of provinces under the Federal Union and more so on religious or communal basis.

"It also appears that you leave no choice to a province in the matter of joining or not joining a group. It is by no means certain that a province as constituted would like to join any particular group. In any event it would be wholly wrong to compel a province to function against its own wish. While we agree to the provinces having full powers in regard to all remaining subjects as well as the residuary powers, we have also stated that it should be open to any province to exercise its option to have more common subjects with the Federal Union. Any sub-federation within the Federal Union would weaken the Federal Centre and would be otherwise wrong. We do not, therefore, favour any such development.

"Regarding the Indian States we should like to make it clear that we consider it essential that they should be parts of the Federal Union in regard to the common subjects mentioned above. The manner of their coming into the Union can be considered fully later.

"You have referred to certain 'fundamental principles' but there is no mention of the basic issue before us, that is, Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India. It is only on this basis that we can discuss the future of India, or any interim arrangement.

"While we are ready to carry on negotiations with any party as to the future of India, we must state our convictions that reality will be absent from any negotiations whilst an outside ruling power still exists in India.

"I have asked three of my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Harsawal

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accompany me in any negotiations that may take place as a result of your suggestion."

Jinnah's Reply

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 29th April:

"I thank you for your letter of the 27th April, which I placed before by Working Committee on Saturday morning.

"My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organisations for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore resolution in 1940 and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League sessions and again by the convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recent as the 9th of April 1946, as per copy enclosed.

"The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters, both of principle and detail, in your brief letter, require elucidation and clarification, which, in their opinion, can be achieved at the meeting proposed by you.

"Therefore, without prejudice or commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorised me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations.

"The following are the four names: 1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 2. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, 3. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and 4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar."

(A copy of the resolution passed by the Subjects Committee to be placed before the All-India Muslim League Legislators Convention on April 9, 1946 is enclosed with the letter).

Secretary of State's Reply to Maulana Azad

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Congress, dated April 29, 1946:

"Thank you for your letter of 28th April. The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Congress agree to enter the joint discussion with representatives of the Muslim League and ourselves.

"We have taken note of the views you have expressed on behalf of the Working Committee of the Congress. These appear to deal with matters which can be discussed at the Conference for we have never contemplated that acceptance by the Congress and the Muslim League of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement, and what we have asked the Congress Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Muslim League in order to discuss it.

"Assuming that the Muslim League, whose reply we except to receive in the course of the afternoon, also accept our invitation, we propose that these discussions should be held at Simla, and intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Congress representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2."

Reply To League Points

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League, dated April 29, 1946:

"Thank you for your letter of the 29th April. The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Muslim League agree to enter the joint discussion with the representatives of the Congress and ourselves. I am glad to say I have received a letter from the President of the Congress to say that they are also willing to participate in the proposed discussions and have nominated Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as their representatives.

"We have taken note of the resolution of the Muslim League to which you draw our attention. We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition, full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it.

"We propose that these discussions should be held at Simla and we intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Muslim League representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2nd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Agenda:

1. Groups of Provinces:—(A) Composition; (B) Method of Deciding Group Subjects; (C) Character of Group Organisation.

2. Union: (A) Union Subjects; (B) Character of Union Constitution; (C) Finance.

3. Constitution-making Machinery; (A) Composition; (B) Functions; (1) In Respect of Union; (II) in Respect of Groups; (III) In Respect of Provinces."

Congress Stand

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence dated May 6, 1946:

"My colleagues and I followed with care the proceedings of the conference yesterday and tried to understand what our conversations were leading up to. I confess to feeling somewhat mystified and disturbed at the vagueness of our talks and some of the assumptions underlying them. While we would like to associate ourselves with every effort to explore ways and means of finding a basis for agreement, we must not deceive ourselves, the Cabinet Mission or the representatives of the Muslim League into the belief that the way the Conference has so far proceeded furnishes hope of success.

"Our general approach to the questions before us was stated briefly in my letter to you of April 28th. We find that this approach has been largely ignored and a contrary method has been followed. We realise that some assumptions have to be made in the early stages as otherwise there can be no progress. But assumptions which ignore or run contrary to fundamental issues are likely to lead to misunderstanding during the later stages.

"In my letter of April 28th, I stated that the basic issue before us was that of Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India, for there can be no independence so long as there is a foreign army on Indian soil.

"We stand for the independence of the whole of India now and not in the distant or near future. Other matters are subsidiary to this and can be fitly discussed and decided by the Constituent Assembly."

"At the conference yesterday I referred to this again and we were glad to find that you and your colleagues, as well as the other members of the conference, accept Indian Independence as the basis of our talks. It was stated by you that the Constituent Assembly would finally decide about the nexus or other relationship that might be established between a free India and England. While this is perfectly true, it does not affect the position now, and that is the acceptance of Indian independence now.

"If that is so then certain consequences inevitably follow. We felt yesterday that there was no appreciation of these consequences. A Constituent Assembly is not going to decide the question of independence; that question must be and, we take it, has been decided now. That Assembly will represent the will of the free Indian nation and give effect to it. It is not going to be bound by any previous arrangements. It has to be preceded by a Provisional Government which must function as far as possible, as a Government of free India, and which should undertake to make all arrangements for the transitional period.

"In our discussions yesterday repeated references were made to 'groups' of provinces functioning together, and it was even suggested that such a group would have an executive and legislative machinery. This method of grouping has not so far been discussed by us but still our talks seemed to presume all this. I should like to make it very clear that we are entirely opposed to any executive or legislative machinery for a group of provinces or units of the federation. That will be sub-federation, if not something more, and we have already told you that we do not accept this. It would result in creating three layers of executive and legislative bodies, an arrangement which will be cumbrous, static and disjointed, leading to continuous friction. We are not aware of any such arrangement in any country.

"We are emphatically of opinion that it is not open to the conference to entertain any suggestions for a division of India. If this is to come, it should come through the Constituent Assembly free from any influence of the present Government power.

"Another point we wish to make clear is that we do not accept the proposal for parity as between groups in regard to the executive or legislature. We realise that everything possible should be done to remove fears and suspicions from the mind of every group and community. But the way to do this is not by unreal methods which go against the basic principles of democracy on which we hope to build up our constitution."

Basis Of Talks

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Muslim League and the Congress, dated May 8, 1946:

"My colleagues and I have been thinking over the best method of laying before the conference what in our judgment seems the most likely basis of agreement as shown by the deliberations so far.

"We have come to the conclusion that it will be for the convenience of the parties if we

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

commit this to writing and send them confidential copies before the conference meets again.

"We hope to be in a position to let you have this in the course of the morning, but as this will give you too short a time to study it adequately before the proposed resumption of the conference at 3 o'clock this afternoon I feel sure that you will agree that the meeting be postponed until the same hour (3 o'clock) tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, 9th May, and I hope that you will concur in this change of time which we are convinced is in the interests of all parties".

Letter from the Private Secretary to Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League, dated May 8, 1946:

"With reference to the Secretary of States letter to you this morning the Cabinet Delegation wish me to send to you the enclosed document which is the paper to which the Secretary of State referred. The Delegation propose that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if that is agreeable to the Congress-Muslim League delegates."

Points Suggested by the Mission

Enclosure with letter of May 8: Suggested points for agreement between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League:

1. There shall be an All-India Union Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances required for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in provinces.

3. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire.

4. The groups may set up their own executives and legislatures.

5. The legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim-majority provinces and from the Hindu-majority provinces whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into groups; together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any province can be a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsideration a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original Constituent Assembly and with the same provisions as to voting and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis shall be as follows:

A. Representatives shall be elected from each Provincial Assembly in proportion to the strength of the various parties in that assembly on the basis of 1|10 of their numbers.

B. Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.

C. The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.

D. After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled it will divide into three sections, one section representing the Hindu-majority provinces, one section representing the Muslim-majority provinces and one representing the States.

E. The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

F. When these have been settled it will be open to any province to decide to opt out of its original group and into the other group or to remain outside any group.

G. Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1-7 above.

H. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of both the two major communities vote in its favour.

9. The Viceroy shall forthwith call together the above constitution-making machinery which shall be governed by the provisions stated in paragraph 8 above.

Muslim League Reaction

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated May 8, 1946:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"I have now received the letter of your Private Secretary, dated 8th May, 1946, and the enclosed document to which you had referred in your earlier letter of 8th May, 1946. It is proposed by you that this 'paper' be discussed at the next meeting of the conference to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if this is agreeable to the Muslim League delegation.

"Your proposal embodied in your letter of 27th April, 1946, runs as follows:

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects:—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights.

"This matter was to be discussed at Simla and we agreed to attend the conference on Sunday, 5th May, 1946, on the terms of my letter, dated 28th April, 1946.

"You were good enough to explain your formula and then after hours of discussion on the 5th and 6th of May, the Congress finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union.

"Next, your formula clearly envisaged an agreement precedent between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the grouping of Muslim and Hindu provinces and the formation of two Federations of the grouped provinces and it followed that there must be two constitution-making machineries. It was on that basis that some kind of Union was suggested in your formula confined only to three subjects and our approval was sought in order to put into this skeleton blood and flesh. This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress and the meeting had to be adjourned for the Mission to consider the matter further as to what steps they may take in the matter.

"And now the new enclosed document has been sent to us with a view that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. The heading of the paper is 'suggested points for agreement between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League.' By whom are they suggested, it is not made clear.

"We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from original formula embodied in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress.

"To mention some of the important points we are now asked to agree that there should be one all-India Union Government in terms of paragraphs 1-7 of this paper, which adds one more subject to be vested in the Union Government, *i.e.*, "Fundamental rights" and it is not made clear whether the Union Government and legislature will have power or not to obtain for itself the finances by means of taxation.

"In the new 'suggestions' the question of grouping of provinces is left exactly as the Congress spokesmen desired in the course of discussions that have taken place hitherto, and is totally different from your original formula.

"That there should be a single constitution-making body we can never agree to; nor can we agree to the method of formation of constitution-making machineries suggested in the paper.

"There are many other objectionable features contained in the suggestions which we have not dealt with as we are only dealing with the main points arising out of this paper.

"In these circumstances, we think, no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper as it is a complete departure from your original formula, unless after what we have said above you still desire us to discuss it in the conference itself tomorrow.

Pethick-Lawrence's Letter

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League, dated May 9, 1946.

I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday which I have shown to my colleagues. In it you raise a number of issues to which I propose to reply in order.

1. You claim that Congress "finally and definitely turned down the proposed union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union."

This statement is not in accord with my recollection of what took place in the conference room. It is true that the Congress representatives expressed their view that the limitation was too narrow and argued further that even so limited, it necessarily included certain ancillary matters.

Up to a point you recognised that there was some force in the argument because you agreed, as I understood, that some power to obtain the necessary finance must be given. There was no final decision on this matter (or of course on any other).

2. Next you claim, if I understood you alright, that our reference to the formation of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R. G. Groups is at variance with the formula in our invitation. I am afraid I cannot accept this view.

It is of course a slightly amplified form because it specifies the manner in which the provinces can decide as to joining any particular group.

This amplified form is put forward by us as a reasonable compromise between the views of the Muslim League and those originally expressed by Congress against grouping at all.

3. You further take exception to the machinery that we suggest should be set up for making the constitution.

I would point out to you however that you yourself in explaining how your two constitution-making bodies would work agreed on Tuesday last in the conference that they would have to join together in the end to decide the constitution of the Union and you took no exception to their having a preliminary session in common to decide procedure.

What we are proposing is, in fact, precisely the same thing expressed in different words. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to understand what you have in mind when you use the words "this proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress".

4. In your next succeeding paragraph you ask who it is that makes the suggestions that are contained in the document I sent you. The answer is the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy who makes them in our endeavour to bridge the gap between the view-points of the Congress and the Muslim League.

5. You next take exception to our departing from the original formula in my invitation. I would remind you that in accepting my original invitation neither the Muslim League nor the Congress bound itself to accept in full the original formula, and in my reply of April 29 I wrote these words:

"We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition for approval by them of the terms set out in my letter.

"These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

Indeed this is the only sensible attitude because the object of all our discussions is to explore every conceivable possibility of reaching agreement.

6. Fundamental rights were included by us in our suggestions for consideration in addition to the list of Union subjects because it seemed to us that it would be of benefit both to the large communities and to the small minorities for them to be put in and accordingly to be worthy of consideration in our conference.

As to finance it will of course be quite open to discuss in the conference the precise significance of the inclusion of this word, in I.G.S. context.

7. Your two following paragraphs are mainly a recapitulation of your previous arguments and have been already dealt with above.

From your last paragraph I understand that though you do not consider in the circumstances that any good purpose would be served by the attendance of the Muslim League Delegation at the conference fixed for this afternoon you are willing to come if we express a desire that you should do so.

My colleagues and I wish to obtain the views of both parties on the document submitted and, therefore, would be glad to see you at the conference.

Congress President's Letter

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated May 9, 1946:

My colleagues and I have given the most careful consideration to the memorandum sent by you yesterday suggesting various points of agreement.

On April 28, I sent you a letter in which I explained briefly the Congress view-point in regard to certain "fundamental principles" mentioned in your letter of April 27. After the first day of the conference, on May 6, I wrote to you again to avoid any possible misunderstanding regarding the issues being discussed in the conference.

I now find from your memorandum that some of your suggestions are entirely opposed to our views and to the views repeatedly declared by the Congress.

We are thus placed in a difficult position. It has been and is our desire to explore every avenue for a settlement and a change-over in India by consent, and for this purpose we are prepared to go far.

But there are obvious limits beyond which we cannot go if we are convinced that this would be injurious to the people of India and to India's progress as a free nation.

In my previous letters I have laid stress on the necessity of having a strong and organic Federal Union. I have also stated that we do not approve of sub-federations or grouping of provinces in the manner suggested, and are wholly opposed to parity in Executives or Legislatures as between wholly unequal groups

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We do not wish to come in the way of provinces or other units co-operating together, if they so choose, but this must be entirely voluntary.

The proposals you have put forward are meant, we presume, to limit the free discretion of the Constituent Assembly. We do not see how this can be done. We are at present concerned with one important aspect of a larger problem.

Any decision on this aspect taken now might well conflict with the decisions we, or the Constituent Assembly, might want to take on other aspects.

The only reasonable course appears to us is to have a Constituent Assembly with perfect freedom to draw up its constitution, with certain reservations to protect the rights of minorities. Thus we may agree that any major communal issue must be settled by consent of the parties concerned, or, where such consent is not obtained, by arbitration.

From the proposals you have sent us (D.E.F.G.) it would appear that two or three separate constitutions might emerge for separate groups, joined together by a common superstructure left to the mercy of the three appointed groups.

There is also compulsion in the early stages for a province to join a particular group whether it wants to or not. Thus why should the Frontier Province, which is clearly a Congress Province, be compelled to join any group hostile to the Congress?

We realise that in dealing with human beings, as individuals or groups, many considerations have to be borne in mind besides logic and reason.

But logic and reason cannot be ignored altogether, and unreason and injustice are dangerous companions at any time and, more especially, when we are building for the future of hundreds of millions of human beings.

I shall now deal with some of the points in your memorandum and make some suggestions in regard to them.

No. 1. We note that you have provided for the Union to have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for the subjects it deals with.

We think it should be clearly stated that the Federal Union must have power to raise revenues in its own right. Further that currency and custom must in any event be included in the Union subjects, as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them.

One other subject is an essential and inevitable Union subject and that is Planning. Planning can only be done effectively at the Centre, though the Provinces or Units will give effect to it in their respective areas.

The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

Nos. 5 and 6. We are entirely opposed to the proposed parity, both in the Executive and Legislature, as between wholly unequal groups.

This is unfair and will lead to trouble. Such a provision contains in itself the seed of conflict and the destruction of free growth. If there is no agreement on this or any similar matter, we are prepared to leave it to arbitration.

No. 7. We are prepared to accept the suggestion that provision be made for a reconsideration of the constitution after ten years. Indeed the constitution will necessarily provide the machinery for the revision at any time.

The second clause lays down that reconsideration should be done by a body constituted on the same basis as the Constituent Assembly. This present provision is intended to meet an emergency. We expect that the Constitution for India will be based on Adult Suffrage. Ten years hence, India is not likely to be satisfied with anything less than adult suffrage to express its mind on all grave issues.

No. 8-A. We would suggest that the just and proper method of elections, fair to all parties, is the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote.

It might be remembered that the present basis of election for the Provincial Assemblies is strongly weighted in favour of the minorities.

The proportion of one-tenth appears to be too small and will limit the numbers of the Constituent Assembly too much. Probably, the number would not exceed two hundred.

In the vitally important tasks the Assembly will have to face, it should have larger numbers. We suggest that at least one-fifth of the total membership of the Provincial Assemblies should be elected for the Constituent Assembly.

No. 8-B. This clause is vague and requires elucidation. But for the present we are not going into further details.

No. 8-D.E.F.G. I have already referred to these clauses. We think that both the formation of these groups and the procedure suggested are worn and undesirable.

We do not wish to rule out the formation of the groups if the Provinces so desire. But this subject must be left open for decision by the Constituent Assembly. The drafting and settling of the Constitution should begin with the Federal Union. This should contain common and uniform provisions for the Provinces

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and other Units. The provinces may then add to these.

No. 8-H.—In the circumstances existing today we are prepared to accept some such clause. In case of disagreement the matter should be referred to arbitration.

I have pointed out above some of the obvious defects as we see them, in the proposals contained in your memorandum. If these are remedied, as suggested by us, we might be in a position to recommend their acceptance by the Congress. But as drafted in the memorandum sent to us, I regret that we are unable to accept them.

On the whole, therefore, if the suggestions are intended to have a binding effect, with all the will in the world to have an agreement with the League, we must repudiate most of them. Let us not run into any evil greater than the one all of us three parties should seek to avoid.

If an agreement, honourable to both the parties and favourable to the growth of free and united India, cannot be achieved, we would suggest that in Interim Provisional Government responsible to the elected members of the Central Assembly be formed at once and the matters in dispute concerning the Constituent Assembly between the Congress and the League be referred to an independent tribunal.

After a proposal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that an umpire should be appointed to settle matters of difference between the parties, the conference, understanding that there was a likelihood of agreement on an umpire between the parties, was adjourned and the following correspondence passed between the parties.

Nehru's Letter to Jinnah

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of the Muslim League, dated 10th May, 1946:

"In accordance with our decision yesterday at the conference, my colleagues have given a good deal of thought to the choice of a suitable umpire. We have felt that it would probably be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

"The field is thus limited. Nevertheless we have drawn up a considerable list from which a choice can be made. I presume that you have also, in consultation with your Executive, prepared a list of possible umpires.

"Would you like these two lists to be considered by us, that is, by you and me? If so, we can fix up a meeting for the purpose. After we have met, our recommendation can be considered by the eight of us, that is the four representatives of the Congress and the four representatives of the Muslim League, and a final choice can be made, which we can place before the conference when it meets tomorrow.

League President's Reply

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 10th, 1946:

I received your letter of 10th May at 6 p.m. At yesterday's meeting between you and me at the Viceregal Lodge, we discussed several points besides the fixing of an umpire. After a short discussion, we came to the conclusion that we will further examine your proposal made by you at the conference yesterday, with all its implications after you and me consulting our respective colleagues.

I shall be glad to meet you to consider the various aspects of your proposal any time that may suit you tomorrow morning after 10 o'clock.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of Muslim League, dated May 11th, 1946:

"Your letter of May 10th reached me at 10 last night.

"During the talk we had at Viceregal Lodge, you referred to various matters besides the choice of an umpire and I gave you my reactions in regard to them but I was under the impression that the proposal to have an umpire had been agreed to and our next business was to suggest names.

"Indeed it was when some such agreement was reached in the conference that we had, we had our talk. My colleagues have proceeded on this basis and prepared a list of suitable names.

"The conference will expect us to tell them this afternoon the name of the umpire we fix upon, or at any rate, to place before them suggestions in this behalf.

"The chief implication in having an umpire is to agree to accept his final decision. We agree to this. We suggest that we might start with this and report accordingly to the conference.

"As suggested by you, I shall come over to your place of residence at about 10-30 this morning.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 11th, 1946:

"I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May, 1946.

"During the talk we had at the Viceregal Lodge which lasted for about 15 or 20 minutes I pointed out various aspects and implications of your proposals and we had a discussion for a little while, but no agreement was arrived at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between you and me on any point except that at your suggestion that you consult your colleagues and I should do likewise. We adjourned to meet again the next day to further discuss the matter.

"I shall be glad to meet you at 10-30 this morning for a further talk."

League Demands

Memorandum by the President of the Muslim League embodying minimum demands by way of an offer, in accordance with the conference decision, dated 12th May, 1946.

(Copies sent to the Cabinet Delegation and the Congress).

Principles to be agreed to as our offer:

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except foreign affairs, defence and communications necessary for defence, which may be dealt with by the constitution-making bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the group and the provinces in the group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the group to decide to opt out of its group, provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not.

The method of providing the Union with Finance should also be left for the decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

No major point in the Union Constitution, which affects the communal issue, shall be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In group and provincial constitutions, fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

Congress Points as basis of Agreements

Points suggested on behalf of the Congress as a basis for agreement, 12th May, 1946:

1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:

(I) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional Representation (single transferable vote). The numbers elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly or others.

(II) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental rights, Currency, Customs and Planning, as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them.

The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

3. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces or Units.

4. Groups of Provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

5. After the constituent assembly has decided the Constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in Paragraph above, the representatives of the Provinces may form groups to decide the Provincial Constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities connected present in Assembly and voting are separately in its favour provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue it will be referred to arbitration.

In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution-making, the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

8. The constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. It so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

Congress Reply to League Proposals

Note by the Congress on the principles to be agreed upon as suggested on behalf of the Muslim League dated May 12, 1946.

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest the picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly:

(1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one constitution-making body or constituent assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the provinces and if they wish to all kinds and prevent progress: or indeed any function as a group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their constitution for the purpose. In any event Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province: as the election show is not in favour of this proposal.

(2) We have agreed to residuary powers apart from the Central subjects, vesting in the provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a group; what the ultimate nature of such a group may be, cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the provinces concerned.

(3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislatures. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the Provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the provinces.

(4) There is no necessity for opting out of a province from its group as the previous consent of the provinces is necessary for joining the group.

(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenues.

(6) and (7) We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of Provinces in the Union executive or legislature.

We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties which can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no Government or legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguard major communal issues other matters, whether controversial or not require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

movement in any direction. We, therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union Constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these fundamental rights all over India.

(10) The Constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision. It may also contain provision for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession. We don't wish to encourage this idea.

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT ON CABINET MISSION'S PROPOSALS

"I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim damand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State if Pakistan, which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure a stable Government and lead to the happiness and welfare, not only of the two major communities, but of all the people of this sub-continent," says the Muslim League President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a 2,000-word statement issued on May 22 critically examining the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Mr. Jinnah says: "It is the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance common-place and exploded arguments against Pakistan and resort to special pleadings, couched in deplorable language, which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India. It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress because when they came to face realities, they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in para five of their statement which reads:

'This consideration did not however deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule. This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests'.

Mr. Jinnah giving details says:

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two—what they call section 'B' (for the north-western zone) and section 'C' (for the north-eastern zone).

(2) Instead of two constitution-making bodies only one constitution-making body, is devised with three sections A, B, & C.

Power Of Union Government

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have power necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

There is no indication at all that the communications would be restricted to what is necessary for defence nor is their any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise finances required for these three subjects, while our view was that finances should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

(4) It is laid down that "the Union should have an executive and legislature constituted from British India and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as majority of all the members present and voting."

While our view was (*a*) There should be no legislature for the Union but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide; (*b*) that there should be parity of representation between Pakistan group and Hindustan group in the Union Executive and Legislature if any; (*c*) that no decision, legislative, executive or administrative should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths; and all the three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

"No doubt there is no safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union Legislature that any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting." Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with who will decide as to what is a major communal issue and what is a minor communal issue and what is purely non-communal issue?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(5) "Our proposal that the Pakistan group should have the right to secede from the Union after the initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to reconsideration of the terms of the Union constitution after the initial period of ten years."

Constitution-Making Body

Referring to the constitution-making machinery, Mr. Jinnah says: "Here again the representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B, but how he will be selected is not indicated.

(6) With regard to the Constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority as in a House of 292 for British-Indian Muslim strength will be 79, and if the number allotted to the Indian States, 93 is taken into account, it is quite obvious that Muslim proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the States representatives would be Hindus. This assembly so constituted will elect the Chairman and other officers, it seems, also the members of the Advisory Committee referred to in para 20 of the statement, by majority and the same rule will apply also to other normal business." But I note there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union Constituent Assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 75 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities."

"The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so required by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decisions.

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court. Nor indeed anybody knows what that opinion was as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court:

(7) With regard to the provinces opting out of their groups, it is left to the new legislature of the provinces after the first general election under the new constitution to decide instead of referendum of the people as suggested by us."

Rights Of Minorities

"The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected: and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the provincial, group or Union Constitution."

"This raises a very serious question indeed," says Mr. Jinnah. "For if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by majority vote and whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union Constitution, then it will open the door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects."

Mr. Jinnah concludes:

"These are some of the points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not like to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decision as they may think proper after careful consideration of the pros and cons and thorough and dispassionate examination of the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy."

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution on May 24, expressing its inability "to give a final opinion at this stage of H.M.G.'s proposals" as it finds a divergence between these proposals and Congress objectives.

Following is the full text of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Cabinet Mission's proposals:

"The Working Committee has given careful consideration to the statement dated May 16, issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for a peaceful and cooperative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong Central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the counsels of the world.

In considering the statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a provisional Government and the clarification given by the members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objective they aim at.

These objectives are: Independence for India a strong, though limited, Central authority, full autonomy for the provinces, the establishment of a democratic structure in the Centre and in the units, the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth, and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framework.

Provisional Government

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in Paragraph 23 of the statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence, and all obstructions and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggests a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly, which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The Committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to million. But the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

Constituent Assembly

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be the future of India, as they indicate that there a fully elected body, chosen by the elected members of the provincial legislatures. In Baluchistan, there is no elected Assembly or any other kind of chamber which might elect a representative for the Constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way.

In Coorg, the Legislative Council contains some nominated members as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than a hundred from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of provincial autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the provinces. It is further said that provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into sections which "shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces."

There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of compulsion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the statement, and in order to make the Clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read Paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

Indian States

The provision in the statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear at the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely desperate elements. And the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as it is possible, to the method adopted in the provinces.

The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State Governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of the armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State Governments and of those who exercise paramountcy.

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a recursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact though changes in law need not be made at this stage.

The Governor-General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period. But the Government should function as a Cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the provisional Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major Communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

Opinion Reserved

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a provisional Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the independence that is now recognised as India's right and due.

It is only with the conviction that they are engaged in building up a free, great and independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of all the people of India.

In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.

MISSION REPLIES TO CONGRESS AND LEAGUE

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in a statement issued on May 25, replied to the points raised in the Congress Cabinet's resolution and Mr. Jinnah's statement.

(1) Once the Constituent Assembly starts its work—"there is no intention to interfere with its discretion"—H.M.G. will through Parliament take the necessary action for cession of sovereignty to the Indian people.

2. The grouping of the Provinces (regarding their choice to belong to their respective section) is an essential feature of the scheme and can be modified only by an agreement between the parties.

(3) The Interim Government will be selected in consultation with the political parties, and H. M. G. will give it the "greatest possible freedom in the exercise of day-to-day administration."

(4) There is nothing to prevent members of the interim cabinet from resigning in case of a vote of no-confidence or of failure to pass any important measure.

(5) Owing to Parliament's "ultimate responsibility for the security of India" under the present India Act, "it is necessary that British troops should remain during the interim period which, it is hoped, will be short."

The following is the full text of the statement:

"The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated May 22, and the resolution dated May 24 of the Working Committee of the Congress.

"The position is that since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation.

Constituent Assembly

"The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

"The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly, and the procedure which it is intended to follow, are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement.

"Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and is working on this basis—there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its labours—H. M. G. will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which, we believe, are not controversial, namely, adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement), and willingness to conclude a treaty with H. M. G. to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

Concessions To Britishers

"It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

"The representative of Baluchistan will be elected at a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

PAKISTAN IN MASK

"The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delegation's intentions.

"The reasons for the grouping of the Provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties.

"The right to opt out of the Groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new Provincial Constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue, and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

CHOICE FOR STATES

"The question of how the States representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

"It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War Member will be held by Indians; and that the members will be selected in consultatnon with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India and a long step towards independence.

"H. M. G. will recognise the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them, and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

CABINET RESPONSIBILITY

"As the Congress Statement recognises the present constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government individually or by common consent, from resigning, if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature or if a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

BRITISH TROOPS

"There is, of coruse, no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of an independent India under the new constitution; but during the interim period which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament has under the present Constitution, the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary, therefore, that British troops should remain."

GANDHIJI'S ANALYSIS OF MISSION'S PLAN

"After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances," says Mahatma Gandhi under the caption "An Analysis" in the *Harijan*, dated May 26.

Mahatma Gandhi adds: "It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it—the Congress and Muslim League did not and could not agree. We would grievously err, if at this time, we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation.

"The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

"My compliment, however, does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

"The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the minimum they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom.

"Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would do so, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in any case.

"Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted them. They descended to the plains of India and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence free of any British control or influence.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

"It is an appeal and an advice. It has no compulsion in it. Thus the Provincial Assem-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

blies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates having been elected may or may not join the Constituent Assembly.

"The Assembly having met may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of necessity of the situation. The separated voting is binding on both the major parties, only because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and in no case otherwise.

"At the time of writing I took up the statement, re-read it, clause by clause, and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces. What is binding is that part of it which commits the British Government.

"When, I suppose, the four members of the British Mission took the precaution, receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament, the Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the first step in the act of renunciation which the statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation I have called this one a promissory note.

"Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organised and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as full as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts.

Therefore, when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a Press correspondent, 'if they do come together on that basis it, will mean that they will have accepted that basis but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so', he was right in the sense that those who became delegates well knowing the contents of the statement were expected by authors to abide by the basis unless it was duly altered by the major parties.

"When two or more rival parties meet together they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing a certain minimum and he makes his proposal leaving them free to add, to subtract from or altogether change it by joint agreement.

Problem of Grouping

"This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves against their will as part of the Section which takes in Sindh, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab called "B" in the statement; or Assam to "C" although it is a Predominantly Non-Muslim Province?

"In my opinion the voluntary character of the statement demands that the liberty of individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the Sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained in Para (15) which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form groups with Executive and Legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in 'common.'

"It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by Section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done.

"It presupposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the provinces whether they would accept the group principle and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their province. This freedom is inherent in every province and that given by para (15) will remain in tact.

"There appears to me to no other way of avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately after the noble character of the document.

"I would, therefore, ask all those who are perturbed by the group proposal and the arbitrary assignment, that, if my interpretation is valid, there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and an advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible.

"The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge out of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be "the brightest jewel" in the British Crown. It will become the blackest spot in that Crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin.

"Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British Crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The brightest jewel is an arrogation.

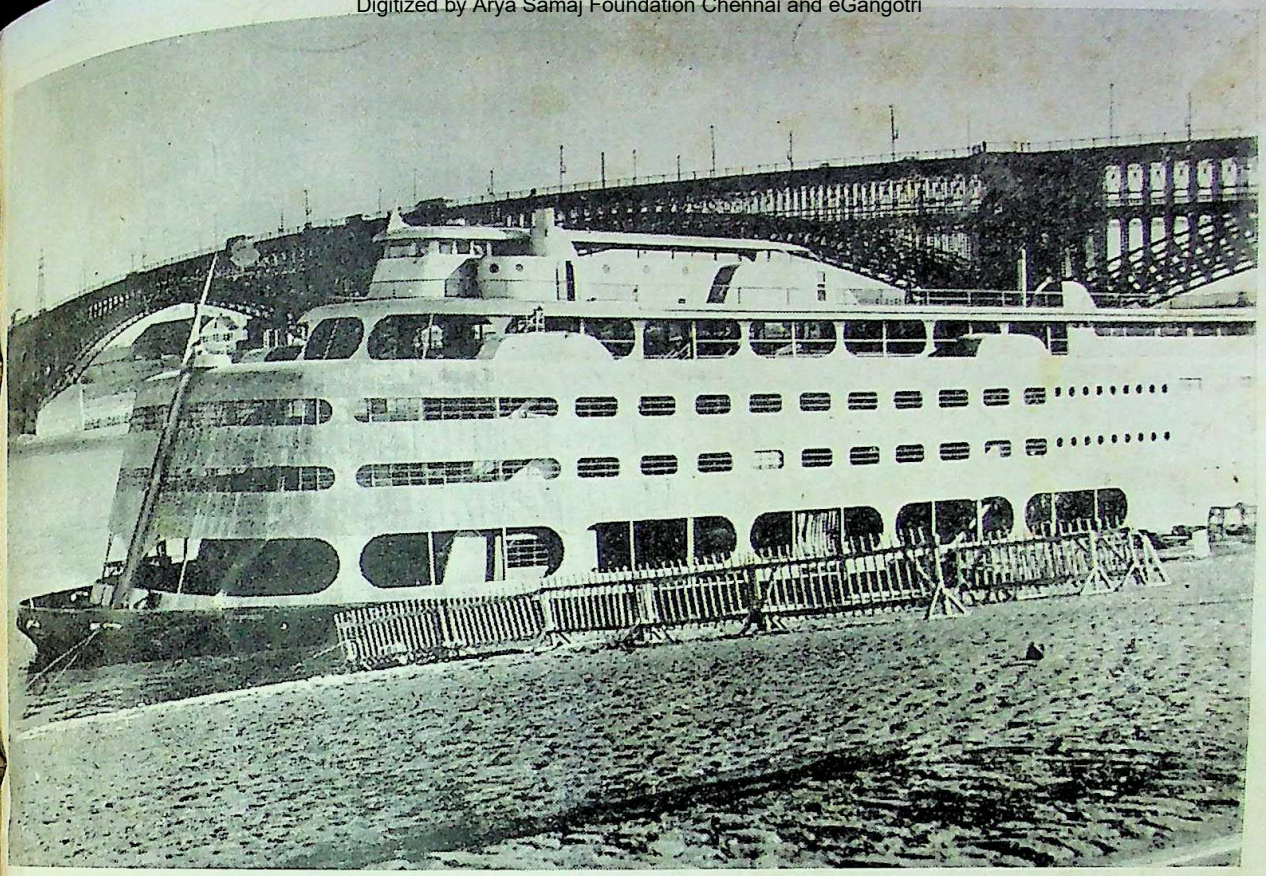
"When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British Crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

"There are other matters outside the statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer that examination to the next issue of *Harijan*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A modern streamlined ferry boat passes under the Eads Bridge on the Mississipi River at St. Louis, the largest city in the U.S. State of Missouri



The Ohio River, one of the major tributaries of the mammoth Mississipi River, rises near Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, the centre of American coal and steel industries

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



RAGINI DHANASRI
By Ramgopal Vijaivargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1946

VOL. LXXX, NO. 1 WHOLE NO. 475

NOTES

Congress President's Letter to Viceroy

The long-drawn parley between the Cabinet Mission and the major political parties in India has reached its logical conclusion. The proposals made in the statement of May 16 contained the germ of democracy and as such, despite all handicaps placed on the Congress, are worthy of a prolonged trial. For where the path leads towards the goal it should be followed, however tortuous and thorny it might be. In the Interim Government proposals, on the other hand, the forces of reaction have had their last throw at bringing all our efforts at the attainment of freedom to negation and as such they cannot be accepted under any circumstances.

In a long letter to the Viceroy, the Congress President has comprehensively dealt with the reasons for the Congress rejecting the Interim Government proposal made by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission in their statement on June 16. Following is the full text of the letter :

25th June, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

Ever since the receipt of your statement of June 16th, my Committee have been considering it from day to day and have given long and anxious thought to your proposals and to the invitations you have issued to individuals to form the Provisional National Government. Because of our desire to find some way out of the present most unsatisfactory situation, we have tried our utmost to appreciate your approach and viewpoint. In the course of our conversations we have already pointed out to you our difficulties. Unfortunately, these difficulties have been increased by the recent correspondence.

The Congress, as you are aware, is a national organisation including in its fold the members of all religions and communities in India. For more than half a century it has laboured for the freedom of India and for equal rights for all Indians. The link that has brought all these various groups and communities together within the fold of the Congress is the passionate desire for national independence, economic advance and social equality. It is from this point of view that we have to judge every proposal. We hoped that a Provisional National Government would be formed which would give effect in practice to this independence.

Powers of Provisional Government : Appreciating some of your difficulties, we did not press for any statutory change introducing independence immediately, but we did expect a *de facto* change in the character of the Government making for independence in action. The status and powers of the Provisional Government were thus important.

In our view this was going to be something entirely different from the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was to represent a new outlook, new methods of work and a new psychological approach by India to both domestic and external problems. Your letter dated 30th May, 1946, gave us certain assurances about the status and powers of the Provisional Government. These did not go far enough, according to our thinking, but we appreciated the friendly tone of that letter and decided to accept the assurances and not to press this particular matter any further.

The important question of the composition of the Provisional Government remained. In this connection we emphasised that we could not accept anything in the nature of "parity" even as a temporary expedient and pointed out that the Provisional Government should consist of 15 members to enable the administration of the country to be carried on efficiently and the smaller minorities to be represented in it.

Some mention of names was made and on our part suggestions were put before you informally, including the name of a non-League Muslim.

Selection of Names : In your statement on June 16th some of the names were made from the provisional list prepared by the Congress. The manner of preparing your list and presenting it as an accomplished fact seemed to us to indicate a wrong approach to the problem. One of the names included had not been previously mentioned at all and was that of a person holding an official position and not known to be associated with any public activity. We have no personal objection to him, but we think that the inclusion of such a name particularly without any previous reference or consultation, was undesirable and indicated a wrong approach to the problem.

Then again a name from our list was excluded and in his place another of our colleagues was put in, but as you have said that this can be rectified, I need not say more about.

Inclusion of Nationalist Muslim : One outstanding feature of this list was the non-inclusion of any Nationalist Muslim. We felt that this was a grave omission. We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to take the place of one of the Congress names on the list. We felt that no one could possibly object to our changing the name of one of our own men. Indeed, when I had drawn your attention to the fact that among the Muslim League nominees was included the name of a person, who had actually lost in the recent elections in the Frontier Province and whose name we felt had been placed there for political reasons, you wrote to me as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than it would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability." But before we could make our suggestion I received your letter of the 22nd June, which surprised us greatly. You had written this letter on the basis of some Press reports. You told us that the Cabinet Mission and you were not prepared to accept a request for the inclusion of a Muslim chosen by the Congress among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government.

This seemed to us an extraordinary decision. It was in direct opposition to your own statement quoted above. It meant that the Congress could not freely choose even its own nominees.

The fact that this was not to be taken as a precedent made hardly any difference. Even a temporary departure from such a vital principle could not be accepted by us at any time or place and in any circumstances.

In your letter of the 21st June, you gave certain questions framed by Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated 19th June and your replies to them. We have not seen Mr. Jinnah's letter. In Question 3, reference is made to "representation of the four minorities *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsees", and it is asked as to "who will fill in vacancies caused in these groups, and whether in filling up the vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained."

Problem of Scheduled Castes: In your answer you say, "If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it." Mr. Jinnah has thus included the Scheduled Castes among the minorities and presumably you have agreed with this view. So far as we are concerned we repudiate this view and consider the Scheduled Castes as integral parts of Hindu society. You also, in your letter of June 15th, treated the Scheduled Castes as Hindus.

You pointed out that in your proposal there was no "parity" either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be 6 Hindus belonging to the Congress, as against 5 Muslims belonging to the League. One of the 6 Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes.

We are in any case not agreeable to the leader of a party, which claims to represent a community which is a minority, interfering with the selection of names either of the Scheduled Castes, whose representation you counted as falling within the Congress quota, or with the selection of representatives of the minorities mentioned.

In Question 4, the Scheduled Castes are again referred to as a minority and it is asked whether the proportion of members of the Government community-wise as provided in the proposals will be maintained. Your answer is that the proportion will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties. Here again one communal group functioning admittedly as such is given a power to veto changes in other groups with which it has no concern.

We may desire, if opportunity offers itself, to increase the representation, when it is possible, to another minority, for example, Anglo-Indians. All this would depend on the consent of the Muslim League. We cannot agree to this.

We may add that your answers restrict the Congress representation to Caste Hindus and make it equal to that of the League.

Decision on Major Communal Issue: Finally you state in answer to Question 5 that "no decision of a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it." You further say that you had pointed this out to the Congress President and he had agreed that the Congress appreciated this point. In this connection I desire to point out that we had accepted this principle for the long-term arrangement in the Union Legislature and it could possibly be applied to the Provisional Government if it was responsible to the Legislature and was composed of representatives on the population basis of major communities.

It could not be applied to the Provisional Government formed on a different basis altogether. It was pointed out by us in my letter of the 13th June, 1946, that it would make administration impossible and deadlocks a certainty. Even in the question as framed by Mr. Jinnah it is stated that "in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12" no major communal issues should be decided if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it. Thus this question arose after the substitution of 14 for 12, *i.e.*, after your statement of June 16th.

Veto Power to Muslim League: In this statement no mention was made of this rule.

This very important change has been introduced almost casually and certainly without our consent. This again gives the power of veto or obstruction to the Muslim League in the Provisional Government.

We have stated above our objections to your proposals of June 16th as well as to your answers to the questions framed by Mr. Jinnah. These defects are grave and would render the working of the Provisional Government difficult and deadlocks a certainty. In the circumstances your proposals cannot fulfil the immediate requirements of the situation or further the cause we hold dear.

My Committee have, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are unable to assist you in forming a Provisional Government as proposed in your statement of June 16th, 1946.

Acceptance of Long-Term Plan: With regard to the proposals made in the statement of May 16th, 1946, relating to the formation and functioning of the constitution-making body, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution on the 24th May, 1946, and conversations and correspondence have taken place between Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission on the one side and myself and some of my colleagues on the other. In these we have pointed out what in our opinion were the defects in the proposals. We also gave our interpretation of some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views, we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our objective. We would add, however, that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

largely depend on the formation of a satisfactory Provisional Government.

Sd/- A. K. AZAD

Congress Resolution on British Proposals

The following is the full text of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Cabinet Mission's Declaration released for publication on June 25 :

On May 24, the Working Committee passed a resolution on the statement, dated May 16 issued by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. In this resolution they pointed out some defects in the statement and gave their own interpretation of certain parts of it.

Since then the Committee have been continuously engaged in giving earnest consideration to the proposals made on behalf of the British Government in the statements of May 16 and June 16 and have considered the correspondence in regard to them between the Congress President and the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

The Committee have examined both these sets of proposals from the point of view of the Congress objective of immediate independence and the opening out of the avenues leading to the rapid advance of the masses, economically and socially, so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine and the lack of the necessaries of life may be ended, and all the people of the country may have the freedom and opportunity to grow and develop according to their genius. These proposals fall short of these objectives. Yet the Committee considered them earnestly in all their aspects because of their desire to find some way for the peaceful settlement of India's problem and the ending of the conflict between India and England.

The kind of independence, Congress has aimed at, is the establishment of a united, democratic Indian federation, with a Central authority, which would command respect from the nations of the world, maximum provincial autonomy and equal rights for all men and women in the country. The limitation of the Central authority as contained in the proposals, as well as the system of grouping of provinces, weakened the whole structure and was unfair to some provinces such as the N.-W. F. Province and Assam, and to some of the minorities, notably the Sikhs. The Committee disapproved of this. They felt, however, that, taking the proposals as a whole, there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central authority and for fully ensuring the right of a province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping, and to give protection to such minorities as might otherwise be placed at a disadvantage. Certain other objections were also raised on their behalf, notably the possibility of non-nationals taking any part in the constitution-making. It is clear that it would be a breach of both the letter and spirit of the statement of May 16, if any non-Indian participated in the voting or stood for election to the Constituent Assembly.

In the proposals for an interim Government contained in the statement of June 16, the defects related to matters of vital concern to the Congress. Some of these have been pointed out in the letter, dated June 25, of the Congress President to the Viceroy. The Provisional Government must have power and authority and responsibility and should function in fact, if not in law, as a *de facto* independent Government leading to the full independence to come. The members of such a Government can only hold themselves responsible to the people and not to any external authority. In the formation of a provisional or other Government, Congressmen can never give up the national character of the Congress, or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to the veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an interim Government as contained in the statement of June 16.

The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress would join the proposed Constituent Assembly, with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India.

While the Committee have agreed to Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is in their opinion essential that a representative and responsible provisional national Government be formed at the earliest possible date. A continuation of authoritarian and unrepresentative Government can only add to the suffering of famishing masses and increased discontent. It will also put in jeopardy the work of the Constituent Assembly, which can only function in a free environment.

The Working Committee recommend accordingly to the All-India Congress Committee, and for the purpose of considering and ratifying this recommendation they convene an emergent meeting of the A.-I. C. C. in Bombay on July 6 and 7.

Interim Government Proposal

The following is the full text of the *interim* Government proposal announced on June 16 :

"His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a Coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such a government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider, however, that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

The Viceroy is, therefore, issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the statement of May 16 :

Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir N. P. Engineer, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. H. K. Mahatab, Dr. John Matthai, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available Coalition Government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

They, therefore, hope that all parties, especially the two major parties, will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will co-operate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the statement of May 16."

Interim Proposal Scrapped

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a statement regret that it has not been possible to form an *interim* Coalition Government, but they are determined that the efforts should be renewed. Until a new *interim* Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker government of officials. Following is the full text of the statement issued on June 25 :

"The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy are glad that constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the States. They welcome the statements made to them by the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League that it is their intention to try and work in the Constituent Assembly so as to make it a speedy and effective means of devising the new constitutional arrangements under which India can achieve her independence. They are sure that the members of the Constituent Assembly, who are about to be elected, will work in this spirit.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an Interim Coalition Government, but they are determined that the effort should be renewed in accordance with the terms of paragraph eight of their statement of June 16.

Owing, however, to the very heavy burden which has been cast upon the Viceroy and the representatives of the parties during the last three months, it is proposed that the further negotiations should be adjourned for a short interval during the time while the elections for the Constituent Assembly will be taking place. It is hoped that when the discussions are resumed, the leaders of the two major parties, who have all expressed their agreement with the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission on the need for the speedy formation of a representative Interim Government, will do their utmost to arrive at an accommodation upon the composition of that Government.

As the Government of India must be carried on until a new Interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker government of officials.

It is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament and also to resume their work from which they have been absent for over three months. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next, June 29.

In leaving India the members of the Cabinet Mission express their cordial thanks for all the courtesy and consideration which they have received as guests in the country and they most sincerely trust that the steps which have been initiated will lead to a speedy realisation of the hopes and wishes of the Indian people."

Wavell-Jinnah Correspondence

The release of the Wavell-Jinnah correspondence throws a flood of light on the causes that led to the breakdown of the *interim* Government proposals. After the statement of June 16 was officially scrapped, Mr. Jinnah came out with a fiery statement in which he declared that "any attempt to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16, which has been accepted by the Muslim League, will be regarded as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith." The charges of Mr. Jinnah may be considered to have been summed up in the following portion of his long statement :

> I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of June 16 as that statement clearly says that the Vicerov aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26.
>
> It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure. The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and clause 8 of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear and the delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June 16.

Viscount Wavell has not suffered these charges to go unanswered. The correspondence that passed between him and Mr. Jinnah has been released for publication together with the short but important letter, that was sent to the League President in reply to his statement mentioned above. The correspondence, published below, proves that Mr. Jinnah's charges against the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy stand amply rebutted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wavell's Second Letter

June 28.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your statement released yesterday which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will remember that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of June 25, before the meeting of your Working Committee, at which you accepted the proposals in the statement of June 16, we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the statement of May 16 while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16, this had produced a situation in which para 8 of the statement of June 16 took effect.

This paragraph stated that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in that statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the statement of May 16 it was the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible.

In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government.

Thus, whatever interpretation you may put on para 8 your Working Committee can have been in no doubt as to the course we proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what we had told you.

Secondly, the assurances which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular Interim Government that would have been set up if both major parties had accepted the statement of June 16.

To prevent misunderstanding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of June 19 the substance of which has already appeared in the Press, and my reply of June 20.

The Viceroy's second letter of June 28 to Mr. Jinnah:

I have received your letter of June 28 and have shown it to the Cabinet Ministers.

We are quite unable to accept your suggestion that we have gone back on our word. As I have said in a letter to you earlier today, our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in para 8 of the statement of June 16; and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on June 25, that we proposed to follow this course.

The arrangements for the elections to the Constituent Assembly have already been put into operation and we do not propose to postpone them.

As the substance of your letter was included in the All-India Radio news today I am publishing this reply.

W. WAVELL

MR. JINNAH'S LETTER

June 19th, 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th June, 1946 together with an advance copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview with you at Simla prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form the Interim Government consisting of 12 members on the basis of 5 Muslim League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress; but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion. After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, dated the 16th of May, 1946, you again on the 3rd of June at New Delhi gave me to understand that the formula for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee which you kindly gave. Accordingly, I gave a full account of the talks I had with you and the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the acceptance of the long-term proposals was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions. Further, as I have already pointed out in my letter to you of the 8th June, 1946, I made the statement before the Council of the All-India Muslim League that that was the formula, which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation. This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All-India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the plan being accepted.

When the Congress Press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity, with a view to inform you of the Muslim League stand, I write to you on the 8th June that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

Subsequently, in my interview with you on the 13th June you informed me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim League, and 3 others, namely, 1 Sikh, 1 Scheduled Caste, and 1 Indian Christian. I told you then that if any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to your new formula I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deem necessary.

After discussion with the Congress representatives you wrote to me on the 15th June informing me that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of five-five-three and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

Accordingly, you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on the 16th June, with a covering letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who after

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

careful consideration of the matter have authorised me to state as follows :

(*a*) That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to 5 Muslim Leaguers to join the Interim Government without calling for a list from the leader of the Muslim League.

(*b*) That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your Interim Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi. One of the minority representatives nominated by you, *i.e.*, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the Interim Government.

(*c*) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the Interim Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the Interim Government, as a whole and as against the Congress, as a single group.

(*d*) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress, it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you, and

(*e*) That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposals.

Further, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of the 16th June :

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned ;

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period ;

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the 4 minorities, *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Chirstians and the Parsis, is or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created, be filled by the Viceroy ; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the Leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained ;

4. (*a*) Whether during the Interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, Communitywise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained,

(*b*) Whether the present representation given to 4 minorities *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification, and

5. In view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original of 12 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

VICEROY'S LETTER TO MR. JINNAH

Dear Mr. Jinnah, June 20, 1946

I thank you for your letter of the 19th June which I have shown to the Cabinet Mission.

I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on the first part of your letter. I am sure you will appreciate that negotiations designed to secure acceptance by two parties with conflicting interests may not always end on the same basis as that on which they began ; and as you know, I never gave you any guarantee that they would necessarily be concluded on any particular basis.

I note the views of the Muslim League set out in paragraphs (*a*) to (*e*) of your letter.

The intention in the statement of June 16 was that the discussion on portfolios with leaders of the two main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds, since until the names are known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our statement of June 16, I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation :

1. Until I have received acceptance from those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

2. No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

3. If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of Minorities, I shall naturallly consult both the main parties before filling it.

4. (*a*) and (*b*) The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

5. No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I have pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

6. If you agree, I will send copies of the questions in your letter and of paragraphs 4 and 5 of this letter to the President of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
W. WAVELL

Candidates for the Constituent Assembly

The time has come for the selection of candidates for the Constituent Assembly. The Congress Leaders have suggested names of well-known Indian experts on constitutional law, irrespective of their party affiliations, for inclusion in the Congress list. That is good.

A Constituent Assembly is a rare feature in the life of a nation. Its tasks and responsibilities are very great. The more efficient is its work, the shorter is the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

interval between two such Assemblies and the more durable the social peace achieved. The U.S.A. had her Constituent Assembly some two centuries back, need has not arisen to call another. France had several such Assemblies during the past hundred years. The prospective candidates for the Indian Constituent Assembly ought to realise the great burden they are going to shoulder. Their power will be immense, they would make or mar the future of the unborn generations. A revolution may be averted by them if they succeed ; a catastrophe will be a certainty if they fail.

The methods that were followed in selecting candidates for the Legislatures make us apprehend that the same tactics are likely to be adopted in selecting Constituent Assembly candidates as well. In the long lists of members of the Legislatures in Bengal, Bihar and Assam in particular, one has to look long before he comes across a name that suggests parliamentary abilities. The Congress list is no exception. Persons with well-known records of anti-social activities are included in it. It pained us to find a number of such names on the list of persons returned to the A.-I.C.C. from Bengal. The lists are faultless with regard to group quota. The declared criterion for these selections was that the candidates were political sufferers. The selecting authorities thought it fit to send workers to the Legislatures. We hoped that it would ensure at least one important thing that is badly needed today, discipline. But the disillusionment came too soon. In Assam, the Group controversy has needlessly exposed the division among Congress ranks in the Ministry as well as the Legislature ; in Bengal, the unsavoury facts revealed after the last election to the Upper House by the Assembly members augur ill for the province.

The fundamentals of Indian life and activity are embodied in a verse of the *Bhagavad Gita* : "Do your duty without waiting for the results thereof, be that good or be that ill." This great teaching of unattachment to worldly desires brings about an unruffleness of mind essentially needed by a patriot. The Bengal Revolutionaries of the Partition days had discovered the seed of their success in this verse, they made the study of the *Gita* compulsory for their recruits and thus succeeded in building up a band of workers with grim determination, sterling character, well-disciplined and ready to lay down their lives for the attainment of freedom for our motherland. They were a handful in number but they shook the British throne and lashed world opinion to alertness about India. They made tremendous sacrifices without waiting for a reward. Deviation from this principle has brought disaster on the Congress in Bengal.

The recognition of political suffering as an object of reward through the grant of membership of the Legislature cannot be too strongly condemned. This lowers sacrifice to the level of capitalisation and brings down the sufferer in the esteem of the people whom he served. The purity of his sacrifice is lost and it is natural that motive would be ascribed to his subsequent activities. Unfit for parliamentary work by temperament, lacking in educational experience and equipment needed for it and shorn of the respect he commanded among his folk, is bound to cut a sorry figure and the country suffers both ways. With parliamentarians innocent of knowledge of law and constitution, enactments serving sectional interests, Acts with retrospective effect and the like become frequent and a source of menace to the people. Valuable workers are lost in the Legislatures.

The people are disappointed in their expectation that their beloved leaders, local and provincial, would resist the temptation of the paltry salary and honour that attaches to the membership of a Legislature. If employment has to be found for those of them in distress, other avenues should be discovered. Legislatures ought not be used as an object of reward or employment by any political party because it means evil for all, the workers themselves not exempted.

We appeal to the Bengal Congress authorities to ponder over and rise above personal, group or party tactics in making selections of candidates for the Constituent Assembly. Ability, and not the mere fact of political suffering, should be the prime test for such selections.

League Planning Committee on Pakistan Economics

The Honorary Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League Planning Committee in a statement says :—The Cabinet Mission's Plan provides that the proposed Union of India would deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications and shall have powers to raise the finances required for the purpose. The economic implications of putting these subjects under the control of the proposed Union are as follows :

The foreign relations and the foreign trade of a country are interdependent. Trade considerations play an important role in the determination of the foreign policy. The Centre, through its foreign policy, will be in a position to exercise a considerable measure of control over the volume, character and direction of the foreign trade of the constituent units.

The authority entrusted with the responsibility for incurring public expenditure can and does affect the economic life of the community to a very great extent. The expenditure on defence usually constitutes a very large part of the total public expenditure. Under the proposed Plan the defence expenditure will be the responsibility of the Centre which would thus have the power to influence the economic life of the units in a very effective manner.

The Defence Department of a country is usually the largest single employer in the country. It employs a large number of people directly as members of the defence services. The secondary employment created by it is enormous, for a very much larger number is employed in the production of goods and services required for defence. All this employment will be controlled by the Central Government.

The goods required for defence include, amongst others, the products of the following industries :

Iron and Steel Industry ; General Engineering Industry ; Power Industry ; Chemical Industry ; Cement Industry ; Consumption goods industries, such as leather, textiles, sugar, paper, matches, soap, etc.

The first five are basic industries, for their products are indispensable for other industries. The location of these industries is decided partly on grounds of strategy and partly in the interests of the economic development of the country. These decisions will be made by the Central Government which will thus have the power to promote or discourage the economic development of different areas.

In order that the requirements of the Defence Department may be efficiently and promptly met, a good deal of economic planning would be necessary. In

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

particular the development of the abovementioned industries will have to be planned by the Centre. This will greatly curtail the liberty of the Groups as well as Provinces in the matter of economic planning. The Units will have no option but to esure that their plans are such as can be fitted in the Master Plan prepared by the Centre. Thus the Central Government, through its economic planning for defence, would be in a position to determine the character of the economy which the different units are to have.

Communications play a very important role in the economic life of a country. The location of industries and of markets, the character of agricultural production and the economic development of different areas are dependent on the facilities available for the transport of goods and the rates at which they are carried.

The railways can't charge uniform rates for all goods and distances. Differential rates are both necessary and justified on economic grounds. But the right of discrimination places enormous power in the hands of the railway authorities, which can, if they so choose, cripple the economy of any area through their rates policy.

The Union Government will have the powers to raise the finances required for the central subjects. It has not been laid down as to how these finances are to be raised. There are two ways of doing this :

1. The units may make contributions to the Centre on an agreed basis, or,

2. The Centre may impose taxes on its own account.

As this question has to be decided by the proposed Constituent Assembly, it can safely be taken for granted that a majority of the members of the Assembly would be in favour of the second method. The economic effects of this method of raising the finances required by the Centre would be of a very far-reaching character.

Some of the important sources of revenue for a common centre are as follows :

Customs; Central Excise; Income-tax; Currency.

The imposition of import and export duties for revenue purposes is very closely connected with the imposition of such duties for protective purposes. It is necessary that the one should not nullify the effect of the other. The case for their proper co-ordination and control by the same authority is very strong. This authority is likely to be the Union Government which will thus get the powers to control the policy with regard to protection.

The incidence of import and export duties whether for revenue or for protective purposes cannot be uniform for all the people. Different people are affected differently. For example, the incidence of the export duty on jute has been to an appreciable extent on the Muslim agriculturists of Eastern Bengal. Again, the protective duty on sugar has meant that the Muslims, along with others, have been paying a higher price for the sugar consumed by them, whereas the beneficiaries of the duty have been the Hindu growers of sugar-cane in the U.P. and Bihar, and the non-Muslim owners of sugar-mills. Such examples could be easily multiplied. The point that it is intended to emphasise is that the authority imposing the import and export duties is in a position, to bring about a re-distribution of wealth amongst the members of the community and to discriminate between different people in the distribution of sacrifices and benefits.

Excise duties cannot be levied on a uniform basis. Only a few commodities are selected for this purpose and they are taxed at different rates. Besides, the incidence of excise duties, like Customs duties, is such that different people are affected differently. This gives the Central Government powers to exercise discrimination in the imposition of burdens.

Income-tax is a direct tax and through it all the economic activities of the individual come directly under the control of the taxing authority. People are naturally more interested in the authority that taxes them directly than in any other. That is why the component units in most of the federations in the world have always tried to reserve the powers of direct taxation to themselves leaving the Central Government to rely mostly on indirect taxes. But the increasing needs of the Central Government have usually led to an encroachment on the rights of the Units in the sphere of direct taxation, with the consequent loss of importance by the Units.

Currency is the source of inflationary finance. In times of emergency such as war, it is the most important source of finance for the Central Government. Once it is conceded that the Union Government will have powers to raise money otherwise than through contributions by the Units, the case for the Central control over currency becomes irresistible.

Currency and banking are closely related and their unified control is essential on economic grounds. This would mean that banking would also become a Central subject.

The Plan provides that any major communal issue should require for its decision a majority of the representatives of each of the two major communities. This may be an effective safeguard against any direct interference in the religious and cultural interests of the Muslims. But there need be no such direct interference for the religion and culture of a people can be imperceptibly, but none less effectively, destroyed by applying the economic strangle-hold against which there is no safeguard, as economic issues are not likely to come under the definition of "major communal issues".

Some of the important key points for the control of the economic life of a community are as follows :

1. Foreign trade.
2. Protective tariffs.
3. Public expenditure (of which the expenditure on defence constitutes a very large part).
4. Income-tax.
5. Economic planning.
6. Basic industries.
7. Currency.
8. Banking.

Practically all the above subjects, for one reason or another, would come under the control of the proposed Centre which would be virtually an Akhand Hindustan Centre. The Units will find that policies with regard to most of the important matters are laid down for them by the Centre and all that they are required to do is to carry them out. It would be no exaggeration to say that under this arrangement the Groups and Provinces may be no more than glorified municipalities.

Is Congress a Hindu Body ?

Strenuous and persistent efforts have for some years past been made in India and abroad to paint the Congress as a Hindu organisation. The propaganda

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were mainly Conservative Britons and their Indian colleagues of the Muslim League. The Indian National Congress has always been a national organisation of the Indian masses. Any person, belonging to any community or professing any religion, is eligible for membership provided he subscribes to its political creed, namely, attainment of Indian independence by non-violent and peaceful means, and pays a subscription of four annas per annum. An influential section of Muslims have all along been in the Congress, even Mr. Jinnah was one of its leaders for a number of years. The first President of the Congress was an Indian Christian and the second one was a Parsee. The longest term of Congress Presidentship has been held by a Muslim. Vital facts like these are deliberately suppressed for misrepresenting the Congress as a Hindu body. The estrangement of the Muslims from the Congress is solely due to British patronage. Recognition of Muslim claims even to an absurd length through the League and a blunt refusal to recognise them when the Muslims come through the Congress is the foremost reason which has added weight to the League. As soon as this patronage is withdrawn and the Muslim community finds that their claims are duly recognised when pushed forward through prevalent democratic institutions the League will crumble.

After the *interim* Government proposals of June 16, were scrapped in spite of Mr. Jinnah's declared eagerness to work it, the League leader has been lashed to fury and in his usual manner has attacked the Congress in the following words :

As regards the resolution of the Congress, I most emphatically repudiate its bogus claim that it represents India and its claim to 'national' character. The Congress is a Hindu organization and it does not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. It certainly does not represent the Muslims, and the mere fact that it has a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give it the national character which it claims, nor the right to represent India upon which it keeps on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections, the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away 90 per cent of the total Muslim seats in the various legislatures, and out of the remaining 10 per cent, the Congress share does not amount to more than 4 per cent.

The Congress, therefore, has no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims, and its refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. First, they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus. It was accepted by them at Simla last year at the conference called by the Viceroy in connexion with the Wavell proposals, and secondly, their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims and the Muslim League is not the representative organization of Muslim India. As pointed out above the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and, therefore, the Muslim League cannot be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to prop up this bogus claim.

This vituperation was anticipated by the Congress and a complete reply to the charges has already been recorded in advance in the Congress President's letter to the Viceroy. The letter, which has been reproduced elsewhere, is quite clear and we need not deal with it here.

It is not yet definitely known who were the persons that had pulled Mr. Jinnah's strings from behind. It has been naturally apprehended that they belong to the Civil Service. The role of the diehard Civil Service in India, most of whom are Churchill's men, in obstructing all efforts of Indian national progress is wellknown. In addition to manning the Secretariat, they now hold the gubernatorial *guddee* of eight out of eleven provinces of India. Their mind has been spoken out by one of Churchill's henchmen, Mr. Casey, who now speaks with 'authority' about Indian affairs. In a series of articles contributed from Melbourne and published in the U.S.A., in the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, Mr. Casey makes the following significant observation on the Hindu colour of the Congress. The articles appeared immediately after the publication of the Cabinet Mission's Declaration. In passing it should be noted that Mr. Casey was a nominee of Mr. Churchill and his stupid and self-opinionated administration—which favoured all reactionaries—has virtually ruined Bengal beyond redemption.

All-India politics today are sharp and clear-cut. There are only two parties of India-wide consequence —the Congress Party and the Moslem League. The Congress Party is almost entirely Caste Hindu, the Moslem League is entirely Moslem.

The Congress Party claims to represent all communities, but it is clear from the results of recent elections and from other evidence that it represents in effect only the Caste Hindus.

However, even this means a considerable body of support. There are nearly 220,000,000 Caste Hindus in the whole of India, of whom about 160,000,000 are in British India. For those, like the writer, who prefer their figures in tabular form, the Indian population in millions are as follows :

	Caste Hindus	*Moslems*	*Scheduled Castes*	*Others*
British India	160	84·1	42·3	27
States	58·5	13·4	9·7	15
	218·5	97·5	52	42

These figures are from the 1941 Census adjusted reasonably for net population increase since.

The Congress Party holds that divided India is unthinkable. It claims to speak for 75 per cent of India, and asks where it would be possible to find a bigger majority than this on any major political question in any country. It goes on to ask in effect for British India to be handed over to it, and the right to deal subsequently with minorities as a domestic problem. It says it realises quite well that India cannot have orderly government with a permanently dissatisfied minority of 100,000,000 in the midst, and that it will be up to the Congress Party to solve this problem.

The Moslem League, on the other hand, insists that it will not in any circumstances come into an all-India Government working an all-India constitution under which Moslem representation would be swamped by that of Caste Hindus. It affects to believe that no constitutional safeguards for Moslems

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in an all-India constitution would be any protection for them against the ambitions of the Hindus.

It would be difficult to conceive more irreconcilable political aims than those of the Congress Party and Moslem League. This is an unenviable situation that the British Government has to resolve—quite the most intractable major problem of its kind any Governrent has ever had to face. The situation is frequently compressed into slick slogans—*Quit India —Split India; United we stand, Divided We Fall;* and the reverse.

Unfortunately, there is very little room for compromise between the ambitions of the Congress Party for a United India and those of the Moslem League for an autonomous Moslem State or States.

A beautiful reply to this propaganda of the theory of internal differences and the unbridgability of the gulf between the major parties has been given by the *Globe,* Boston. After the publication of the Mission's proposals, it writes editorially :

The best indication that Great Britain really wishes to solve the Indian problem comes from empire spokesmen who say privately that the people of the sub-continent are capable of reasonably efficient self-government. India gives Britain such a bad name, and Indian Nationalism is such a source of strategic weakness in war, that she is becoming a liability rather than an asset.

Therefore, London has followed the breakdown of discussions between Hindu and Moslem leaders with a proposal for a constitution. It fails to grant Mahometan provinces Pakistan, the independence they demand, but instead would create a loose federation, more like the Swiss, less centralized than the American. The National Legislature and executive would deal only with foreign affairs, defense and communications ; any measure raising an issue between Hindus and Moslems would require majority support for both communities.

British power in India has so long acted upon the principle of "divide and rule" that Indian internal differences are out of hand, and agreement will be difficult to obtain. But it would be to the British advantage. Should India become an independent nation, London hopes that she will develop into a source of increased trade, as did the American colonies after they had won their freedom. Should the Indians decide on dominion status, the settlement may provide a precedent for others that will make the British Empire wholly a commonwealth.—[Italics ours.—Ed. *M. R.*]

Casey on Economics of Pakistan

After the Muslim League Planning Committee's view on the economics of Pakistan, Mr. Casey's opinion on the subject will be interesting. In one of the same series of articles published in *Christian Science Monitor,* Mr. Casey writes :

The present idea is to form one Moslem country in North-west India composed of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces —and another in North-East India, composed of Bengal and Assam. Mr. Jinnah appears to claim the whole of these provinces as they now stand, although there are Hindu majorities in many of their districts. But it is possible that he would forego this extreme claim and, although with the loss of some rich industrial areas, be content with smaller but more purely Moslem regions.

Nevertheless, if Eastern Pakistan were to be confined to the Moslem majority areas of Bengal and Assam, I am not at all sure that it would represent the sort of Pakistan that the Moslem League would want, particularly if it were to exclude Calcutta and the coal fields. The Moslem League is not seeking a sylvan retreat—and that is what it would be, shorn of Calcutta and the coal fields. It would be a poor rural area, practically without any industry and not even able to feed itself.

The cry of Pakistan is raised in the towns and cities among the relatively small number of Moslems who think politically and who are mortally afraid that as a community the Moslems will be swamped by the more astute, better educated, wealthier and more numerous Hindus.

The Moslem League have worked themselves up into a state of mind that can only be called Hindu-phobia. Not that there is not some justification for this. The Caste Hindus have dealt with the Moslems with the minimum of warmth and generosity—of even fairness. When and where the Hindus have been in the saddle, the Moslems have had the rough end of the stick. The Caste Hindus have given the Moslems little evidence that they believe in a fair deal—and they deny them a new deal.*

The fact remains that, Pakistan or no Pakistan, Hindus and Moslems have got to continue to live together in the same villages, towns and cities in which they are now closely integrated. Pakistan would not result in the village store being owned by a Moslem. It would not put the mills and the business houses into Moslem hands. The only way that the Moslems can advance themselves economically is to achieve education and to learn how to compete successfully with the Hindus, which means a vast amount of hard work and the passage of time.

Under the Pakistan division each side would have a formidable body of hostages in the camp of the other. If there were to be discriminatory treatment by the Moslems against the Hindus in Pakistan, this would be quickly followed by reprisals against the Moslems in the Hindu majority areas. Competition in discrimination might well follow with unfortunate and unpleasant results for both sides.

But unless the Moslems discriminate against the Hindus in Pakistan, how is Pakistan going to result in rapid and increasing economic opportunity for the Moslems ? If the Hindus are in almost complete control of, say, the cloth trade in Bengal (as they happen to be), and if the Moslems legislate to ensure that licenses to trade in cloth shall be, for the future, on a 50-50 basis as between Hindus and Moslems—this means, in effect, running large numbers of successful Hindu merchants out of the cloth trade for the benefit of the Moslems. Are the Hindus in Hindu majority provinces going to take this lying down ?

The competition and antagonism between Pakistan and Hindustan would translate itself inevitably into trade rivalry. The greater part of Indian industry would be in Hindustan, and the

* Needless to say this is a typical false statement incapable of being substantiated.—Ed. *M. R.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

largest part of the Indian market. Hindustan would, at best, be rather unwilling that Pakistan products should share its home markets. Tariffs would rise, inevitably, against Pakistan products, to the detriment of Pakistan industry—and vice-versa. The stronger party—Hindustan—would be likely to win a tariff war of this sort.

I do not believe that, even today, the bulk of the Moslems have given anything like enough thought to the demand for Pakistan. I do not believe that they have analyzed the economics of Pakistan objectively.

I am convinced that the solution lies in substantial and effective safeguards for the Moslems in an all-India constitution and government, to ensure that the Moslems get a fair deal, and maybe rather more than a fair deal, to compensate them for the disabilities that have been imposed on them in the past and to give them an opportunity of catching up.

We have always been in favour of giving the Muslims full opportunity for catching up, provided that any special favour granted to them must be specific, clearly stated and for a short period after which all discriminatory provisions would be withdrawn. The present policy of discriminatory treatment in favour of the Muslims *qua* Muslims in the economic, political and administrative fields means in effect perpetuation of backwardness. This serves as a drag on the progress of the whole society, and means selling the unborn generations into servitude.

India: British Report Leans to Moslems

Another significant contribution to the *Christian Science Monitor* for May 17, under the above caption should also be mentioned. It is written by Mr. Saville R. Davis, Chief of the London News Bureau of the *Christian Science Monitor* after the publication of the White Paper on May 16, and cabled from London. Mr. Davis writes :

On the whole, the British plan goes further than expected towards honouring the requests of the Moslem minority. The statement showed none of that tendency to favour the Congress Party at the expense of the Moslems which many commentators expected when the Mission left for India.

However, the Congress Party does gain a United India with a Central Legislature executive branch, empowered to control foreign affairs, defense and communications. The fact that the Moslems have agreed to this during the Simla discussions does not detract from its importance to Congress Party leaders.

The Moslems for their part gain what Lord Pethick Lawrence in a broadcast described as the "advantage of Pakistan without the dangers inherent in a division of India."

If ever a reasonable basis for agreement existed, therefore, it would seem to be now. The two parties face a clear decision whether to accept or shoulder responsibility for refusal.

Those who have not followed the Simla negotiations closely should understand that both the Congress Party and the Moslem League had abandoned their extreme positions during the Simla talks. It was no longer a question of centrally-controlled India versus dividing the country into Hindu India and Pakistan. In rejecting both these extreme solutions, therefore, the Cabinet Mission offended no one, since compromise was already far advanced.

The procedure of the Cabinet Mission was to start with a balance sheet of agreements at Simla and then make specific recommendations for "closing the remainder of the gap."

Where the Congress Party wanted one Constituent Assembly and the Moslems wanted federal and local assemblies, the Cabinet Mission recommended one assembly which at the appropriate moment, when dealing with the affairs of groups of provinces, would resolve itself into three groups.

Moslems wanted groups of provinces to have their own legislatures and executives. This was granted.

The Moslems wanted to have the provinces divided into Hindu and Moslem groups, prior to the constitution-making process, with the right for the provinces to secede with the groups thereafter if they so desired.

The Congress Party wanted each province left free to join the group or not. The British plan favoured the Moslems in the main.

Paramountcy Under Indian Union

The Cabinet Delegations' statement that withdrawal of paramountcy will not result in a transfer of it to the Indian Union, has brought a new constitutional issue to limelight. The declaration as to the cessation of paramountcy on the formation of the Indian Union not merely in regard to other states, as being incidental to the recognition of Indian independence without the same being vested in another body or sovereign authority, raises questions of great complexity, especially having regard to the varying degree of sovereignty enjoyed by about 600 States spread all over India. The whole problem of paramountcy has been discussed in a masterly article by Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer in the *Leader*. Sir Alladi says that during the *interim* period, the newly constituted Executive Council should function as advisers to the Crown Representative in regard to the discharge of his functions *vis a vis* the States. This is the same plea which has been vigorously put forward by Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar, who was himself until recently intimately connected with the administration of a premier Indian State. It apparently has also the support of Gandhiji as has been pointed out by Sir Gopalaswami himself. Discussing the powers and position of the newly appointed Executive Councillors in this regard, Sir Alladi says :

> After all, it has to be remembered that the vital basis on which rested the bifurcation of functions under the Government of India Act has not come into being. The plea put forward is merely one for a reversion to the state of things prior to 1935 with this difference that whereas the members of the Executive Council shared the power and the responsibility prior to 1935 along with Governor-General, the present Councillors will, under the present constitution, having regard to the statutory changes brought about by the Act of 1935, be merely in the position of advisers to the Crown Representative in the discharge of his responsibility. It might be that whereas in the discharge of his functions as the head of the British Indian Government, the Governor-General is bound to accept the advice of his Councillors according to any agreed or accepted formula, the advice

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tendered by the Councillors in regard to the functions of the Crown Representative may not have the same sanction.

Dealing with the Union's powers over the States, Sir Alladi says :

Even in regard to the States acceding to the Union it has to be noticed that the scope of paramountcy is not co-extensive with the range of subjects coming within the sphere of the Union Government according to the proposed scheme of the Cabinet Mission. If so, the question would naturally arise as to what is to become of the rights acquired, say, in regard to the passage and acquisition of railway lands the various agreements concluded in a large number of cases as a result of the exercise of the rights of paramountcy by the British Crown.

Are these rights to enure for the benefit of the Indian Union, and if so how does the position square with the limited range of the spheres of the Indian Union according to the proposed plan ? It will lead to inextricable confusion if the States which accede to the Union are to re-assert rights which have long ago lapsed or to resume the exercise of sovereign functions such as, say, the issue of independent currency, the re-introduction of an independent postage etc., on the ground that the Union Constitution cannot assume these high sovereign functions having regard to the restricted and limited range of union authority.

In regard to the non-acceding States the position is even more difficult. Are they to be resurrected as independent sovereign States spread all over India with a wider range of powers and amplified sovereignty than they ever possessed, as the ultimate dominion, according to the accepted theories of sovereignty, must reside somewhere ?

The Cabinet Delegation has made a statement that withdrawal of paramountcy will not result in a transfer of it to the Indian Union. This view is questionable in the light of the claim made by the British Crown on several occasions that in part at least the rights of paramountcy are traceable to their being successors of the Moghul Emperor. Besides, if the Indian Union is to be in any sense the successor to British sovereignty in India as the result of the recognition of India's right to independence, there is no reason why on the principle of State succession—a principle which has been recognized by the Permanent Court of International Justice in several cases—that the Union authority should not exercise the rights of paramountcy in regard to non-acceding States.

Paramountcy is, though undefinable and undefined, the result of rights acquired through treaty, usage and sufferance. If so, what is the constitutional impediment to these rights passing on to the Indian Union ? Any other conclusion would lead to inextricable confusion in Indian polity and a reverter to a state worse than the position occupied by the different States in India after the fall of Moghul Empire.

As the declaration stands at the present moment, a danger of confusion in the solution of the problem is recognised. Sir Alladi points out that these and other questions will have to be approached not from a legalistic standpoint but from the viewpoint of the larger interests of India as a whole. If all the 600 States are immediately brought into the Union, the problems arising may be capable of easy solution and adjustment.

Human Rights

In accordance with the resolution of the Economic and Social Council on the establishment of a Commission on Human Rights, the nuclear Commission on Human Rights held its first sitting in New York in May last. The Commission consisted of nine members representing Norway, U.S.S.R., Yugosiavia, France, Belgium, Peru, China, U.S.A., and India. Our country was represented by Mr. K. C. Neogy. The nuclear Commission considered its terms of reference, the definitive composition of the Commission and various documents referred to the Commission concerning human rights and to report thereon to the second session of the Economic and Social Council. The Commission felt that while it was within its competence to draft a bill of human rights, it was not as yet in a position to do so, but it would proceed with the preparatory work.

A Committee appointed by the American Law Institute has done good preparatory work in this direction. A statement of Essential Human Rights has been prepared by them and published in the *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The cultures or countries represented on this Committee, besides the U.S.A., were British, Canadian, French, pre-Nazi German, Italian, Polish, Soviet Russian, Spanish, Latin American, Arabic, Chinese and Indian.

The statement opens with the preamble that upon the freedom of the individual depends the welfare of the people, the safety of the State and the peace of the world. In society, complete freedom cannot be attained ; the liberties of the one are limited by the liberties of others, and the preservation of freedom requires the fulfilment by individuals of their duties as members of society. The function of the State is to promote conditions under which the individual can be most free. To express those freedoms, to which every human being is entitled and to assure that all shall live under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, this declaration is made.

1. Freedom of belief and of worship is the right of every one.

The duty of the State in protecting this freedom may involve the following steps :

(*a*) To abstain from enacting laws which impair the right,

(*b*) to prevent its governmental agencies and officials from performing acts which impair this right,

(*c*) to enact laws and to provide suitable procedures, if necessary, to prevent persons within its jurisdiction from impairing the right, and

(*d*) to maintain such judicial, regulatory and operative agencies as may be necessary to give practical effect to the right.

2. Freedom to form and hold opinions and to receive opinions and information is the right of every one. The individual must be free to receive opinions expressed by others by any means of communication such as books, newspapers, pamphlets or radio.

3. Freedom of expression is the right of every one. It includes the freedom of the individual to speak, the press, the graphic arts, the theatre, or any other art form to present his ideas.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. Freedom to assemble peaceably with others is the right of every one.

5. Freedom to form with others associations of a political, economic, religious, social, cultural, or any other character for purposes not inconsistent with these articles is the right of every one.

6. Freedom from unreasonable interference with his person, home, reputation, privacy, activities and property is the right of every one.

7. Every one has the right to have his civil and criminal liabilities and his rights determined without undue delay by fair public trial by a competent tribunal before which he has had opportunity for a full hearing.

8. Every one who is detained has the right to immediate judicial determination of the legality of his detention. The State has a duty to provide adequate procedures to make this right effective.

9. No one shall be convicted of crime except for violation of a law in effect at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that applicable at the time of the Commission of the offence.

10. Every one has the right to own property under general law. The State shall not deprive any one of his property except for a public purpose and with just compensation.

11. Every one has the right to education.

12. Every one has the right to work.

13. Every one has the right to reasonable conditions of work.

14. Every one has the right to adequate food and housing.

15. Every one has the right to social security. The State has a duty to maintain or insure that there are maintained comprehensive arrangements for the promotion of health, for the prevention of sickness and and accident, and for the provision of medical care and for compensation for loss of livelihood.

16. Every one has the right to take part in the government of his State.

17. Every one has the right to protection against arbitrary discrimination in the provisions and applications of the law because of race, religion, sex or any other reason.

18. In exercise of his rights, every one is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic State.

This recognises the general relativity of rights. Thus freedom of religion does not permit practices such as human sacrifice, nor, in countries where the prevailing standards profoundly disapprove, of practices such as polygamy. Freedom of speech does not forbid the State from adopting reasonable laws forbidding libel and slander; nor does it permit blasphemy or utterances tending to promote panic, mob violence, insurrection or war. The organisation of parties seeking to establish dictatorship is not consistent with freedom of assembly or association because it would tend to destroy the rights of others.

An international Bill of Rights accepted and observed by the member nations of the U.N.O. will prove a long step forward towards the safeguarding of world peace.

India and South Africa

The passive resistance of the Indian settlers in South Africa against the fascistic intransigence of the Union Government and shameless hooliganism of the South African Europeans is making new history. We were anxiously awaiting the repercussions of the final passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, and suggested the application of economic sanctions as also the starting of a passive resistance movement. We are now witnessing heroic *Satyagraha* campaign of the South African Indians.

On June 11, a Government of India Press Note announced that as a protest against the South African Union Government's continued attitude of indifference to the representations of the Government of India, for the postponement of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, the existing trade agreement between India and South Africa was being terminated, and as matters did not seem to improve, it had been found necessary to recall the High Commissioner.

The Press Note traces the history of Indian emigration to Natal and recounts the recent antecedents a knowledge of which will help us to understand the sinister implications of the new measure. The new Bill came as a shocking surprise. The Government of India had reasons to believe that the attitude of the Union Government had changed and the problem of Indian rights would soon be solved. The Union Government had declared the ordinance for the creation of a Licensing Board *ultra vires* and expressed their intention of exploring an alternative solution of the Indian question. In June 1945, the Union Government undertook legislation for the provision of better housing facilities for all classes of the population, including Indians. Assurances were given that the new measure would not in any way prejudice existing Indian interests. The Government of India was given a hint that the Pegging Act would be allowed to lapse after March 31, 1946.

Thus the draft Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill came as a veritable surprise. And this Bill is worse than the Pegging Act because, while that Act applied only to residential land in urban areas, the present Bill applies to all kinds of land, including agricultural land, both in urban and rural areas. The franchise, which is proposed to be given on a communal basis, will provide for representation by Europeans, except in the case of the Natal Provincial Council where it may be by Indians. The Government of India asked for postponement of the legislation and, as recommended by the third Broome Commission, requested the Union Government to receive a representative delegation of Indians to explore an alternative settlement. The suggestion was rejected and the bill was rushed through the Parliament.

What has followed the final passing of the Bill is a tale of stupid and malignant brute force being resisted by the undaunted Indian passive resisters. The night attacks of the Europeans on the camps of the non-violent Indian resisters causing personal injury even to children and womenfolk may be compared to the worst sort of Nazi terrorist tactics. But the *Satyagrahis* stood their ground, undaunted by these insults, threats and assaults. As was anticipated, mass arrests followed under a 70-year old trespass law. In a statement on the arrest, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress Party, said that the inhuman character of the Act of 1946 was made clear by the fact that the Government had chosen to avoid the real issue and instead of charging him with contravention of the measure, it had arrested and prosecuted him under an antiquated law, 72 years old.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. R. P. Deshmukh, Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, has revealed that the South African Europeans "openly talked of bloodshed and of burning and destroying Indian property in that country." They have actually chosen this path of brute violence against an unarmed and non-violent people. But *Satyagraha* will gain new force by this oppression upon the resisters and we hope the time will come when tyrannical strength will submit to this invincible moral might. In the meantime all efforts should be made to press forward the case before the U.N.O.

Anti-Indian Policy in Ceylon

The anti-Indian policy of Ceylon has focussed our attention to this puny pendant in the Indian Ocean. The recent agitation of the Indians in Ceylon against this reactionary attitude, which is very much reminiscent of the South African Union Government's anti-Indian measures, has caused grave concern all over India.

The position of the Indian population of Ceylon began to deteriorate as early as 1931 when owing to the provisions of the Donoughmore constitution the relation between the domiciled Indians and the natives of the island became tense and bitter. Thus while communal representation was abolished, the franchise of Indians became highly restricted. The rights of the Indians have been completely disregarded by the Soulbury Commission. The Indians are being asked to submit to more severe conditions. Commenting on the new constitution, *Roy's Weekly* has noted :

> The certificate of permanent settlement is not granted to even those who have laboured for more than a decade in the building up of the island's economic life. The Land Development Ordinance of 1935 restricted the qualifications of domicile further, and today Indians in the colony are made to undergo serious economic, civic and political discrimination and are treated as "marginal population."

The present agitation in Ceylon started as a protest against the action of the Ceylon Government in serving notices to quit on 400 Indian labourers and their families who have been working on the Knavesmere Estate at Undugoda for many years. Explaining the significance of the hartal held on June 4 as a protest against this action, Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, stated the main demands of the Indians as formulated by the Congress. They are : (1) franchise on a footing of equality with the rest of the population of the island, (2) comprehensive citizenship rights to all Indians by a quinquennial residence test and a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon, and (3) pending legal measures to secure franchise and civic rights, suspension of all discriminatory actions. Mr. Thondaman also warned that if the question was not settled by negotiations, a "united and uninterrupted struggle" would follow. He also made an appeal to Pandit Nehru asking for India's support in this fight against denial of franchise and citizenship rights.

On June 12, 25,000 Indian labourers working on the rubber and tea estates began what they called "an indefinite strike," demanding constitutional recognition and full franchise and citizenship rights for the Indian labourers in Ceylon. The Ceylon Indian Congress, which called the strike, stated that it was not confined to the issue of the 400 Indians who were asked to quit the Knavesmere Estate but referred to the whole problem of the "status of Indians in Ceylon which is sharply brought up by the incidents at Knavesmere."

It may be interesting to know the Ceylonese attitude in this connection. In an interview to the API, Dr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council, explained the position of his Government regarding the policy of land settlement and said that it was the Ceylon Indians' own fault that there was at present no provision for their being absorbed into the island's economy. Mr. Senanayake also said that he personally doubted whether the Ceylon Indians would be able, in future, to get on good terms again, since the present Indian agitation against the new Constitution which gave Ceylon full freedom, had hardened Sinhalese opinion against Indians.

The intransigent attitude of the Ceylon Government, as revealed in the words of Mr. Senanayake, is deplorable. It is extremely unfortunate that Ceylon is thoughtlessly disregarding the eminently just claims of the Indians. It is a big risk indeed ; for the entire economy of the island is bound up with that of India. The Sinhalese nationalists are ignoring the repercussions that would be inevitable if this anti-Indian policy is pursued. We, however, urge the India Government to adopt a strong attitude in this matter, both as a question of principle and as one of expediency.

Trouble in Burma

Burmese politics still continues to be in a troublous state. The frequent cases of lawlessness and disorder have deepened the existing turmoil so that the present-day Burmese politics has become a baffling problem. About a month back, U Saw said :

> Situation in Burma politically and economically is deteriorating day by day. I wonder how long this state of affairs will continue. I am quite sure that the British people will regret it one day. As for the Myochit (Nationalist) Party it has no alternative but to withdraw its members since our Councillors cannot effectively do anything for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Burma. The Government cannot even restore law and order in the country.

A serious case of lawlessness took place in the second week of June when several persons including one woman and one infant were killed during a battle-royal between a gang of criminals numbering over 100 and the police force of Tawlate Police Station in Insein District. Last week it was reported from Rangoon that a gang of Burmese dacoits had formed revolutionary government, and this government had brought as many as 26 villages under its rule. It was further reported that there had been hundreds of cases of dacoity in Burmese districts during the last one month.

This is, however, the insignificant side of the picture. The Burmese troubles have another serious aspect. On June 7, the Anti-Fascist League staged a mass demonstration against the Government's "repressive measures" including the incident at Tantabin 40 miles from Rangoon, where three were killed in police firing. Slogans were raised demanding the release of members of the People's Volunteer Organisation and withdrawal of occupation forces and granting of full independence. U Aung San emphatically stated, "A full-scale battle for freedom may yet not come if the British give us our peaceful demands. If the British, however, insist on it, they will have it." But Burmese politics will not change overnight, and it is significant that when lawlessness in Burma was being

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

discussed in the House of Commons, Mr. Henderson clearly stated that if the present chaotic conditions continue in Burma, it may not be possible to hold an election in next April or May. This policy of postponing the realisation of promises is typical of old British diplomacy. This old diplomacy may not prove sufficiently effective in the present situation. In the Commons debate of June 7, Mr. Driberg, Labour M.P., has rightly observed that the British must make a new start, talk to the nationalist leaders as equals and not patronisingly, and try to get the co-operation of the People's Volunteer Organisation all over Burma.

Rice Procurement Scheme of Saadullah Ministry Under Scrutiny

The Shillong correspondent of the *Young Assam*, a Sylhet weekly, has given some account of the rice procurement scandal perpetrated by the Saadullah Ministry. Sir Mahammad Saadullah, when out of office, has become a loud champion of the people in distress. It is extremely necessary that the disgraceful episode of blackmarketing, waste and gambling with the people's food during the last famine which black-painted the face of Assam under his administration should be published in all details. The full story of the brutal manner in which hungry *emigres* from Bengal to Assam, most of whom were Muslims, had been turned out of the province under orders of the League Ministers should also be brought to light.

The Report of the Surma Valley Food-Grain Procurement Enquiry Committee conducted under the Chairmanship of Sj. Paresh Lal Shome, Advocate-General of Assam, has been submitted and is being closely examined by the Bardoloi Ministry. The *Young Assam*'s report is given below :

The policy enunciated by the previous Government by the creation of license holders overnight and realising from them a substantial amount for the war funds by the District authorities before issuing their respective license was reported to be mainly responsible for the bungling of the whole affairs. It was the middlemen and the greedy inexperienced license holders that reaped the harvest at the cost of the cultivators. The charges of excess weight and less payment as resorted to by the middlemen license holders in settling accounts with sellers of rice and paddy and all of whom are cultivators as revealed by the Enquiry Report should also be examined in the light of the sufferings and loss caused to Government accounts and the cutivators. The lack of co-ordination between the Supply Department and the District authorities which is now clear left the Government Agents alone to do everything by themselves. It was evident that not a single godown was provided to the Government agents for the storage of the procured rice and paddy. It is no wonder therefore that paddy and rice had to be stored in *kutcha* godowns beyond the capacity of these godowns under definite instructions from the Government themselves. The then Ministry slept over the warning given by the Shome Committee in its interim report in July 1945 which ran as follows : "We have seen that most of the godowns have been seriously damaged because of the storage of the paddy and rice beyond their capacity and in a manner which is most careless and unbusinesslike. We are afraid Government may be made liable for heavy compensation for damages in the godowns by the owners thereof and these godowns should be released as soon as possible."

Another malpractice for which the late Government was entirely responsible must have attracted the notice of the Supply Minister, Mr. Mookherjee. He has discovered how the prices were ruling the market. The first and the known price was the price notified in the *Gazette* and the second and the confidential price at which Government agents were directed to make their purchase of rice and paddy from the cultivators. Why this huge fraud was perpetrated, under the very instruction of the late Ministry, is a matter which has engaged the serious attention of Mr. Mookherjee. He has also unearthed the mystery, how the interim report of the committee and the suggestions made by the Syndicates for better system of procurement was thrown to the waste-paper basket by the late Ministry. This callousness, on the part of the authorities concerned, made the province loser to a huge extent of money and the treasure of foodgrains at the time when it was most needed. Mr. Mookherjee must have seen how in 1944 the Ministry ordered the Syndicate huge stocks of rice and paddy for supply to Bengal and the Military but the Government failed to despatch these to their appropriate destination. This bespeaks of the inefficiency of the authorities to do their job and thus the huge loss to all concerned including the public was huger still. The stocks left by the Government Agent were allowed to be decomposed amounting to further loss on the one hand and the farce of fresh purchase on the other, indulged in by the Government themselves, must have convinced Mr. Mookherjee that there was a conspiracy to fatten some at public cost.

Asiatic Labour Conference

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has decided to hold the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference in India in January, 1947. This is a most welcome move indeed. For, on various occasions we have expressed our dissatisfaction with the International Labour Conference which met at Geneva because it was mainly concerned with questions regarding Western labour and industry and had very little to do with Asiatic labour problems. The I.L.O. did not take any steps to remove the disabilities of a discriminatory character imposed upon Asiatic workers and to bring about equality of status in respect of working conditions, irrespective of race, nationality or colour. The present constitution of the I.L.O. does not provide for the direct representation of colonies or dependencies of member states at the meetings of the general conference. *The Leader* has rightly commented in this connection that "the colonial powers regard the colonies merely as markets for the manufactured goods of the West and think that the ideals of Geneva are a heady intoxicant which will impair the economy of the colony."

However, the present decision of the I.L.O. would go to fulfil a demand of the last 20 years. It was in 1926 that the first move for an Asiatic Labour Conference was made. Since then Indian delegates have been continually pressing forward their demand for an Asiatic Labour Conference at every session of the I.L.O. The Governing Body of the I. L. O. discussed the question at a meeting in 1931. A lot of discussion followed and eventually the question was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

referred to the governments of the countries concerned. Much noise was made, but the Conference never met. Of course, an Asiatic Labour Conference was held in Colombo in 1934, but the I.L.O. did not organise it. The fact that it was not held under the auspices of the I.L.O. was most unfortunate; for it consequently failed to become representative of all the countries of Asia. Only three countries, *viz.*, Japan, Ceylon and India, sent their delegates to this conference. We hope the proposed Conference of 1947 will be free from all shortcomings and will be able to tackle seriously the problems of Asiatic labour.

Kashmir Happenings

The recent happenings in Kashmir have a symbolic significance in the present context of India's political developments. There is a dramatic suddenness in the story of Pandit Nehru's somewhat impulsive Kashmir visit and arrest. And so a recounting of the trend of events is necessary for throwing light on Kashmir politics which has appeared baffling to many.

The movement of the National Conference was suspended by its leaders at the call of the national leaders. The disturbances were partly quelled by instruments of terror and oppression, and the leader of the movement, Sheikh Abdullah, was arrested and his trial was to begin without delay. Prosecution of Sheikh Abdullah without a previous enquiry into the police and military excesses during the disturbances was the height of injustice. For the movement of the National Conference was inspired by no communal motive or personal ambition. it was a spontaneous movement of the discontented people of Kashmir against the reactionary rule of the reigning dynasty. The opposition that the Muslim National Conference put up against Abdullah's movement clearly proves the fact that the aspirations of the National Conference were purely non-communal. It was the distress and misery of the people that inspired the movement against the present dynasty which happens to be Hindu. Interested parties wanted to make capital of this spontaneous movement by trying to give it a communal character, and some even discerned the spectre of Soviet ambition and influence casting its shadow over the Kashmir hills. This propaganda helped the Kashmir authorities in victimising the leaders of the movement.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had long ago warned the Kashmir Government against taking any vindictive measure in this issue and in a long statement had revealed the inner story of police and military repression in Kashmir. When he found that the self-complacent rulers were paying no heed to his timely warning, he decided to visit the spot personally. The objects of his visit were mainly to arrange for Sheikh Abdullah's defence and to acquaint himself with the complications of Kashmir politics. But the Kashmir Premier let him know that no useful purpose would be served by his visiting Kashmir. Pandit Nehru was not daunted by this sort of diplomatic evasion and he stepped into the borders of Kashmir. An order prohibiting his entry into Kashmir territory was served on him when he crossed Kohala Bridge. Pandit Nehru observed with characteristic courage and dignity that he could not obey orders which he had defied for the last thirty years. Pushing back armed sentries, Pandit Nehru and his party walked along their way.

Next morning at 9-30, Nehru was arrested and detained at the Dak Bunglow at Domel. State military sentries guarded the Bunglow. Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru, General Secretary, States People's Conference, was also arrested. Later he was brought by Kashmir Government to the Dak Bunglow at Uri, 96 miles from Srinagar. The Kashmir Prime Minister, Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak, however, told a press correspondent that they had no intention of detaining Pandit Nehru. Sheikh Abdullah's trial was postponed till July 1.

The arrest of Pandit Nehru came as a shock to the entire nation. Complete hartal was observed in many parts of India. In a statement, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad observed that the Maharajah of Kashmir had committed a grievous blunder in acting in the way he had done. He further said that if an amicable solution was not found, far-reaching and serious repercussions were inevitable.

Meanwhile, important discussions were going on in Delhi, and they needed Pandit Nehru's presence. Maulana Azad sent urgent telegram messages asking him to return in view of the serious negotiations in Delhi. In obedience to the President's directive, Nehru returned to Delhi, on the understanding that he should go back to Kashmir later. In a long statement to the Press correspondent next day he gave a description of the incidents in Kashmir. He observed:

> I am not disposed to obey any order I consider unreasonable anywhere and at any place whether in a State or in the rest of India. Nor do I consider myself an outsider in any State. The whole of India is my home and I claim the right to go to any part of it.

Commenting on the new set-up of things that was inevitable, he significantly said that in future the rulers would have to abandon their selfish policy of taking without giving anything. It is the question of human right, and not that of treaty rights or dynastic rights that will decide the problems of the future.

Orissa State Merger Scheme

Orissa is going ahead in right earnest with the States merger scheme. At the Orissa States People's Conference held at Cuttack, Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa, enumerated the advantages that would be derived by the amalgamation of Orissa States with the Orissa Province. He pointed out that if these two areas continued to remain separate, both of them would be weak, and there was the danger of even the Oriya race being wiped out. The greatest advantage of amalgamation would be that both areas together would become a stronger alministrative unit making it possible for the provinne to have its own cadre in service, its own High Court and other institutions without depending on other provinces The other advantages would be the combined development of industries with the mineral and other natural resources of the province and the States, the efficient control of the rivers passing through the States and the province, and finally, the establishment of a strong unit in the A Group of provinces proposed in the Cabinet Mission's Declaration. The people in the States would then have the opportunity of enjoying civil liberties as the people of the province.

Mr. Mahatab indicated at the Conference that the question had passed the deliberative stage and was now receiving executive attention with a view to translating it into action. It has been taken up by the Orissa Government and the first official move in that direction was a Conference held at the Government House at Puri on June 2, where the representative of the Political Department, Mr. Herbert, was present.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With regard to the position of the Rulers, Mr. Mahatab said that they could not ignore the fact that they were the Governments of the States at present. In the negotiations they would officially represent the States and the people of the States could only be unofficially heard. In any common administration that might be set up for the province and he States, the Rulers also would have a voice. According to him, it was for the Conference to consider all those aspects and embody their views in the form of resolutions.

Mr. Mahatab revealed that he was in correspondence with the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He said that the Nawab wanted details of the Scheme which he would be sending.

A second Conference is shortly going to be held in Calcutta by the second week of July, attended by the Rulers of the Eastern States Agency and also by Mr. Mahatab and Mr. Herbert. Mr. Mahatab hoped that the Nawab of Bhopal, in the meantime, would help the parties with advice. The move for the amalgamation of the Orissa States with the province was, however, not a new one. It had been in existence since 1939 when the States Peoples Inquiry Committee recommended it.

Mr. Mahatab made it plain at the Conference that in any common administration that might be set up for the province and the States, Rulers would have a voice. It was for the Calcutta Conference to consider all these aspects and embody their views in the form of resolutions. It was also better that they should have a central organisation for all the 26 States.

Hyderabad Constitutional Reforms

In a speech delivered at Gulbarga, Nawab Moni Nawaz Bahadur, Reforms Member of the Nizam's Government, referred at some length to the Hyderabad Reforms Scheme drawn up in 1939 but held in abeyance on account of the war. The Nawab outlined the main features of the scheme and the principal modifications that have been made in it. He said :

> As you are aware the most important components of the Reforms Scheme consist of representation by interests, joint electorates and parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims so far as the elected and nominated seats are concerned. Representation by interests is intended to prove that every elment of society shall receive representation in the legislature in proportion to its importance and that the Legislative Assembly shall not consist merely of those who have made a profession of politics. In other words, the Legislative Assembly shall present a true composite picture of the various interests of the country. Direct representation of interests will result in the establishment of close contacts between the Government and the public and the reduction of unnecessary intermediaries. The aim of joint electorates is to ensure that each community shall depend upon the other for the advancement of its interests. To make sure, however, that each member shall be a true representative of his own community, it has been stipulated that he shall secure at least 40 per cent of the votes of his own community. Each interest shall be represented by an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members, so that the possibility of rivalry and tension between the two communities may be eliminated. In view of the changes that have taken place during the last six or seven years, the Government have under contemplation certain necessary alterations the result of which would be that, whereas under the original scheme the nominated and appointed members were in a minority, under the revised scheme, the latter would constitute the majority. Besides, the franchise qualification of Pattedars and Cultivators prescribed under the original scheme is being lowered, which would treble the number of voters in those constituencies. For those living in urban areas who cannot under the existing arrangements seek election to the Legislature from any other constituency, a constituency is being created, consisting of owners and tenants of lands and buildings in urban areas, so that the urban population too may enjoy sufficient representation in the Legislature.

This, however, is not the complete picture. A short historical perspective may be necessary to give a correct meaning of this Reforms Scheme. The present State Council consists of 21 members of whom only 8 are non-officials. Out of them, two are *jagirdars,* two pleaders and the remaining four nominated by the Prime Minister. The Council's powers are strictly limited to legislation. Members have no right to question executive actions nor can they discuss the budget. Sir Ali Imam had drawn up a Reforms Scheme in 1920, which apparently was not liked by the Nizam. It was held in abeyance till Sir Ali Imam retired. After his retirement, it was quietly shelved.

In 1937, in pursuance of popular agitation, a Reforms Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Aiyangar. The terms of reference restricted the Committee's powers to a very limited sphere. They were asked to report on "all suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests of the State with the Government whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires."

The Committee recommended representation by interests instead of through territorial constituencies. Dewan Bahadur Aiyangar said that the only consideration which led him to view with favour representation by interests, was that it would dispense with communal representation. Representation by interests and joint electorates were the principal features of the Scheme. The main considerations which induced the authors of the scheme to accept the Fascist idea of the corporative State of which representation by interests was the corner-stone, was that it provided a way of escape from communal representation. Their hopes have been completely belied in two ways. First, they found that parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims had been introduced into the scheme by the back-door in opposition to the declared intentions of the authors of the scheme. Thirteen million Hindus were thus accorded parity of representation with three million Muslims ! Sir Akbar Hydari, then Prime Minister, was greatly distressed when he found in the final order as it came to him, parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims inserted in it. Secondly, the joint electorate feature is going to be removed very shortly before the first elections are held under the Scheme. Under the present Reforms, the State Council will be composed of 88 members of whom only 42 will be elected, the remaining 46 will be nominated.

The people of Hyderabad have registered their protest against the introduction of the new Reforms

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Scheme. In a memorandum to the British Cabinet Delegation, the leaders of different political organisations in the State have pointed out :

> To introduce representation in the Legislative Assembly on a functional basis of a corporate State by the Hyderabad Government is simply ridiculous in the face of the Second World War being fought for democracy. Functional basis strikes at the root of representative government. . . . It encourages separatist tendencies already in existence and may stimulate class legislation.

States People's Demands

A number of highway important resolutions have recently been passed by the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference. The most significant of them are the one on the Hyderabad State and the one on the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

In the resolution on the Mission's proposals, the Committee has strongly resented the way in which the people of the States have been ignored and bypassed in the new plan. It further says :

> In the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 16, references to the States are brief and vague and no clear picture emerges as to how they will function in regard to the constitution-making processes. No reference has been made to the internal structure of the States. It is not possible to conceive of a combination of the existing internal structure, which is autocratic and feudal, with a democratic Constituent Assembly or a Federal Union.

The resolution, however, maintains that the General Council of the A.-I. S. P. C. welcome the provision that paramountcy will end when the new All-India constitution comes into effect. The Council further are of opinion that even during the interim period the functioning of paramountcy should undergo a fundamental change so as to prepare for its total termination.

The resolution on Hyderabad State says :

> Any State which does not even recognise elementary civil liberties is out of court in any discussion about the future. The State of Hyderabad will have to change its ways completely before it can entitle itself to any consideration in Assemblies determining the future of India. In the event of the ban on the State Congress continuing and other civil liberties being denied, it will be the right of the State Congress to function in spite of this ban.

Under-Production—Not Over-Population

The continual scarcity in India has evoked different explanation from different quarters. A large number of short-sighted economists, still haunted by the ghost of Malthus, persistently maintained that poverty was due to the tremendous growth of population in India. The bogey of over-population was found convenient by interested people to whom it offered a handy excuse for their criminal neglect of responsibility. This insistence on over-population has long retarded the growth of efficient production which alone can solve the problem of the country's total requirements.

In a recent broadcast from Washington, Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, hit upon the real point when he said that "the trouble in India is not over-population—it is under-production." For the purpose of adequate and efficient production, Sir John observed, India needed efficient agriculture and modern industrial plant. If she could produce more, export more, and import more, world trade would benefit and there would be no question of over-population. Every physically fit individual would be a source of wealth to the country if the social and economic structure were so organised that all could produce wealth.

Declaring that it was one of F.A.O.'s tasks to help such countries as India, Sir John recalled Mr. Amery's claim that food production in India could be doubled in 15 years if modern farming methods were used. "Actually production is increasing by only about one per cent. yearly," he said. "The density of population there is less than in England and Belgium but we do not consider these countries over-populated."

Sir John Boyd Orr suggested better farming methods, more fertilisers and more "diversification" and end to abuses in the landlord system and larger individual holdings as cures for India's under-production problem.

The U. P. Gram Panchayet Bill

The Gram Panchayet Bill, prepared by the last Ministry in the United Provinces, seeks to re-model the entire village life of the province. It deserves close study by all other provinces which desire a stable and substantial uplift for their rural folk. The original conception of a Panchayet as something on the lines of a Greek city state with the whole adult population of the village participating in its work has been given up as impracticable. The Gram Panchayet will now be an executive of 30 members elected by a meeting of the whole adult population of the village. This is a happy departure because it conforms to the Indian tradition of a village republic where the elders commanding the confidence of the local people were entrusted with the village executive functions. Usually such number was confined to five as the very name Panchayet suggests.

Under the Bill, it has been proposed that the large body will be called Gram Sabha. It will meet twice a year. It will have power to pass the budget and also recommendatory resolutions. The Panchayet will, in addition to their normal functions, keep the land records and the village patwari will work under their supervision.

Plan for Village Roads in India

In the modern world, communications provide the basis of economic activity. Good, cheap and quick communications mean an immediate expansion in trade, commerce and industry, the resultant being general economic prosperity. In India, road development schemes have not received the attention they deserve and much less attention has been paid to the improvement of village communication calculated to open up the whole countryside. This question has been discussed in an article written by Mr. P. S. Sharangapani, himself an engineer, and published in the *Independent*. Discussing the need for village roads, he says

> The Governments in power have so far devoted their attention and resources to the construction of strategic roads, roads joining province to province

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

district to district, district head-quarters to tahsil places, and tahsil places to police stations, mainly, for collection of revenue and administration of law and order. It would be bare justice that Government should now concentrate on construction of village roads, secure a balance between village roads and through communications, and cater for the needs of villages wherein resides over 85 per cent of the population of India, wanting employment and crying for an adequate standard of living.

The length of such village access-roads in the province would be, however, enormous and therefore, a wise planner should first fix a correct order of priority and do first thing first, taking into account the funds and the technical personnel available. It is simple enough to prepare large paper schemes, but hasty construction of ill-considered, ill-prepared, ill-digested schemes would only lead to enormous waste of money and reprobation by the posterity.

Village roads as would bring about maximum increase in the earnings of the village-artisans and cultivators, ought to be constructed first. They would fall under the following categories :

(*a*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of about 25 miles of a city having a population of over a lakh.

(*b*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of about 15 miles of the district head-quarters.

(*c*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of 10 miles of a tahsil head-quarters.

(*d*) Connecting to the existing metalled roads villages having—(*i*) Over 300 inhabitants and within a mile of the existing roads; (*ii*) Over 400 inhabitants and within 1½ miles of the existing roads; (*iii*) Over 700 inhabitants and within 2 miles of the existing roads; (*iv*) Over 1,000 inhabitants and within 3 miles of the existing roads.

Discussing the principal economic advantages that would accrue from village access-roads in the neighbourhood of large towns and markets, Mr. Sharangapani translates such economic advantages into money value. He says :

For one lakh of rupees spent on village-road construction as above, the increase in the earnings will be of the order of Rs. 8,000 to 9,000 per annum at a very conservative estimate, leaving out of account increase due to increased petrol duty and increased land revenue and other taxes. The annual loan charge for a road-loan of one lakh, assuming interest charges at 3 per cent and redemption of the loan in say 25 years would be :

Annual interest 3 p.c. on Rs. 1 lakh	3,000
Contribution to a Sinking fund at 3 p.c. compound interest for 25 years	2,746
Total annual loan charges	5,746
Annual expected increase in the earnings of the villagers	8,500

That is to say for every 100 rupees spent annually as road-loan charges, the village communities will profit by Rs. 150 (8,500/5,746), proving that construction of the above village roads particularly, is not only desirable but is a sound proposition from the point of finance and calculated to benefit the state as a whole.

Next, he comes to the technical aspect of the problem. The main considerations that should prevail in the design and construction of these village roads are given by him as follows :

(*a*) India being a very poor country, the village-access road must be the cheapest practicable.

(*b*) A 9-ft. wide moorum road should be sufficient. The road formation need not be more than 1 ft. high above the level of the surrounding country. The brims on both sides should have a flat slope for facility of cross-traffic. The grade should not as a rule exceed 1 in 30 for affording relief to the draught animal.

(*c*) The village bullocks are usually not shod and prefer to travel on soft moorum or earthen surface instead of on hard metal surface.

(*d*) The moorum roads can be converted to metal roads at a later stage, if traffic justifies it. If moorum is not available within a reasonable distance, it may be necessary to have a metalled road straight away.

(*e*) To secure economy, the bridges should be just-high enough not to cause more than 2 days interruption during rainy season.

(*f*) The earthen sides of the existing metalled roads should be widened to 8 ft. for use of village-carts which readily take to it if they are wide enough and properly maintained. This will also bring about segregation of the fast-moving motor traffic and the bullock-cart traffic. It will also help to eliminate the road-engineers' bogey of mixed fast but soft rubber tyred traffic and slow hard steel-tyred traffic ruinous to the tarred surfaces; and

(*g*) Fifty per cent of the cost of maintenance of a village road may be met from an *ad-hoc* village cess.

The article has been published with a view to draw the attention of the C.P. Ministry to it. We consider this scheme a fit subject of study by all other Provincial Ministries as also by the authorities at the Centre.

Labour Housing Problem

No serious attempt to find sanitary housing at a cheap cost for the industrial labour has yet been made. Problem of housing the lower middleclass folk is also equally pressing and that has also been equally neglected. Recently the Calcutta slums came into sudden prominence after the dramatic visits of Bengal's Australian Governor Mr. R. G. Casey. Only the bustees under the Calcutta Corporation were picked up as objects of Gubernatorial visits, the industrial areas of the city where housing conditions are hundred-fold worse were left out. Most of the big mills of the industrial areas are owned and controlled by British traders who have done nothing to improve the living condition of the barracks attached to their mills. Things are no better in other parts of this sub-continent.

In this province the present Labour Governor has recently visited some of them, closely following in the footsteps of his Australian predecessor through ankle-deep mud. Both the visits seem to have ne same object in view, namely, to discredit the Corporation. The British-controlled industrial areas have once again been carefully left out of the Labour Governor's surprise visit programme.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Things are, however, moving in a different direction in provinces under Congress administration. In the United Provinces, the Ministry has specially deputed a senior officer to study housing conditions in the province. The following extract is from his report :

In this province Hathras, Shikohabad, Firozabad, Saharanpur, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Cawnpore are the main industrial centres where workers in large numbers flock from outside and adjoining areas. As yet in very few cases the employers have taken care to provide housing to the workers. Even in Cawnpore only two settlements have been created for the workers. The third is under construction.

Time and again, the Government has impressed upon the employers to provide healthy quarters to their employees but in the absence of any legislation even the biggest ones who advertise their philanthropy at such a large scale have not taken kindly to that thing. In Cawnpore, the congestion is acute and the health of the workers has been impaired much to the detriment of industrial efficiency.

Some time back some quarters were constructed by the Government on the hire-purchase system. It transpires that in some cases even non-industrial workers got in that scheme and the interests of the genuine workers suffered. If the work is entrusted to some co-operative society or other competent agency, that system can be very useful to the workers. The condition of Ahatas in Cawnpore has become still worse from the point of view of sanitation and health. The owners of these Ahatas never care to look after such civic amenities. Last time the Development Board had passed a resolution that the owners of such premises will be compelled to maintain cleanliness but as yet no action seems to have been taken on that score. The scarcity of building materials, specially of bars and other iron materials has checked the private building programme to a great extent.

Fight With Illiteracy

Munshi Iswar Saran of the Harijan Ashram, Allahabad, has drawn attention of the Congress Governments to a simple and easy way of removing illiteracy. The last U. P. Ministry had called a conference to deal with post-war educational problems and it discussed the problem of fighting illiteracy. It has formulated certain proposals but they would prove very costly. Munshiji has provided an alternative to this costly official scheme and we hope his scheme will receive the attention it deserves. The scheme, in short, is as follows :

Maktabs and *Pathshalas* may not be quite scientific institutions but they have existed in this country for centuries and they should be revived. They may not impart the best education but surely they will make our children literate. Literacy produced by any machinery is every time better than the prevailing ignorance. Their one great merit is that they will be extremely inexpensive. It will not be necessary to construct any buildings, nor will it be necessary to have any elaborate paraphernalia for them. Any Maulvi or Pandit of the old type—their race is not extinct as yet—will do as a teacher. If we wait for what are called trained teachers, we may have to wait till the Greek calends.

In my younger days I used to see a Pandit or a Maulvi teaching in the shade of a big tree or in the dilapidated verandah of some house where were gathered children numbering about fifty or less. One single teacher was able to manage them. I have seen children sitting on a *tat*, some had *takhties* and some wrote on the ground. Voluntary payments were made to the teacher. If he was good and efficient, the number of pupils rose, if he was not, the number dwindled.

I must frankly confess that I do not think our good Maulvis and Pandits will be able to tackle the problem of adult education. We shall have to devise some other machinery for this purpose. Then there is the question of inspection. I venture to think that this should not present any formidable difficulty. Of course, the entire scheme will be under the Education Department.

Congress Governments all over the country are in a peculiarly favourable position to launch this scheme. The success of this scheme depends on popular sympathy and co-operation. They are in a position to command it. An Education Minister with a forceful personality can create a band of workers and evoke sufficient enthusiasm in a surprisingly short time. Then there is the organization created by the Congress to help him. What more does an Education Minister with a will and a vision want ?

Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is very difficult for the people of India to afford to have costly schemes drawn up on the model of the rich western countries. The method of primary education described above was just the kind that prevailed in India till mid-nineteenth century when it was destroyed through a planned denial of education.

Servants of India Society's Activities for 1945-46

The Servants of India Society, founded by the great leader of social reform, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, has completed 41 years of its existence. Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru is its President, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President and Mr. D. V. Ambedkar, Secretary. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was its President from 1915 to 1927.

The Society's activities embraced every arena of our national life. In the political sphere, the Society pleaded for the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on political organisations. The communal proportions laid down and known as parity between the Hindus and Muslims in the Wavell offer of 1945 was characterised by the Society as undemocratic and unjust. During the year under report, the Society was represented at the International Maritime Labour Preparatory Conference at Copenhagen. At this Conference the representative urged the necessity of introducing the systems of social insurance for Asiatic seamen. Much useful work has been done among the Harijans. Since last year, the Society has assumed full responsibility for the aborigines' welfare work in Koraput District, Orissa, where ten schools are conducted, and a school for Sabara children is financed. Active interest has been retained in the uplift work for the aborigines in Panch Mahals, in Assam, and in Bihar and the C.P. Valuable work has also been done in the field of rural welfare. Education and literacy continued to receive due attention. The Society concentrated its attention on measures to relieve distress caused by famine in many parts of the country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE NEW SOCIETY

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

It is being increasingly realised that to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs, and in the same way between the different sections of society in the day-to-day human relationships as well as social dealings. Our living and working of one section are so intertwined with the living and working of another, that it is in the very nature of things that they be inter-dependent on each other for their mutual wellbeing, that the ways and codes of one certainly affect that of the other, that no one section can be isolated from the other. A social standard can, therefore, be only determined in terms of a collective standard, for society is an indivisible organism.

But unfortunately today the various parts of society are ill-balanced. The conventions as well as the codes which govern them also vastly differ. This has led to continuous friction and conflict between these component parts. A social plan has, therefore, to be directed towards eliminating the factors which destroy the balance and harmony and reduce the causes of the friction to the minimum so that the social unit may function as a harmonious whole.

Women happen to be one of the several sections of society that are out of step with the social organism. Their natural unfoldment has been arrested and progress stunted. Innumerable barriers have been erected in their path. Outworn customs that lack an inner meaning and significance, weigh them down like heavy mill-stones. But these are no more the exclusive problems of women than are children or the home. Rather they are the problems of society itself.

These are in a way world characteristics. But the Indian background is rather different from that of the West. In the days gone by when India enjoyed a well-established economic stability and a fairly harmonious and disciplined social pattern into which the women had been closely woven, the women enjoyed considerable freedom of opportunity and action, in almost every field of life.

The advent of machinery completely smashed the old pattern of living. Until then, the division between domestic and extra domestic, as now known, was vague. For the essentials of life were produced mostly by the family collectively. Society was split into small communities and all the daily activities converged around the fulcrums of the home. Hence the frontiers were broad and the later divisions of labour between the sexes was never so pronounced. Each family, being more concentrated, was very much larger. Men and women worked together in fields and at home-crafts. But as machine converted each of these occupations into large-scale industries, their character underwent total change, and gradually even the most intimate tasks became public, such as cooking, eating and lodging. And when women found that their individual effort could not compete with the large collective extra-domestic industries, many of them found themselves increasingly forced to join the vast growing concourse of humanity tied monotonously to the machines. This brought a real onslaught on the quiet stream of the old home-life. It meant henceforth abandoning the ancestral setting, the home and its archaic privacy and cut adrift from the family moorings, to jostle with crowds, live in squalid slums, neglect the children all day, and the like. These changes came too rapidly to allow proper reconditioning of the human as well as the material elements of society. Hence our immediate future problems must necessarily carry a close and vital bearing on these.

For the first time, women came to be forced to carry double burdens. Henceforward, the home-activities came to be divorced from the professional and correspondingly the gap between the functions of men and women also widened. By far the larger number of women had now to toil singly at home for that was considered her "rightful" field of work. At the same time economic necessity forced her to labour outside the four walls of the house to earn her livelihood. By implication, the homework, hard and laborious though it was, lost its economic value and ceased to be related to the basic economy of the family. Women, therefore, lost her economic independence. As we have seen, she had to battle hard even to get recognition to these earnings of hers. Any future reconstruction will, therefore, have to commence from this foundation. In a competitive society, work is assessed only according to its "marketable" possibilities. Hence evaluation of such functions in modern pecuniary terms is rather difficult, although they are the most sweated and unregulated of industries. As a matter of fact, woman expends more time, energy and skill over her domestic tasks than any unionised worker in heavy industry. Her tools are countless, her hours unlimited, her obligations compelling. While society assigns her the several onerous duties, it grudges her even the few rights which are her natural dues. A worker with a job cut out and all the rights legally protected has economic precedence and higher social status than a housewife, simply because her industry does not entitle her to a weekly wage or a monthly cheque ! This false slant has undermined the woman's independent status and made her a mere appendage of man. Hence the idea that "man supports woman," and the many social and sex inequalities that emerge from it, such as, for instance, lower wages even in large industries and lower scale of salaries in higher professions. The value of woman is not only pecuniary or biological, it is social as well. For she is the social stabiliser and the cultural repository. One of the basic fundamentals of future society would, therefore, be the recognition of woman in her traditional function as an independent economic entity and the termination of her present status as a "dependent" on man, as though she were a futile parasite and contributed nothing. The rest must necessarily follow as a natural corollary to this, for once she is put on an equal footing with man in the home, her natural right to the ownership of property is bound to be established.

Another curious anomaly that prevails today is that while society accepts as the inevitable characteristic of a natural order the working class woman's forced labour it resents and obstructs the middle-class woman's aspiration for an independent extra-domestic profession,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Where she has made her own way, she continues to be treated on a lower economic footing. The future society has, therefore, to recognise the woman's right to any profession and also apportion her equal payment for equal work, free from the present sex discriminations.

This raises another issue. The change in the old economy and the rise of the new, has meant the break up of the old joint family system, for the new generations do not conform any more to the professions of their fathers, but rather aspire and train for new ones This has naturally meant straying-away from the central family conclave. This has had serious repercussions on the life of the woman. The woman, though perhaps to a lesser extent than man, is nevertheless becoming more individualistic. The rapidly changing conditions also serve to widen the gap between the older generation and the newer. The younger woman, therefore, gladly welcomes a home of her own, to live her own life untrammeled by the rigid codes and often the nagging interference of the old. But experience is proving that this problem is not solved so simply. In a large household, there was far more division of labour and the entire burden did not fall on any single woman. Rather where a young woman, particularly a new mother was concerned, it was appreciably shared by the elder womanfolk of the household. Equally important was the gradual initiation and training of budding womanhood to the onerous duties of a housewife and responsibilities of a mother. Such training was an indispensible part of the family culture. Today most young women just never get a chance of any such instruction. The academic routine absorbs them the first part of their youth and when that ends, it is to straightway enter upon the housewife's solitary domain. As schools and colleges do not as yet normally include home-science or mother-craft in their syllabus, such essential instruction is wantonly bye-passed, leaving the young woman raw and untutored for the heavy and important duties. On the other hand, the working class woman who are compelled to work outside their home, have to completely neglect their homes and the children, the latter being left to the mercies of the neighbourhood or the comparatively grown-up ones, who in their turn are thus unable to go to school. So far as the other classes go, only a small number may be able to afford a servant, but generally for all practical purposes they have to manage on their own without help. Ill-epuipped, unaided, these women carry on their struggle to keep the house going against great odds. For one thing life and human needs have become far more complex and make more demands on human energies and time. The man too expects more from an educated wife and more duties fall to her lot. Most young women of this class get utterly exhausted today within the first 5 to 10 years of their married life, weighed down by these domestic cares of every-day routine. They have little leisure and even less energy to keep up any intellectual interests. Gradually they lapse back into a kind of dead lethargy, their minds becoming dull. They soon forget even the little they had learned, and in course of time become quite uneducated if not exactly illiterate.

The middle-class women had fared better up to about a decade ago, when domestic labour was cheap and plentiful. Today it is neither, and often none is available for love or money. This struggle has been sharpening too. It is moreover wrong to imagine that some of these pressures will be ceasing with the termination of the war. As industrialisation progresses, these will become more and more accentuated, as has been the case in the West. We must, therefore, assume that such conditions will be the normal feature of the future and then plan.

Most people, particularly men, breezily come out with attacks on the modern girl and her incompetency as a housewife and mother. Such attacks are mainly malicious and born mostly of blind prejudice. But even were she so, what men of today fail to appreciate is the fact that the young women are mentally more hardy, more resourceful and courageously carry on in the face of the very severe odds such as the women of the past never had to contend against. While the latter lived in familiar surroundings, in the bosom of a family nurtured with care, young women of today are whisked off to strange unknown places the moment they are married where often they do not know the local language, and have sometimes to live as an isolated household, with not a second family to turn to. Unfortunately our education is today so defective, so haphazard, lacking in organisation and cohesion, that most family lives do get quite disintegrated, for the woman is never able to organise her routine in a way as to be able to conserve time and energy. She has no leisure and gets completely weighed down under the burden of a life for which she is little equipped. Our old household has gone under the impact of a new world, with all its organisation and orderliness, but no new pattern has taken its place as yet.

These are in brief the very human problems of every day occurrence, but which nevertheless form the very kernel of the feminine world, and need to be tackled in a rationalistic and scientific way in the plan for a future society.

Thus while the old world has passed away, giving place to new, neither mentally nor in practice have we conditioned and adapted ourselves to the present world. As we have already seen, it is very essential that the domestic sphere and its functions get the due recognition, for it cannot be solved by compelling women to go out on jobs. Rather today, the approach is to give women the option to make her choice. Even in Soviet Russia where everybody is encouraged to work, there is in normal times no compulsion for housewives to do extra-domestic work. This is as it should be. Where women wish to engage themselves in extra-domestic work, as many are bound to, not only no discrimination should be applied but State and society should provide every facility, to enable women a free choice. Family allowances, baby bonuses and the like should be a part of the social structure. The Beveridge Plan makes a hopeful beginning in this direction and Canada has also come out with a plan for baby bonuses, thus every baby begininig with the second, entitles the family to an allowance. This definitely ensures the personal care and attention of its mother, as it now saves her from the burden of extra-domestic work. The Beveridge Plan also makes provision for Marriage and Maternity Benefit, which are also useful pointers. That is, the social insurance scheme provides for a young woman who has worked at a job up to the time of her marriage to get a Benefit when she wants to marry and when she becomes a mother, so that she has ample funds in hand on those occasions which call for extra expense. This is a thoughtful and useful provision that a future State may take for a basis and improve upon. In countries like Sweden which have co-operative housing

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

schemes, houses are allotted according to the size of the family and not the purse. Thus if the house rent is one-tenth the salary of the income, it is irrational to allot a large place to a childless couple or a family of three or four members, simply because their income is higher and can pay a high rent, whereas a lower income family of larger size is squeezed into a smaller place. The prevailing practice needs to be altered to a more rational one. Housing space must be determined by the size of the family and not necessarily higher rent for a larger house. This alone can ensure healthy living, privacy and comfort for the growing children, one of the most essential requisites that are obviously ignored today.

But in addition, creches, nursery and kindergarten schools, planned leisure-hour children's activities etc., have to be an essential feature of a normal society. For whether a woman stays at home or goes out, there must be some place where a child can be left when the woman wants to take time off. Then the child ceases to be a burden. Moreover, in nursery and kindergarten schools, children learn at an early age to live in an organised and disciplined manner in a large group, learn healthy social habits. Especially where a woman has a large family and heavy domestic burdens, she is inclined to be less patient and more brusque with the growing children who often become victims of her temper for no fault of theirs. Thus such institutions are helpful even in the case of a full-time housewife.

All the more highly industrialised countries of the West have conditioned themselves to the scarcity of domestic labour and patterned out accordingly. Girls are taught from an early age to organise and run a house. Later they go into special institutions for more specialised training for the same. At the same time it is being realised that the old divisions of man's and women's functions have not the same reality today, especially with such a large number of women taking on jobs which were hitherto considered purely men's. To relieve women of these double burdens new adjustments are being made, through community kitchens, community nurseries and the like ; the men taking a fuller and more rightful share in the household tasks. It is as it should be, for as women lend an increasing hand to the affairs considered exclusively the man's domain, he should play his part in what was regarded as an exclusively woman's sphere. In America, for instance, quite as many men go in for Home science courses as women. Men attend classes along with women conducted by the Maternity Association on the care and upbringing of children. Thus man is able not only to assist the woman at her domestic drudge, but also psychologically relieve her of some of the daily tedium and add to the general interest of an otherwise dull routine. There is so much more zest and interest when two work together in comradeship. Such a mental and physical condition is essential as a pre-requisite to provisions such as community kitchens and the like.

Another arm which the servantless community of the West has developed, is labour-saving devices in the form of gadgets. These are useful and also help in saving needless physical labour. They need, however, to be cheaply supplied and on a mass-scale to bring them within the reach of every woman and cease to be the luxury goods they are today.

Education in home-science and mother-craft should be the essential feature of every institution. The old idea that these being common instincts if you *feel* sufficiently, efficiency will follow, is a very erroneous one. Life is today extremely complicated and old methods have become ineffective. Therefore, a systematic training for modern living is very necessary. In fact this raises the whole issue of education. It is education alone which can give reality to principles that may be recognised as laws on the statute books. For without the requisite training, women can never be really independent nor can they take advantage of any of even the available facilities. The present system of education is essentially wrong, designed as it is on a single-sex basis. Therefore, even our mixed institutions are not *co-educational*, rather they are men's schools and colleges where women are *permitted*. Education has to be designed for *living* and life represents co-operation between the two sexes. Full cognisance must be taken of this and a proper approach in this direction developed. Therefore, social and home sciences should be an integral part of education. Moreover, qualified women should be as freely employed in all institutions as men are at present. Women should also be allowed to share equally with men, all educational responsibilities, particularly in the sphere of higher education where men still predominated. This alone would provide the proper atmosphere to nurture and build up healthier and less inhibited relationship between the two sexes. For it is here that the entire mechanism of collaboration between the sexes in all spheres, has to be worked out in theory and practice, to prepare the growing generations for the gentle and trying art of family living.

The ever-increasing penetration of women into the extra-domestic field is very welcome, for the world is after all but an extension of the home. On the one hand it cuts across the relative segregation of women as a sex and breaks up the old restrictions that narrow down the women's functions at the moment, and provide a wider and more varied field for them to function in. While on the other hand, their presence and participation brings a new and fresh influence to bear upon the larger problems. Women no doubt add their own touch of idealism and practical sense to things. In fact the treatment of no problem could be complete or in any sense satisfactory, unless men and women together shared the responsibility and lent a joint hand and joint vision. The future society has to encourage and welcome the participation of women in all spheres and activities of life, free from any sense of self-consciousness. For women are at present allotted a "not quite adult" status. There is a subtle suggestion that they are not responsible or mature enough, and need a helping hand like minors and children. Several of our laws which deny women equal economic and social rights with men, clearly indicate this. The basis of franchise for women in this country is another instance of this, where wifehood is made a basis for franchise. All this subtle undermining of equality must be replaced by a natural healthy acceptance of comraderie.

Our present social life is equally vitiated by a double moral standard both in law as well as in practice. In the last analysis, prevailing customs have the precedence over dead-letter laws, but where laws also serve to accentuate this double standard, the social life gets even more vitiated. While man is accepted as a weak wayward vessel with an inevitable tendency to transgress, woman is regarded as the repository of social morals. The fact is entirely overlooked that society is a double-harnessed chariot and its onward progress is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dependent on both man and woman. If one is allowed to play tantrums on the ground that is its nature, the progress of the other gets naturally impeded. When one demands equal moral standard, its implication is not loosening the discipline of the other sex also, but rather an attempt to impose the same discipline on both. As Gandhiji very aptly points out :

> "Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in very minutest detail in the activities of men, and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him . . . By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless of men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. Many of our movements stop half-way because of the condition of our women. Much of our work does not yield appropriate results. . . . They are a peerless pair, each helps the other, so that without the one, the existence of the other cannot be conceived, and, therefore, it follows as a necessary corollary from these facts that anything that will impair the status of either of them will involve equal ruin of them both."

The present idea that man can afford to be licentious so long as woman imposed upon herself strict discipline, is fallacious as well as dangerous. In future there ought to be only one ethical standard for both which neither could break with impunity. What is wrong for one cannot be right for the other. Death is as natural as birth and it is mere sadism to brand a woman whose husband dies, with all manner of severities. Nor can monogamy be imposed upon woman alone while man is allowed to indulge in polygamy. In the society of tomorrow, the present law and custom needs to be replaced by a law of monogamy for both. At the same time, provision must be made for all eventualities by enabling dissolution of marriage under certain circumstances. The prevailing laws of marriage are both unfair as well as irrational, for while it does not prevent socially injurious unions such as between diseased or insane people, it forbids two intelligent people from separating if their union had in reality ceased to be and become a burden or a mockery. If marriage is a useful social institution, as we believe it to be, then it can survive only as a voluntary one, not coercive. For then it becomes an artificial super-imposed affair instead of an institution based on the deepest needs of man, an indispensible social instrument for the proper regulation of human relationships. Such a relationship can only be constituted through the inter-play of mutual love, respect and obligation. Where this spring is missing or is dried up and social fear alone holds two people together, such a union can never add to the strength and vitality of a people. Under these circumstances, the man has no more rights over his wife than an Imperialist country over a colonial. As Gandhiji rightly says :

> "For me the marriage state is as much of a discipline as any other. Married life is intended to promote mutual good. Where one partner breaks the law of discipline, the right accrues to the other of breaking the bond. The breach here is moral, not physical . . . the wife or the husband separates to serve the end for which they had united. Hinduism regards each as absolute equal of the other. No doubt, a different practice has grown up, so have many other evils crept in . . ."

Moreover, the result of a ban on dissolution or making divorce difficult certainly does not make for happy or successful marriages. That is an absolute fallacy. But while a different standard obtains for man, the only result is an additional threat for society and a handicap-struggle for woman against man. The new society must, therefore, lay down identical moral obligations for both the sexes and establish identical ethical standards, while all laws are brought into conformity with this principle.

———:O:———

POEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The famished, the homeless
raise their hands towards heaven,
and utter the name of God.
Their call will never be in vain
in the land where God's response
comes through the heart of Man
in heroic service and love.

Lines written by the Poet during the Bengal famine of 1931

—From *India Speaks*
(Inauguration Volume, May 1946)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIQUOR POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN (1939-40)

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

Some time after the outbreak of hostilities with Germany, Temperance organisations in Britain criticised the British Cabinet stating that the attitude of complacency towards the drink problem which had all along characterised the governing classes of Britain should forthwith be replaced by one of quick and prompt interference with the activities of the Liquor Trade.

In explanation of such invasions on personal liberty as had already been found necessary, the Cabinet had stated that they had been due to the vital needs of the state. For instance, conscription had been enacted to increase military strength, the maintenance of the food supply of the nation had led to its rationing, the equipment of mechanised armies had ended in petrol rationing, the safety of the civilian population in thickly settled areas had rendered evacuation compulsory, and taxes, direct and indirect, had been increased till they made unprecedented demands on the purses of the people. It was, therefore, argued that the British Cabinet should not postpone the imposition of restrictions calculated to husband the resources of the country.

The British Temperance Movement put forward certain reasons in support of its demands for controlling the Liquor Trade and reducing the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The most important of these are referred to below.

Deterioration of Efficiency

There is such a close connection between proceedings for drunkenness and convictions on the one hand and the quantity of liquor consumed on the other, that a reduction in the amount used is immediately reflected in a considerable diminution in their number. It was urged that as, in the best interests of the country, it was necessary that the people as a whole should be encouraged to maintain their physical and intellectual efficiency at the highest possible level, it was desirable that they should, as far as possible, be saved from the temptation of drinking and thus lowering their powers, for it is a well-established fact that drunkenness and even the effects of moderate drinking falling far short of actual drunkenness, lead to industrial and physical deterioration which no country engaged in a life and death struggle such as the war with Hitlerite Germany could afford. In support of this contention, the following figures, taken from official publications, were placed before the public.

	Beer (Nearest Thousand Standard Barrels)	*Spirits (Nearest Thousand Proof Gallons)*	*Drunkenness Proceedings*
1913	35,324	31,794	263,404
1914	34,193	31,660	263,515
1918	12,791	15,108	44,266
1919	21,692	21,699	86,467
1920	26,920	22,125	144,073

As regards the convictions, in 1913, the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities, they numbered 183,514 in England and Wales diminishing gradually till in 1918, when control was strictest, they fell to a minimum of 28,628. Next year, that is to say, in 1919, the number of convictions nearly doubled while the year after that (1920) they were more than three times the minimum figures given above.

Along with the above statistical data, it was emphasised that the people who were proceeded against and specially those convicted were not only themselves unable to give their maximum services to the country but also that they needlessly absorbed the energy of others engaged in seeing to the maintenance of the normal life of the nation. It was, therefore, argued that if the British Cabinet took effective steps to reduce the amount of liquor available to the public, there would be a sharp drop in drinking, moderate and excessive, and so a larger amount of man-power with a higher measure of efficiency would be available for national service.

It was also urged that never before had there been a time when it was necessary for every Briton to be in a state of constant preparedness. The dangers of attack from the air had increased to an alarming extent and there were thousands of people scanning the heavens for German air-crafts that might rain death on defenceless men, women and children. As alcohol by drugging the brain, blurs the vision, it was essential to encourage sobriety not only in the case of the watchers, but also where the general public, which had to be ready for any emergency, was concerned.

In that connection, attention may be drawn to the instructions issued to Wardens by the Chief Air Raid Wardens of different places among which reference may be made to those of Leeds, Chelsea and Marylebone. The first of these ordered that his Wardens were not to enter licensed premises (selling liquor) whilst on duty. The second stated, "None of our Wardens would drink on duty", while the third said, "We ask men not to drink on duty, as it is obviously desirable for the efficiency of the service."

Another point made by a religious organisation, the Emergency Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, soon after the outbreak of the recent war was that war conditions had led to the massing of individuals in new surroundings especially in the case of young men and young women called up for national service. So far as these young people were concerned, it could not be denied that while the resultant removal of the restraints of home was by itself an undesirable though unavoidable necessity, it was unwise to aggravate the risks to which they were already exposed by easy access to intoxicating liquors one of the effects of which, as shown elsewhere, is to materially weaken self-control.

Increase of Road Accidents

The connection between drinking and road accidents had been established even before the breaking out of the recent war but the British Cabinet had apparently failed to grasp the significance of scientific findings as regards the danger of alcohol even when taken in moderation by those in charge of highly mechanised machines of transport on land or in the air. Something has been said elsewhere about the increase of drinking after the blackout regulations had come into force and authorities have been quoted in support of this view.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It was pointed out at that time that this implied great responsibility on drivers of motor vehicles and pedestrians as also that drinking, under these circumstances, was a grave danger, not merely to the individual, but to the community as a whole, in addition to the imposition of an unnecessary burden on the police. Nothing was done and the number of road accidents mounted. Mr. F. C. Watkins, Labour Member for Central Hackney, voiced the rising tide of public indignation against the unchecked continuance of drink-caused accidents when, on the 16th November, 1938, he moved the following resolution in the House of Commons :

> "This House views with concern the continued high rate of road accidents in spite of existing measures and therefore calls for more effective action for the public safety."

Several members, including the Minister of Transport, participated in the debate which followed. One of these, Mr. Frederick Montagu who, it should be added, had never previously shown any deep sympathy with temperance principles, made a speech from which the following lines are quoted to prove the extent to which he thought road accidents were due to drinking :

> "A good number of the Members of this House know that I am no pussyfoot. I do not believe in restrictions and prohibitions . . . but I must confess to a very considerable degree of concern at the number of roadhouses to be seen round about London and in other parts of the country . . . When I note the enormous number of cars packed outside these places, especially at week-ends, I cannot help feeling that here is something which ought to be looked into and which may be responsible, to a considerable extent, for some of the selfishness and some of the slaughter."

This debate, too, characterised by temperance organs as an unsatisfactory one, did not produce any effect. *The Alliance News* for December, 1939, once more drew attention to the seriousness of the situation when it stated :

> "We are killing on the roads of our country twice the number of people as were killed in pre-war months, due very largely to increased traffic dangers after dark. The presence on the streets after blackout of persons who are just leaving public houses (more or less under the influence of liquor) has added greatly to the dangers of the roads."

A very prominent leader of the British Temperance Movement next drew attention to the *Report of the House of Lords Select Committee on Road Accidents* which, among other things, had said :

> "It should be emphasised that, even when there is no question of drunkenness, a small quantity of alcohol is for many drivers most dangerous,"

and emphasised the importance of the fact where the people concerned were the thousands of young airmen who were being called upon to face the terrible risks of aerial reconnaissance and combat. Their nervous parents constantly in apprehension of the dangers to which these young people were unavoidably exposed, he pleaded, had surely the right to demand that their boys should be placed beyond the reach of a temptation which, if yielded to even in moderation, might cost them and their comrades their lives.

Then came a request from the (British) National Temperance Federation to Sir Kingsley Wood, the Minister for Air, to receive a deputation to discuss with him the issue of alcoholic beverages as it affected the members of the air forces. He declined to receive the deputation. Replying through his Secretary he said that he "was satisfied that alcohol is in fact used in the (air) service to a remarkably limited extent and that canteens are strictly managed under the full control of Commanding Officers."

This letter referred to the importance of moderation but carefully refrained from defining what, in official view, would be regarded as moderation in a calling so dangerous as that of a pilot. It was in this connection that an eminent medical man who, throughout his life, has been a champion of total abstinence observed that

> "The impairment of the power of judgment, of central, peripheral and binocular vision, of neuromuscular co-ordination is inevitable, after even small doses of alcohol. Bad enough in most other occupations, such a consequence for the airman is fraught with incalculable mischief."

The Air Minister was, therefore, requested in a second letter addressed to him by the General Secretary of the National Temperance Federation to accept and give effect to the view of Mr. Garro Jones, M.P., as expressed in April, 1938, that is, long before the recent war started, that

> "It would not be right to apply the same standard of conduct to the air pilots as to the other two services (Army and Navy where limited quantities of alcohol under certain circumstances are issued to the soldiers) even, let alone to the general public."

So far as the present writer is aware, the Air Ministry right up to the end of the war did not accept the suggestion of the Temperance Movement, detailed information about which appears elsewhere.

Depression of Living Standards

The annual per capita expenditure on drink in Great Britain in 1938, was about £5-12-0d or 8s-6d a week for a family of four persons. Actual enquiries conducted by temperance workers among men employed in a number of different industries showed that their expenditure on drink was usually between 5s and 16s a week, and that, in some industrial areas, it was much higher. For instance, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Licensing stated that

> "In Bermondsey, where the average employment wage was only 45s a week, the expenditure on drink alone came to 16s per family."

Taking 8s. 6d. a week as the average expenditure on drink, there can be little doubt that it had detrimental effects on the standard of living because statistical investigations have shown that over 50 per cent of all the children in Great Britain "are living in families where total income is less than 60s. a week." A deduction of 8s. 6d. from this amount implies a substantially lower standard of living for the whole family.

Temperance workers pointed out that war conditions would accentuate this tendency, for though it was sure that wages would rise, this would certainly be accompanied by an increase in the prices of the necessaries of life. The time-lag between wages and prices would always be there. Along with this, the cost of liquor would also increase and as users of liquor who would be called upon to work harder and for longer hours would fly to liquor to overcome, at least temporarily, their sense of fatigue and also for the sake of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sociability, it was certain that the expenditure on drink would run away with a larger share of their earnings than in normal times. And this, when it happened, as it was contended was only too likely to happen, would adversely affect the standard of living of the whole family. It was also held that as it was essential that the workers should be well-nourished, the greatest sufferers under these circumstances would be the women-folk and the children.

Wastage of Foodstuff

On the 28th December, 1939, Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott, writing to the *Times* from the office of the celebrated periodical, *Countryman,* referred to the wastage of valuable foodstuff and man-power in the following terms :

"Brewing and distilling must be using up something like 17,000 tons of barley, 5,000 tons of other grains, and about the same tonnage of sugar, molasses, etc., weekly. Dare we any longer put off deciding (1) whether the nation can afford all this drain on feeding stuffs, and (2) whether it can permit all the attendant expenditure of not far short of £3,000,000 a week on materials and labour ?"

The British Cabinet which was greatly embarrassed by not only other criticisms of the same type but also when it was pointed out that the food wasted in the manufacture of liquor could be used for feeding pigs, attempted to defend itself by suggesting in what its critics regarded as an inspired broadcast, that "beech mast or acorns could be used instead of barley for feeding pigs." The reply to this came in the correspondence columns of a temperance paper in which a gentleman calling himself "A Practical Farmer" drew attention to the impractical nature of the advice offered by inquiring "where is any one, keeping 300 pigs or more, to get beech mast or acorns ?"

Then ensued further correspondence the last word in which was said by one Mr. R. Rowse-Hosking, writing on the 2nd January, 1940, to *The Farmer and Stock-Breeder*, one of the foremost of farmers' journals in England. He said :

"Instead of being palmed off to feed bacon pigs on beech mast and acorns, may I suggest a better way of obtaining the necessary food ? In beer alone, to say nothing of spirits, nearly ten million cwts. of malt and about three quarters of a million cwts. of rice, maize and other grains were used last year in its manufacture. Now, it is recognised that 10 cwts. of barley feed will produce 160 lbs. of pork, dead-weight, so that the barley used to make malt for brewing would feed about a million pigs of an average weight of 160 lbs.

"Ships are badly needed for transporting war supplies. Why should they be used for bringing barley for brewers to destroy ? Some farmers are actually killing off the baby pigs because of the shortage of feeding stuffs, and there will, therefore, be a reduction of the pig population and shortage of bacon.

"Those who consume food are to be rationed on January 3rd (1940) ; those who produce food, we are told, are to be rationed for animal feeding stuffs ; but those who destroy it are to be let off 'scot-free.' Is it either right or economical to let beer come before bacon, eggs, or butter ? Is our Government afraid to ration the brewers ? Do they prefer the ruin of pig and poultry-keepers and to put the nation on short commons instead ?"

On the 20th February, 1940, the Minister of Food (Mr. W. S. Morrison) in reply to an inquiry made by a lady member of the House of Commons stated that "about one million pounds of grain (were) daily" used up by the Liquor Trade. This does not include sugar, molasses, etc., also consumed by it which proves that there had been no improvement in the situation after the appearance of the correspondence referred to above.

Early in March, 1940, the British Temperance Movement started a campaign to mobilise public opinion against the misuse of foodstuffs. It emphasised that food control had been introduced and rationing imposed to prevent their possible wastage. To this end, to quote its language, "a skilful and very expensive administration" had been brought into being which, as was only natural, was "financed by the increased cost of foodstuffs" to the public. For the materials it used, the Liquor Trade had to depend either on what was grown in Great Britain or imported from outside at considerable risk to the seamen. In either case, the manufacture of liquor from these substances constituted, in the language used by it, "a woeful wastage of valuable food products and the destruction of essential vitamins" which were "greatly needed by the British nation as a whole so that every soul might maintain its strength, vigour, and efficiency at the highest possible pitch."

The gravity of the food situation was such that even the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P., felt impelled to show his sympathy with the efforts of the Temperance Movement and when invited to a meeting arranged by it on the 14th March, 1940, sent the following wire to the President elect :

> "Deeply regret not present. Consider food situation demands drastic survey of brewery and distilling facilities. D. Lloyd George."

Misuse of Cargo Space

But the use of foodstuffs by the Liquor Trade had another and, from the human standpoint, a more deplorable result to which reference was made in a contribution which appeared in November, 1939, from which the following extract is made :

> "There is a shortage in certain imported foodstuffs, the reason being that there is a shortage of cargo boats. Yet it is estimated that to supply the Liquor Trade with its sea transport, over 50 million cubic feet of shipping space is employed annually. Are British sailors to continue to risk their lives for purposes of this kind ?"

The Liquor Trade continued to get its supplies of precious foodstuffs the transport of which by sea took a high toll of the lives of British sailors when the U-boat menace was at its worst. The indignation felt by all right-minded people was expressed in an article entitled "Liquor in War-time" published in the well-known *Spectator* of London on the 2nd February, 1940, from which the following lines are taken. It will be noticed that the point made is that the cargo space taken up by the food-stuffs used in the Liquor Trade, the most important of which is brewing, represented so much loss and that, at least under the conditions then prevailing, it should be utilised for importing food for man and stock.

> "In his address at the Mansion House last month the Prime Minister stated that if we want to win and, if possible, to shorten the war, 'We must control imports, we must do without commodities that are not necessary.' Bulky commodities taking much cargo-space are specially to be avoided, and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

among them clearly must be included much of the material needed in brewing. Over half the total amount of barley used for this purpose is imported, as well as certain amounts of sugar, rice and maize. But in war-time, when sinkings of ships are of daily occurrence, cargo-space represents seamen's lives. Everything possible must be done to reduce their risks to a minimum, and to restrict space to the carriage of essential commodities only. Even if there were no question of the risk to seamen, cargo-space ought to be conserved for more useful purposes. Owing to the convoy system, the total amount of space available is considerably less than in peace-time, and this inevitably cuts down the import of both valuable foodstuffs and of feeding-stuffs for stock."

Significant Gaps in Propaganda

As the war went on and, with it, the need for finance grew more intense, a national savings campaign was instituted under Government auspices. The National Savings Association was organised and it sponsored an extensive publicity campaign through the press and the platform urging that while expenditure on the necessaries of life was, in the interests of efficiency, to be maintained, expenditure on luxuries must be drastically reduced and the money thus saved should be lent to Government. In their speeches, the Cabinet Ministers also pursued the same theme while there was no lack of this particular type of propaganda in broadcasts.

What was surprising in the whole affair, however, was the utter lack of any clear indication in regard to the particular commodities the use of which could be advantageously cut out. One would have thought that it was not at all a very difficult matter to draw attention to some very large items of national expenditure which could have been completely eliminated with very definite gain to the community and of which the enormous expenditure on alcohol is an outstanding example.

In some cases, the advertisements which appeared in the papers pointed out that it was wrong for the British merchant fleet to risk the abnormal perils of the sea due to the activities of German submarines to carry what we may call non-necessaries to England. Every one understood that this was to discourage their import and use by the British public which was expected to utilise the savings thus effected for national investment. Not one of these, however, mentioned anything about the waste of that part of the grain, sugar, molasses, and the like used by the Liquor Trade, which could be classed among the non-necessaries and importing which implied serious risk for seamen.

An obvious explanation of this seems to be that so general is the feeling against the curtailment of the facilities for drinking, that those conducting the propaganda were aware that there was very little chance of anything like a wide acceptance of such a suggestion.

Suggestions of the British Temperance Movement

All the above facts were known not only to the British Cabinet but also to individuals and organisations interested in the Temperance Movement in Great Britain. The United Kingdom Alliance of temperance organisations all over the country passed the following resolution :

"The United Kingdom Alliance calls public attention to the fact that the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic liquor entail :

"(1) The wastage of transport facilities.
"(2) The impairment of national efficiency.
"(3) The misdirection of man-power.
"(4) Uneconomic expenditure.
"(5) The destruction of food value of vast quantities of sugar and grain.
"(6) An increase in traffic danger."

The above resolution was passed soon after the outbreak of war with Germany. It had no effect in inducing the British Government to change its policy in the matter of the drink traffic.

In January, 1940, Mr. Earnest Winterton, a prominent temperance worker, wrote an article demanding immediate steps for halving the output of alcoholic liquors and prohibition of the use of spirits for beverage purposes. His other suggestions were putting up the price of intoxicating liquor by increasing the taxes and the weakening of their alcoholic strength. These were not accepted but there was no let up in the attempts made by those interested in the Temperance Movement to restrict the output and consumption of liquor. The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the London Free Church Federation held on the 14th March, 1940 :

"In view of the fact that the huge national consumption of intoxicants represents a serious wastage of foodstuffs by their destruction in brewing and distilling ; that the drink habits of drivers and pedestrians are an aggravating factor in the appalling total of road casualties ; and that the expenditure upon drink is impairing the economic resources of the nation, this Annual Meeting of the London Free Church Federation calls upon the Government to impose upon the drink trade, without further delay, not only the limitations which were found to be necessary during the last Great War, but also such additional restrictions as have now become imperative on account of the 'black-out' and of the importance of maintaining a constant state of national preparedness to meet any emergency."

The Temperance Movement realising the strength of the opposition it would have to encounter made, in 1939, from the Indian point of view, the very modest proposals that there should be a reduction in the drinking hours; that the sale of spirits should be made illegal from Friday night to Sunday night, that the "No Treating" order of the war of 1914-18, should be imposed, that the alcoholic strength of spirits and beer should be reduced, that no canvassing for liquor orders and no publication of advertisements to push their sale should be permitted, that air pilots, motor drivers, etc., should not be allowed to drink when on duty or, better still, for a prescribed number of hours before going on duty and, lastly, that there should be "a progressive restriction of the national output of liquor" and that savings in labour and raw materials thus effected should be diverted to the increase of the National Food Supply.

The Temperance Group in Parliament systematically brought pressure to bear upon Government not to impose Prohibition which they regarded, and regarded rightly, as an impossibility so long as the British maintain their present attitude in the matter of the use of alcohol, but, in accordance with the resolutions quoted above, to introduce those restrictions which had been in force during the war of 1914-18

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adding to them three other regulations to meet the conditions then prevailing. These were that places selling drink should close one hour after sunset, that advertisements designed to increase the consumption of alcoholic drinks should be prohibited and lastly, that drivers of motor vehicles and aviators should not be allowed to drink during their hours of duty. The whole Temperance Movement of Great Britain gave this programme its unqualified support but these were not accepted.

Attitude of the British Cabinet and Its Implications

On the 28th February, 1940, Dr. Little, a member of the House of Commons interested in the Temperance Movement, asked Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Minister of Food, "Whether, as the foodstuffs required for the production of whisky, beer, etc., are vital and necessary at the moment for the life and welfare of the nation, he will make a statement as to the extent of the rationing of cereals to distillers and brewers?"

The reply, according to the official proceedings of the House of Commons, was as follows :

"In view of the limited supply of cereals available for animal feeding stuffs, the Government have decided to make an order restricting the output of whisky and other potable spirits for the current year to one-third of last year's production. The output of beer will be permitted to continue at a level not exceeding that of last year.

"To ensure that the Government's intentions are carried into effect with the least inconvenience to the industries concerned, advisory committees representative of distillers, brewers and maltsters are being set up by my Department.

"Steps will be taken to ensure that purchases of cereals for brewing or distilling are not made in excess of requirements for this year's permitted production. The consumption of sugar for brewing will, in accordance with arrangements made for the reduction of supplies for other industrial purposes, be reduced to 70 per cent of normal requirements. Supplies of cereals will, if necessary, be available to meet the deficiency.

"I am glad to be able to state that I have been assured of the co-operation of the industries concerned in giving effect to the Government's wishes."

The point was also made that Government had increased the taxes on liquor in which connection the following information was supplied :

	Pre-war	*War*
Spirits (proof gallon)	72/6d.	82/6d.
Beer (bulk gallon)	24s.	48s.
Wine (gallon)	1/6d.	3/6d.

From the above reply, it is evident that the British Cabinet was at last compelled to take some steps in regard to the preferential treatment which had, up to that time, been accorded to the British Liquor Trade. That the action taken was, however, inadequate became clear when, as the result of inquiries, it was found that the amount of whisky then in bond, that is stored under charge of Customs till duty was paid, amounted to no less than 140 million gallons, equal to five years' normal requirements and that the preferential treatment in regard to the beer industry was to continue as its output was to be permitted to reach its pre-war figure, any shortage due to the rationing of sugar being made up by increased supplies of cereals at a time when serious shortage of agricultural foodstuffs continued to prevail.

From the above, it is abundantly evident that so far as the amount of liquor available for consumption was concerned, the position remained practically unchanged. *The Daily Sketch* of London offered the following comment on the above policy of the British Cabinet in its issue of the 29th February, 1940 :

> "There will be plenty of whisky at present rates (unless the tax goes up) for years to come, despite restrictions on manufacture just announced. Amount of tax will probably remain as now throughout the war . . . Beer maximum output will be the same as last year. Even a cessation of distilling would not take effect for years, because of the time spirits need to mature."

When examined closely, the following inferences can be legitimately drawn from the answers given by the Minister of Food.

1. The output of beer would not be reduced by a single pint unless the Advisory Committee consisting of people financially interested in the brewing trade decided to do so. That this was not likely is self-evident.

2. The brewers who are food destroyers would continue to obtain as much sugar as if they were food producers like manufacturers of such articles as jam, marmalade, chocolate, etc., every one of these being allowed "70 per cent of normal requirements."

3. If the sugar allotted was found to be insufficient, the brewers would get grain instead.

4. As regards whisky, the output of which was to be reduced by two-thirds, we have to remember that potable spirits, unlike beer, keep for years and that supplies normally sufficient for five years were in stock when the above statement was made. Secondly, it is profitable for distillers to stop manufacturing whisky in war-time because of the higher prices paid for what is called mature whisky and the reduced demand inevitable by reason of war-time economy. The experience of the war of 1914-18 had shown that distillers would themselves have reduced their whisky output in war-time even if Government had not taken any action in the matter.

5. It was the contention of Government that increases in the prices of alcoholic liquors due to the enhanced taxes would tend to check their consumption but attention was not drawn to the fact that, as wages under war conditions were bound to increase, it was more than likely that their restrictive value was calculated, at least partially, to be neutralised.

Britain, Australia and New Zealand Contrasted

While Great Britain was, under pressure from various quarters, taking hesitating steps for controlling the consumption of liquor, the younger and, presumably, more vigorous Self-Governing Dominions were setting a worthier and a higher example. It was reported in the *Children's Newspaper* in November, 1939, that Mr. Robert Semple, Minister of Transport and of Public Works, New Zealand, had decreed that all the constructional camps of the country would be free from alcohol. These had come into existence as the result of the railway and road extension schemes involving expenditure of millions of pounds. He took up this attitude because Government was paying very high wages to finish its new roads and railways as rapidly as possible and it was aware that alcohol slows up work.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Christian World, dated the 28th December, 1939, reported that, sometime after the above step had been taken, the New Zealand House of Representatives passed, without opposition, a Bill prohibiting drinking at public dance halls or in their vicinity.

The same issue of the above periodical also reported that the then Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, announced the decision of his War Cabinet that military camps would remain "dry", which he said, "had been reached after careful consideration." Further, under the Defence Act, the supply of liquor to military trainees under the age of 25, who were being compulsorily trained in the State of Victoria (Australia), was forbidden. In the same State, the regulations forbade the possession and supply of intoxicating liquor at any Air Force canteen, unit, or station, during any period of training.

———:O:———

THE LEAGUE IS DEAD, LONG LIVE THE UNITED NATIONS!

A Retrospective Glimpse

By Mme. L. MORIN

Geneva, 25th April, 1946

Geneva, who watched over the League's cradle, has just seen it safely to its grave.

But although the session had something ghostlike about it, the whole process has been conducted with all due pre-war formalism and dignity.

And the slight mist of melancholy which hovered around, together with past memories, was soon dispelled by the brilliant sunshine, the gorgeous flowers, the ever kindly welcome of the Swiss people, and the unchanging beauty of Geneva and its lake and mountains in the early spring.

On the 7th September, 1929, the first stone of the future palace had been solemnly laid in the Parc of Ariana. September, 1937, saw the first sitting of the League in its new abode. Easter, 1946 : hardly more than ten years have elapsed—but what eventful years ! —and the League is here again, yet only to breathe its last and transmit its legacy to its young successor U.N.O.

All through the war, people were exclaiming : "Look at that magnificent palace standing there useless, and it cost 30 million francs at the time." And what was the daily cost of war for each country, if you please ? People will always agree to the heaviest armament budget in time of war, but a much smaller amount to be spent in favour of peace or constructive purposes is always considered excessive.

It should not be forgotten that the League Secretariat, if at a slow rhythm, did pursue its activities during the war, within ten minutes from the German guns, in its own humble way a challenge to the forces of disorder. Contributions received during that period were devoted to the technical services (economic, social, financial, transit, hygiene, drug-traffic, etc.). And those very same services, in slightly altered forms, seem likely to assume nowadays an ever-growing importance, the need for them being even greater than before.

As the League steps out of the present world scene, it also steps into history, and it may well occupy there in future a more creditable place than its present censors would have us to believe. That is why, at this present juncture, it is perhaps not utterly futile to take a last retrospective glimpse at the League's activities and ideals.

Some Precursors

In fact, it would be a fascinating study to trace through history the evolution of arbitration [illegible] other ideas which were later on embodied in the League Covenant but this, of course, cannot be attempted within the scope of a short article.

A few instances, taken at random.

Tribunals of conciliation existed at times in ancient Greece to settle matters between cities.

Pierre Dubois, a thirteenth-century lawyer of Normandy, envisaged a court of arbitration between nations, with ultimate recourse to the Pope.

Henri the IVth, King of France, also devised a scheme for international organisation.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre published a plan for realising universal peace through the means of European federation.

But all these reminiscences appear very distant from our present preoccupations.

How the League Was Born

In 1915, a "League to impose peace" was created in the United States and attracted the attention of President Wilson.

In 1917, under Wilson's auspices, a peace enquiry bureau, with 200 eminent jurists, undertook to study the means of organising the world on a new basis.

One of Wilson's fourteen points foresaw the constitution of a League of Nations.

A committee started work in England, on Lord Cecil's initiative. Its plan was approved, after certain alterations, by President Wilson and his private counsellor, Colonel House.

When the Peace Conference opened, a commission was asked to draft the statutes of the League of Nations. The final text was approved in plenary session on the 28th April, 1919, and incorporated in the Versailles treaty on the 28th June of the same year.

It can be contended that in 1919 and 1920, many treatises were signed under the sway of political passions prevalent at the time. But the League Pact itself was not hastily drafted. In fact it was compiled with a great deal of care and thoughtfulness.

Yet, in spite of the immense hopes fostered by its creation, on the whole, and more so as years elapsed, the League has been more ridiculed than admired. Still should we not be grateful that it existed at all ?

True to say, its failures have been more conspicuous than its successes. Mr. Charles Rieben, in the Swiss weekly *L'Illustre*, endeavours to give a comparative picture of both.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Where the League Failed

In 1923, Italy had bombarded and occupied the island of Corfou, after the murder of General Tellini on the Greco-Albanian frontier. With regard to this dispute, unanimity could not be reached in Geneva. But a British "naval demonstration" seems to have proved a determining factor. Ultimately, a conference of ambassadors settled the affair, and Greece was compelled to pay a fine.

In 1928, Bolivia waged war against Paraguay, both revendicating the Chaco territory. Hostilities lasted several years and only ended through the intervention of six American states.

When in 1931, Japan grabbed at Manchuria, a vote of the League condemned the aggressor, but Japan banged the door and carried on.

In 1932, an imposing conference, in conformity with article eighth of the Pact, endeavoured to promote general and progressive reduction in armaments. Better late than never? No, it was already too late then. And we remember how it failed.

In 1935, another "moral condemnation" was launched against Italy who had attacked Abyssinia. But sanctions remained ineffective.

In March 1936, Germany reoccupied the left bank of the Rhine. And all countries started again "polishing" their armaments.

In the face of the Spanish war, nothing substantial was done either.

Austria, Czechoslovakia were easy preys after all that precedes. How heavy the atmosphere was in Geneva at the time of the Munich Agreement, those who were there may remember.

In 1939, the storm broke out . . . Germany who had left the League in 1933, was free to laugh at its condemnations.

The agression on Finland provoked the exclusion of Russia : it was the last pronouncement of the League acting as an arbiter of conflicts.

What the League did Achieve

Such are the League's main failures, but what of its successes?

The most dangerous conflict settled by the League was the Greco-Bulgarian frontier incident in 1925. Greek troops had already entered Bulgarian territory. An Enquiry Commission was sent there and the parties accepted its verdict.

Later on, in 1934, the League intervened with success between Yugoslavia and Hungary, after the murder of King Alexander by Croatian Oustachis.

Thanks to the League, many frontier legations have been settled to the satisfaction of both parties, in Europe, in Asia, and even in America, where Columbia and Peru were quarrelling for the Letitia territory.

Of course, the intervention of some neutral state might perhaps have served the same purpose. Yet it was indeed convenient to have at hand a competent organisation prepared to act in any given circumstances. Otherwise, the choice of an arbiter is always a lengthy and delicate matter.

Economic and Social Activities

In the social, economic and philanthropic spheres, the work of the League has been considerable, and its failures in other fields should not minimise that fact.

After the last world war, the League repatriated thousands of prisoners, helped and supported countless refugees and people who had been deprived of their nationality. The work of Nansen and the passports that still bear his name are so well known that they need hardly be recalled here.

The League fought against white-slave traffic, and drug-traffic, so much so that the proportion of intoxicated people is considerably lower than it used to be. It also waged war against cholera and other diseases.

Its Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation, whose main office was located in Paris, helped by various measures to closer understanding between nations. The Indian philosopher Radhakrishnan contributed regularly to the work of that institute.

The permanent Court of Justice has rendered such signal services that the U.N.O. has adopted it practically without any modification.

The International Labour Office has accumulated a considerable amount of valuable documentation through enquiries on the spot all over the world. By the conclusion of some sixty conventions, it has helped to improve the lot of workers in all countries.

And last but not least, the meetings of the League in Geneva have brought together in a friendly atmosphere men of very different types, belonging to all nations. Through their work in Geneva, they learned to know each other better, and something of this has survived, despite the storms of war.

The Causes of Failures

Why then has the League of Nations so deeply disappointed both those who created it and millions of people all over the surface of the earth who had watched its birth with ardent hope ?

Sir Eric Drummond (today Lord Perth) who acted for 17 years as its General Secretary, attributes this to three main causes :

1. The absence of the United States in Geneva.
2. The refusal of the Great Powers who were members to fulfil their obligations as they should have done.
3. The fact that the peoples themselves did not realise the consequences of those obligations.

In his remarkable book, *League of Nations Not Guilty*, the Greek writer Epirotis confirms this judgment : "The failures of the League," says he, "are due far more to the weaknesses of those who had to apply the Pact, than to the defects of the Pact itself."

Owing to this kind of "defeatism," the League could never effectively impose its decisions. Deprived of any coercive material power, it also lacked the moral courage to enforce sanctions in decisive circumstances, which they were precisely meant for. Through its growing inaptitude to cope with the most urgent problems of the day, the League had lost the confidence of the people, and could not be expected to survive.

It is evident also that the inclusion of the Pact in the Peace treaty was an error. The defeated nations were thus brought to consider the League as an instrument in the hands of the victorious powers, and in that very measure their faith in international institutions could never be won over.

Of course, the nations themselves bear their own responsibilities. To a great extent because the political education of people is still very imperfect, in the national as well as in the international field. And yet, the world is not lacking in men who might lead the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

masses on the road to progress. And if masses are tired of big words and slogans, they are nevertheless eager to understand how things stand and what they can reasonably hope for. They can also be expected to act in the right sense when their confidence is gained.

The United Nations Organisation has much to learn through the Geneva experience. It has already benefited by it.

A new era is opening : May U.N.O. succeed where the League has failed !

———:O:———

POSITION AND POSSIBILITIES OF OUR FOOD PRODUCTION

By Prof. U. N. GHOSAL, B.Sc. (Econ.) London

To-day the problem of food has overshadowed all other economic problems. The occurrence of two major disasters on the food front within a period of three years is something unparalleled and profoundly disturbing. Whatever views we may hold on the inevitability of these two particular happenings, nobody can seriously dispute that our food position has now reached a critical stage. Fresh disasters of larger magnitude lie ahead unless, of course, we are equal to the task and with utmost vigour succeed in pushing through such schemes of reorganisation as would help us to secure both short and long term improvements in agriculture.

Three Main Issues

To clear the issues, we may distinguish three main aspects of the food situation. First, there is the quantitative aspect, *i.e.*, the relation of over-all supplies to over-all requirements. Are the supplies enough to maintain 400 million people increasing at the rate of five million per year ? Next comes the question of the composition of dietary which the vast masses of the people are habituated to consume. Does this food possess elements of adequate nutritive value ? In the last place, the manner in which food is distributed amongst the different sections of the people is no less an important matter. For, in a free market, scarcity may exist in the midst of plenty when consumer's demand is not backed by sufficient purchasing capacity. The broad answers to these questions are fairly familiar to most of us but they will bear some illustrations.

Quantitative Aspect

Although our statistics of agricultural production, like most other statistics, are proverbially unreliable, a rough comparison between total requirements and total supplies will point to certain vital conclusions. On the basis of a minimum diet of 18 oz. per day per adult (Estimate of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research) the annual requirement of 400 million approximates to about 54 million tons of food grains. *On an average* in recent years the main food grains production has been estimated at about 52½ million tons, leaving an annual shortage of about 1½ million tons. In partial adjustment of this chronic deficiency of internal supply a net import surplus of one million ton of food products has also taken place for several years. This brief picture has a twofold significance :

(*a*) It shows, in the first instance, how small is the margin between our scarcely sufficient food supply and disaster. For a country depending almost exclusively on agriculture which in its turn is subject to severe fluctuations in output on account of variations of rainfall, short supplies are inevitable at frequent intervals with their consequential dangers. For instanue, a short supply of even a million ton would influence, on the basis of a meagre ration of 16 oz., the diet of about eight million people. If it is true that we are faced this year with a food shortage of six million tons the consumption (on the previous basis of calculation) of as many as forty-eight million would be affected. Even with drastic cuts in rations in urban and other areas covering in all about fifty-three million people, we cannot hope to save near about ten million lives, unless sufficient imports are forthcoming. Ultimately, therefore, our outlook for food depends largely on the scale of imports we are able to secure from time to time and it is important to decide, in settling our food policy, how far such a course is desirable. Some considerations affecting this situation are discussed below in a separate section.

(*b*) The annual increase of population by five million imposes upon us the formidable task of raising, from our soil, on a very low basis of nutrition, an additional million ton of food grains every year. Can we continue producing at this rate year after year ? In the past we have not been equal to this task, our food production having remained more or less stationary and this has given rise to a number of deplorable consequences, *viz.*,

(*i*) a decrease in the average size of holding to 0·72 acre under food crops as against 1·2 acres per capita necessary to produce an adequate restricted diet under modern standards ;

(*ii*) an increase in the number of landless labourers who today constitute about one-third of the total population,—a fact of utmost importance in increasing the severity of mortality rates in a food crisis, as it did happen in case of the last Bengal Famine ; and

(*iii*) finally, in the necessary process of physical adaptation to decreasing per capita food, the average height and weight have also fallen.

Qualitative Aspect

Today we are faced not only with the danger of recurrent food shortages of a serious degree, but also

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by an almost total absence of protective and energy-building food in the national dietary. Our daily meals are based almost wholly on cereals and how these compare with an accepted standard of a well-balanced diet will be evident at a glance from the following table;

Cereals	14 ozs.
Pulse	3 „
Vegetable	10 „
Fruit	3 „
Milk	10 „
Sugar and Gur	2 „
Vegetable oil and ghee	2 „
Meat and Fish	3 „
Egg	1 (number)

A few more data will be more illuminating. Of the total cultivated area, the area under cultivation of fruits and vegetables is less than 2 per cent. Although we have 200 million head of cattle—the largest in the world—the per capita production of milk is 7 oz. per day whereas it is 35 in Holland and 53 in New Zealand. Again, it is said that at least 150 million people eat fish; their requirement at 2 oz. a day would come to three million tons a year. Against this our present estimated catch ranges round a little more than half-a-million ton. Furthermore, confronted with the terrible pressure of population on the soil, there has been a progressive tendency to grow less nutritive cereals in place of more nutritive ones. If we take stock of cereal production in the last 30 years the increases have been of the following order, *viz.*, Rice 3·5 per cent, Wheat 4·2 per cent, Maize 5 per cent, Bajra 25 per cent, Barley 57 per cent, Jawar 110 per cent. The consequences on the health of the population and rates of mortality amongst its different groups speak for themselves.

Distributional Aspect

The cultivating classes in this country fall into three main groups, *viz.*,

(i) landless labourers who must either depend on the wages they receive from employment in the fields covering a period of 4 to 6 months in a year and from some other sundry occupations, or conditions permitting, engage in crop sharing by cultivation of land in possession of others;

(ii) the owners of small plots too small to provide adequate yields for supporting themselves and their families. These cultivators are also on the look-out for crop sharing or any other jobs at hand;

(iii) the owners of large holdings who succeed in keeping themselves above want and still have a surplus produce.

The net outcome is that, since about three-fifths of the population belong to the first two groups, about half of the total produce finds its way into the surplus stocks of land-owners, Mahajans and other middlemen dealers of various sorts. Here is the crux of the problem that ultimately the distribution of goods in a free market is a question of purchasing power at the hand of consumers. Unless, therefore, necessary purchasing power is placed at the disposal of at least 250 million persons by creating additional sources of employment, our numbers are not past a mere increase of the yield from the soil would do little to secure an equitable distribution. So long as the present problem stands, and it can be solved only very gradually, the proposal for a subsidy on foodstuffs for poorer classes should engage our serious attention. A substantial portion of the surplus produce should be purchased at market prices and distributed at a lower subsidised rate to the starving millions. How this can be done, whether by direct procurement as the Government have been doing during wartime mainly for the urban areas, or by autonomous and co-ordinated Village Committees is a matter of organisation and cannot present an insurmountable obstacle if we are bent upon doing it.

A Vexed Controversy

In considering any scheme of agricultural reorganisation we must first settle a vexed controversy. Should we aim at self-sufficiency in the matter of food supply without depending to any extent on foreign imports? The answer in principle is that with a given amount of land (like any other scarce factor) the object should be to raise the largest amount of value per unit of land irrespective of the type of crops raised. Today when conditions are abnormal the "grow more food campaign" has its validity and there is nothing wrong in substituting food crops for money crops on the available land. But with the return of normal conditions, it is argued, the continuance of this process would be absurd if per unit of land we can get larger money value in jute or cotton. In this connection the example of England is often cited. England does not produce all her food yet an Englishman, on an average, earns an income 15 times larger than an Indian. *Prima facie*, then, the allocation of land in this country should conform to the principle of maximum value.

But the analogy of England does not hold. England is a highly industrial country with a small population. India, on the other hand, is predominantly agricultural and is likely to remain so for a long time to come. And agriculture in all countries, though more specially in India, is exposed to grave uncertainties on account of the operation of some natural and uncontrollable factors. A world-wide shortage, as at present, is not always a remote contingency, and in such circumstances commercial crops will not help us in securing food from abroad. Moreover, our agriculture is scattered over seven lakhs of villages in which the majority of the cultivators have to depend for their subsistence on the food they grow in their immediate surroundings. "Defence is better than opulence," said Adam Smith more than 150 years ago, and the defence of our food front claims the first priority. If our efforts at intensification of production from existing areas under food crops do not meet our requirements for foodstuffs, we have, to a certain extent, to sacrifice the principle of maximum value.

Potentialities of Long-term Development

A food policy designed to achieve concrete results must perforce distinguish between long and short period targets. The possibilities of long-term expansion in agriculture are indeed without limits. We have at our command new knowledge and new methods created by the advance of science. In a technological age the days

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In essence agriculture involves a set of simple operations. In order to reap a good harvest we prepare a seed-bed which we sow with good seed with proper quantity of manure and water. The main essentials, though not in order of priority, are seed, manure and water-supply, backed by proper methods of cultivation.

Let us take the case of irrigation alone. Of the total cultivated area of about 341 million acres only about 60 million acres are urder irrigation. Now the most dependable method of increasing the output from the soil is regular supply of water. For, by proper irrigation *anything between fifty to one hundred per cent increase* in the output can be secured from the soil. Supposing we succeed, with better knowledge and resources at our disposal, in doubling the present area under irrigation within a measurable period of time, this alone would mean, in terms of output, an additional 12-15 million tons of food grains.

The application of manure and the use of improved seeds have also an equally vital role to play. With proper manuring production goes up by anything between 20 to 40 per cent, (Dr. Burns estimates in his Technoogical Possibilities of Agricultural Development that at the rate of 20 lb. of nitrogen per acre, *at least,* a 40 per cent increase in rice yield is to be expected), and better seeds yield 5 to 10 per cent more than what our cultivators are accustomed to get.

The organic sources of manure, such as cow-dung, compost, bone-meal, etc., are largely wasted in this country. Cowdung alone is said to yield 160 million tons with a capacity for manuring 25 million acres at a rate of lb. 40 nitrogen per acre. Again, bones to the extent of one million ton are available every year of which 3 lakh tons are collected and about 2 lakh tons are crushed, giving about 50 thousand tons of bone-meal. The production of compost has just commenced (in Madras) though not in any appreciable scale. Apart from organic manures, chemical fertilisers have immense possibilities. The maximum pre-war use of sulphate of ammonia for all food crops (except sugar) was only 20 thousand tons. At present the Government of India propose to produce some 350 000 tons.

In any long period planning the question of methods of cultivation as well as of research also come in. It is impossible to conceive of any farming under modern methods so long as the present system of uneconomic holdings caused by fragmentation and subdivision remain in existence. A solution has got to be found by introducing some form of group farming. Meanwhile, it may also be contended that a very large part of our cultivable waste, estimated at 170 million acres, can be brought under cultivation if, and only if, large-scale methods are adopted.

Raising the Nutritional Level

It is often suggested that agriculture can be married to nutrition by practising 'mixed farming,' such as cattle raising, vegetable and fruit growing and so on. The fundamental obstacle to mixed farming *on any appreciable scale* lies, however, in the amount of land over which we can secure control. Between land area and diet there exists an important relationship. We require more land to produce a well-balanced diet composed of sufficient protective foods than an ill-balanced one of similar calorie value consisting mainly of cereals. "To produce 1,000 calories in the form of milk requires from 3 to 4 times as much land as to produce 1,000 calories in the form of wheat or rice." For we cannot obtain from an acre of land an equal calorie value in the form of milk when it is devoted to grazing or fodder crops in place of cultivation for cereals. The same is true for fruits, vegetables, meat and other protective foods. It follows, therefore, that unless and until substantial increase in the yield of cereals per acre release a proportion of land under these crops or fresh acquisition of land is made, no substantial solution of the nutritional diet would be possible. Nevertheless, some advance along certain specified directions is an immediate possibility.

A few concrete instances may be given at random. It should be possible, for example, to produce some 25,000 tons of food yeast from molasses, a product of sugar which is normally thrown away. Yeast enhances the value of proteins already present in our diet and it is ideally suited to meet certain serious deficiencies of tropical diets (vitamin B deficiency). It can be mixed easily with flour for bread, or added to any liquid food such as soup, milk and sauces. Again an immediate expansion of the fishing trade, particularly, inland and inshore fisheries, is a practical possibility if a few administrative measures necessary for landing fish, which the end of the war now permits, are at once undertaken. Further, we produce 4 million tons of all kinds of oil-seeds and if the whole of what we produce is crushed properly, we can obtain 1½ million tons of oil-fats and 2½ million tons of oil-cakes. Above all, if the cultivators all over the country are encouraged to grow for themselves such ordinary vegetables as beans, peas, lentils, tomatoes, lettuce, etc., in any spare land they may have, there would be a considerable improvement in the composition of a balanced diet.

A Short-Term Plan of Outstanding Interest

Time is of the essence in any short period planning. To meet the challenge presented by the growth of our population we need annually about a million ton of additional food grains. Can we plan to attain this target immediately?

An outstanding contribution to attack this baffling problem has just been made by a group of authors writing under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (*A Food Plan for India*, Oxford University Press). The authors point out that the most effective method of securing an *immediate* intensification of India's food supply lies in a *large-scale use of artificial manures* (Sulphate of Ammonia) *on irrigated and good rainfall areas* coupled with the utilisation of organic manures whenever possible. The authors believe that this method alone will secure an increase in the annual over-all supply by 12 to 15 million tons in course of the next 7 years (1946-53) which will be sufficient to feed 450 million people at 10 per cent increase in cereal consumption.

In concrete terms the fundamentals of this scheme are :

(*i*) the utilisation of about *half-a-million ton of Sulphate of Ammonia* for the first year, rising up to 3 million tons on the 7th year when the plan will be in full operation. Of this amount the Government of India propose at present to produce internally some 350,000 tons, the rest being obtained from imports;

(*ii*) *the application of this manure to some ninety*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

million acres of land available already under irrigation and areas of regular rainfall, since without an assured supply of water artificials will do more harm than good ;

(iii) *the free distribution of the fertilisers* for the first year in any new area, and only at half the price for the second year and so on, in order to ensure the use of fertilisers. This would entail a subsidy of Rs. 13 crores from the Central Exchequer at Rs. 1-8 per maund on fertilisers used at a maund per acre on ninety million acres.

For putting this scheme into effect the authors suggest the setting up of 30,000 group centres each covering an area of 10 villages and each being equipped with a store for carrying fertilisers, improved seeds, new implements and the storage of grains received in part payment for materials supplied and services rendered. Given sufficient co-operation on the part of those for whom the scheme is proposed and a sufficiently high level of integrity on the part of the personnel which will have to work it, this plan holds out the prospect of solving in a substantial manner the *immediate* crisis in our food production.

Expansion of "Emergency" Irrigational Schemes

Nevertheless, we cannot rely too much on any single plan, least of all in agricultural planning. It is evident that the fight for food will have to be carried on all fronts. Unfortunately, an all-round struggle cannot be carried far on account of the chronic insufficiency or uncertainty of a common factor which permeates agricultural operations in every sphere and this, of course, is irrigation. In fact, irrigation is the largest single factor blocking all agricultural progress in this country. Double-cropping, manuring, vegetable growing, acquisition of fresh land—whichever way we look, the absence of an assured supply of water largely limits all efforts at expansion. Apart from these numerous combinations which irrigation permits, it is by itself an independent factor. Unaided by any other measure, it is the simplest and surest method of increasing output. Its proved merit and familiarity make it most acceptable to our illiterate cultivators who are ever so suspicious of all innovations.

It is common to think of irrigation mainly in terms of long-term planning. There is indeed little doubt that with the progress of years irrigation will gather larger and larger momentum in this country, and the recent appointment of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board, as fact-finding, initiating and co-ordinating bodies on a high level of experts, as also the irrigation programmes announced by the various provincial governments are first important steps in this direction. But the effect of all these will take at least another ten years to unfold itself. Meanwhile, even for purposes of short-term planning irrigation has abundant scope if the possibilites offered by the existing facilities and simpler methods are sufficiently explored and rapidly extended. We have already about 2½ million wells in actual use in this country irrigating an area well over 13 million acres. In those areas where knowledge of sub-soil water is reasonably complete the sinking of open masonry wells and tube-wells fitted with power-driven pumps should claim our first priority. Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, in an address given in 1944, pointed out that an increase of some 2 million acres could be effected within a period of three years by tube-well feeders, (even under war-time conditions), and, further, that an improvement of the existing canal system by better distribution of water and by reducing percolation losses could secure an increase of 15 per cent on the existing canal irrigated areas. Pending the development of electrical power, suitable mechanical devices will have to be organised for lifting water, since this is the main problem of successful irrigation from sub-soil water. Conditions arising out of the war, such as delay in securing materials and machinery, inadequacy of technical personnel and so on should not now hold up progress in the same manner as in the few years past. On the contrary, the end of the war should now place at our disposal a vast mechanical equipment which could be immediately turned to fruitful employment, especially for the de-silting of derelict tanks, the sinking of new tanks and wells, and the construction of drainage ditches. In the alluvial lands of Bengal, so often frequented by floods which leave on their trail the evils of water-logging, the construction and improvement of drainage system with the aid of these equipments are immediate possibilities. As for those areas where rainfall is precarious but is sometimes received in heavy falls of short durations, the twin problems of soil erosion and irrigation can be effectively solved by contour bunding and terracing. Some experts are agreed that an area of at least 5 million acres of marginal land alone—those extensive areas on the desert fringe which are cultivated perhaps only one year in every four or five and which never appear satisfactorily in statistics—can be brought under cultivation within a period of five years by the extension of contour bunding and other methods of increasing water storage and drainage. If all these short-term possibilities in the sphere of irrigation are put together it is not at all beyond the bounds of practicability to attain the immediate target of 6 lakh tons of additional cereal production on the basis of 1 lb. of grain per day per adult which the annual increase of population by 5 million demands.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SISTERS OF THE SPINNING WHEEL

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

"Ever women's company he keeps, yet a thorough saint is he : swift as Wind is he, yet the hero never steps forward : to the entire world he supplies clothes, yet himself ever unclothed he looks : behold his five heads, brother, and his single good hand"[1]—thus the *Charkha,* or the spinning-wheel, is described in an old Punjabi riddle. Uninterruptedly for well over thousands of years the spinning-wheel has been linked up with human life. "Centuries ago," says Sarojini Naidu, "poets used the simile of the spinning-wheel and the weaver's loom for the destiny of life, the Fates spinning and weaving out man's destiny."[2]

The first spinning-wheel was made by God, says an old proverb of the Punjab. Man is compared to the spinning-wheel. *Shaitan da charkha,* or the Devil's spinning-wheel is a common nickname for a cunning fellow.

Punjabi women have always spun. The spinning-wheels inlaid with ivory have been celebrated in their ancient folklore. Their carpenters still know the art of making beautifully carved spinning-wheels. The bride in this land of five rivers still expects to get a *Shisham*-wood spinning-wheel inlaid with brass wires ; the sandal-wood spinning-wheel, worthy of a princess, is, of course, beyond the scope of the dowry she receives from her father. A poor man's daughter, obviously, can only get one made of the *Kikar*-wood, or not even that.

In my village, the words of the old Punjabi couplet still echo in the hearts of the peasants :

Mera lai chall charkha othe,
Ve jitthe tere hal vagde.

Carry my spinning-wheel there
O, where your ploughs are tilling.

You are naturally reminded of

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?"

As ancient as the cotton cultivation, the spinning-wheel has a history behind it.

Ever since I can remember, the singing voice of the sisters of the spinning-wheel has been running in my veins like a pulse beating. I look back to the spinning-bees held at our house when I was young.

Spinning with my mother was a thing of art and beauty, as it is even today. Jatto, our family midwife, who gave herself airs of holiness with her forehead horizontally wrinkled, joined only occasionally. Dayawanti, who often wore a dove-coloured veil, was a young thing, slender-waisted and sleepy-eyed ; alive with rhythm, her whole body seemed to quiver like a string when she sang. Savitri, a cousin of mine, would not sing ; she was markedly quiet and Madonna-like. Punjabo, looked charming when she smiled, she was an artist out and out, and her songs were much in demand, songs came curling up through her memory. Nihalo, with her round face and her gold tooth, was never seen laughing. Bhagwanti, who had gold beads round her neck, was gifted with a genius for melody, she sang softly. Warm with life-blood and tradition, the spinning-songs, mostly sung in chorus, seemed to absorb everything.

Again and again I was attracted by the picturesque scene. There was a great bond between the spinning-bee and myself. I listened to the songs for sheer joy of music. The wheels had been there ; and songs, echoing from house to house with all their soulfulness, were impregnated with the rhythm of spinning, at once elemental and ancient. I shall always remember what Dayawanti once told me : "In my dreams the spinning-wheel talks with me : 'I was made by Visvakarma, the divine artist, every heart I approach with creeping footsteps ; wherever I go, I give work : I breathe the air of songs : Life is God's gift, I tell the women, and that they should spin as God span life : men do not want me ; I am the beloved of women'."[3]

"I draw songs from my heart as I draw yarn," mother would say, "sitting at the wheel I become a new woman. Sometime the spindle goes wrong but I can soon mend it, and that too, I do accompanied by some tune that seems to hang on my lips. Long live the spinning-wheel, I say, when it moves rightly."

Pitched in a lower key, Dayawanti would sing of the sun, the moon, and the stars :

With every turn of the spinning-wheel,
I wink at the stars.

Or

My dreams of the moon I distribute,
Take them if you care.

Nihalo's favourite song was :

Listen to me, O sun, listen to me, O moon,
Tears roll down my eyes :
The whole world enjoys,
But I spin my sorrows.

A simple couplet often reveals the spirit of the sisters of the spinning-wheel. Poignant similes and metaphors run like a crimson thread through the wide range of physical symbols.

The *Trinjan,* as the spinning-bee is called in the Punjab, always makes a happy picture. The young unmarried girls, the brides, and women of every age, all sit together at their wheels. Room is made for every spinner. They all imbibe the spirit of competition. They all lift their voices together and sing. It seems spinning has never been independent of the song. With its subtle excitement, the task of spinning goes on with the spontaneous, unrestrained music of the songs. The young girls make a feast of colours, jet-black, sombre-red, yellow-blue, rose-pink and green. Such picturesque-ness ! Such dark-eyed dreamy types ! The young brides with their *hennaed* fingers, bend their veiled heads over their spindles ; their dresses are silk and brocade, some

1. *Sada teemian da sang karda jati pher vi poora,*
Pavan sman chal hai usdi, pair na chukkda soora ;
Sare jagg noon leere deve, apon rainhda nanga,
Panj sir usde vekho bhai, hattha ikko changa.

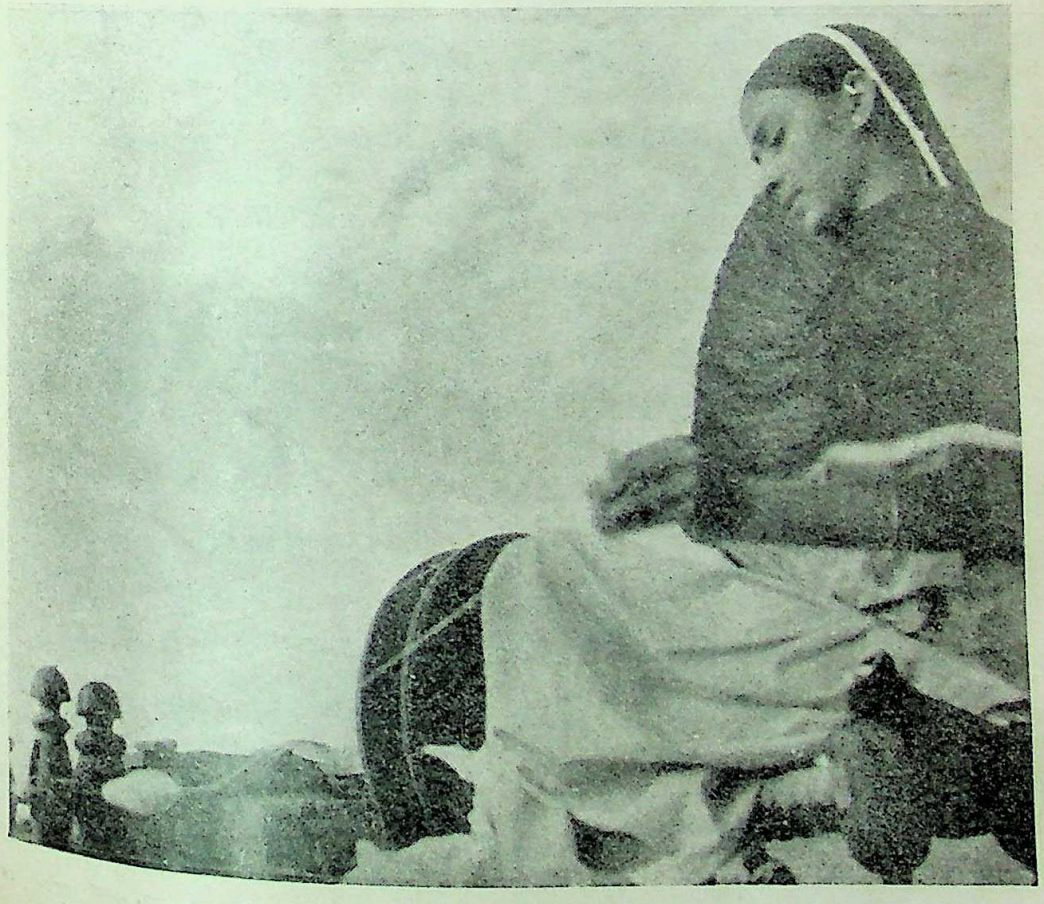
2. From a public speech at Madras.—*The Hindu,* December 18, 1938.

3. Compare Mahatma Gandhi's note, *Swaraj through Women* : 'Since the beginning of time there has been a division of labour between men and women. Adam wove and Eve span. The distinction persists to the present day. Men spinners are an exception . . . experience shows that spinning will remain woman's speciality. I believe there is a good reason behind the experience. Spinning is essentially a slow and comparatively silent process. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice . . . equality of sexes does not mean equality of occupation.'—*Harijan,* December 2, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





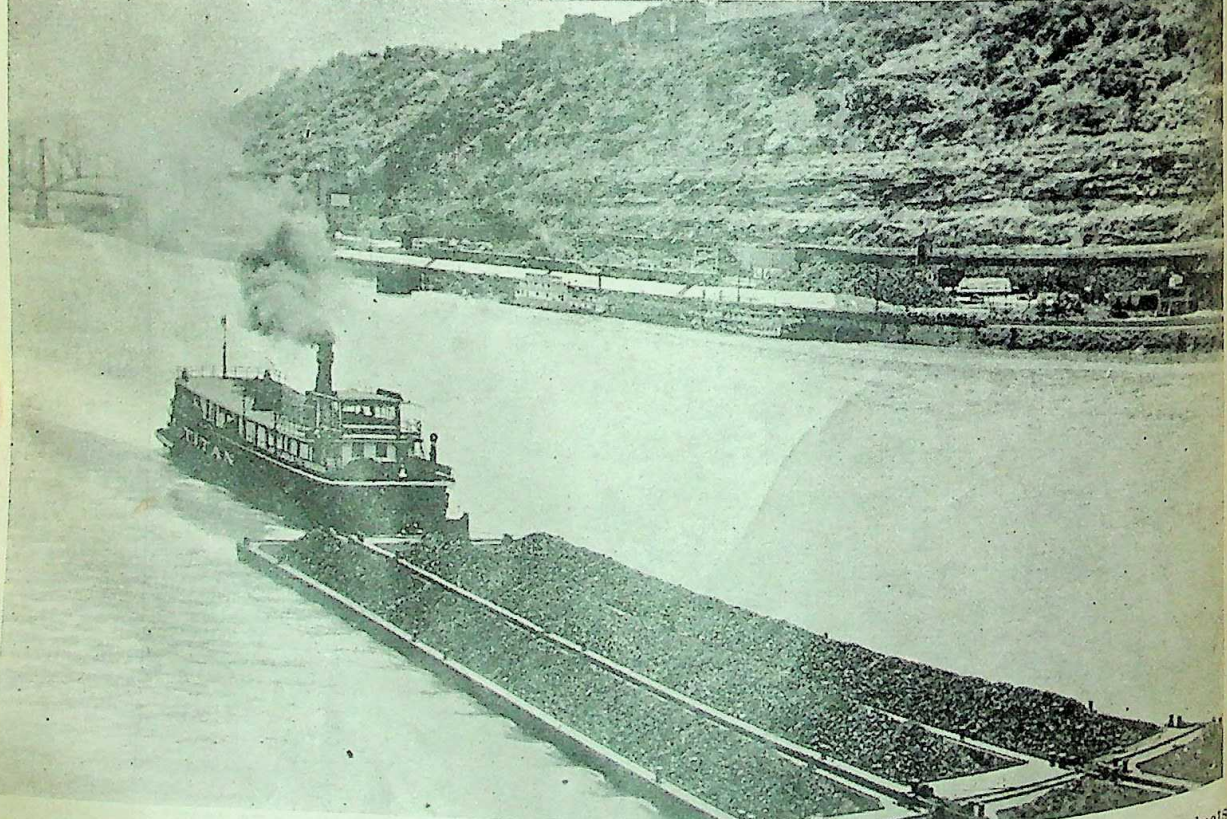
The sad girl talks to her spinning-wheel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The wheat region along the Mississipi River



These big steel barges, pushed by the stern-wheel river steamer, carry food, machinery and other products along the Mississipi River from farms and factories to river ports and cities

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

beautifully embroidered. Mothers forget their worries in this happy company.

Any time may be fixed for the spinning-bee, any house selected for it. Of course each spinner likes to give a party at her place, for she thinks that the spinning-bee, ever under the protection of the gods, adds to the spirit of friendship and peace of mind.

The winter is good for spinning, they say. An all-day spinning-bee called *Chiri Charoonga,*[4] is easier on a short winter day. After the daybreak, they assemble inside a room and spin till sunset; at noon they get their meal from their homes and they know that it should be soon taken. An oil-lamp is kept burning all the day if the room is dark. Every spinner returns from the spinning-bee with over half a pound of cotton turned into fine yarn. Mothers and brides hurry away as soon as the spinning is over, but most of the young, unmarried girls insist upon going out only after sunset; if the spinning is over before the appointed hour, they indulge in some native indoor game.

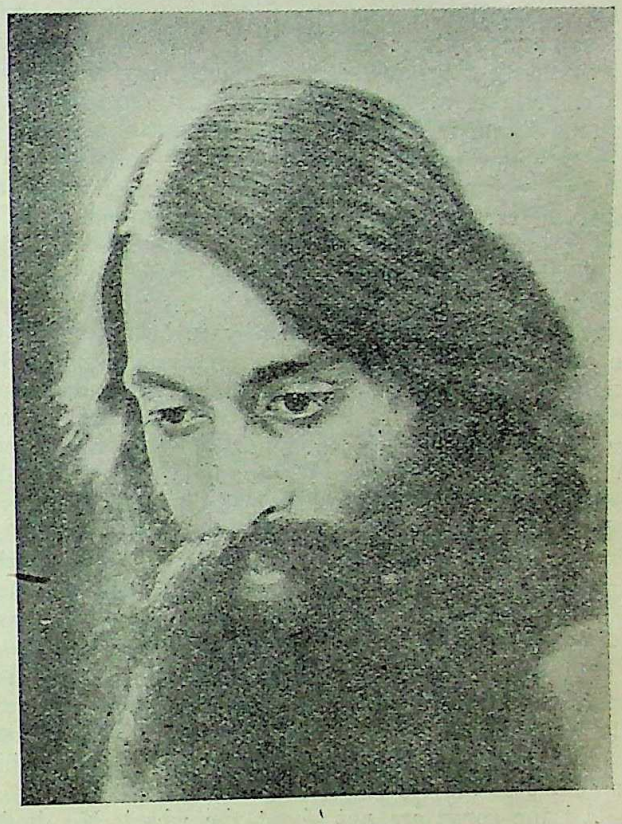
Another winter spinning-bee is the all-night *jagrata.*[5] This begins at about 10 p.m. after the other household work is well over, and it continues till next morning. The night being longer than the day, they can have more output of yarn than what they turn out in the all-day *Chiri Charunga.* Some call it *Rat Kattani.*[6] Cold is bitter. But spinners have learnt to be enduring. Often fire is kept in an iron-pot in the centre. They have woollen blankets. What fear has winter for a spinning-bee? says a Punjabi proverb.[7] They have some home-made sweet or fried corn, maize, gram or wheat, in the small reed-baskets; from time to time they eat, not so much for hunger as for driving away sleep from their eyes. Even the spinning-wheel laughs at the nodding spinner in the spinning-bee.[8] Songs continue. The spinning-wheels warble. The dawn wears away. The rays of the morning sun fall on the spinners' faces. All hurry up to finish off the remaining cotton.

Summer is less liked by the sisters of the spinning-wheel. Hot winds make the cotton coarse, they say.

Water is sprinkled in a basket in which are placed the Poonian, or rolls of the carded cotton which become moist and make fine spinning easier. The sittings of the spinning-bee during summer days are held in some airy room, or under the shade of a tree in the compound; and at night they prefer a roof but also like the stars, especially the constellations and the pole star, to watch over them, and the moon, particularly when full, to serve as their lamp. Once I heard the spinners singing:

Rise, O moon, and give us light,
Counting the stars, I passed the night.
Lo! there appears the moon, ye sisters,
There appears the moon.[9]

Rainy days are pleasant. Cotton gets automatically moist for fine spinning. In every thunder, in every shower of rain, in every downpour, the spinners hear a song. "If I am a spinner, I can spin even on a broken spinning-wheel"[10] repeats every one of them. But 'as a cook I spoil the corn; and as a spinner I turn cotton into wick-like yarn'[11] is a proverb which when put into the mouth of a good-for-nothing woman, is sure to make the whole spinning-bee burst with laughter.



Devendra Satyarthi has devoted twenty years of his life to the single-minded ideal of collecting for India the rich treasures of her folk-songs. The present article forms a chapter of his forthcoming book "Meet My People".

The placing of the spinners' rolls of carded cotton in a common basket is essential. It is generally done before the commencement of the spinning-bee. One of the women is selected. She first places a set of four or five cotton-rolls taken out of her own reed-basket on the palm of her left hand, and as she receives similar sets from everybody she places them crosswise over her own. This group of cotton-roll sets is then placed in the common basket. She gathers a second, a third set and so on in the same order and places them in the basket. She will distribute them as work goes on, so that every girl receives her own set every time. The sets from the common basket are distributed only when the distributor herself has spun her set. No songs are sung while the cotton-rolls are gathered in the basket.

4. *Chiri* means sparrow. *Charoonga* is an obscure word for baby-sparrow. The spinning-bee is so called for the spinners are expected to be so busy in their task as to have no time even to see sparrows.
5. *Jagrata* means vigil, the Hindustani, 'Ratjaga'.
6. Spinning throughout night.
7. *Tinjan noon ke dar pale da?*
Charkha vi hasse uste, jo tinjan de vich oonghe.
8. *Charkh ve channan te kar raushni, tare gindian*
rat vihaee;
Auh vekho chann charhia, ni bhainon, auh
vekho chann charhia.
(In love-songs, the moon is often an emblem of the beloved; and the countless stars stand for hours of separation).

10. *Je main homan kati, tan lakkran nal vi kati.*
Kati (from kattna to spin) is an obscure word for the 'spinners'; a more frequent word being *Kattanhari* or *Kattanwali*; *Lakkran* (lit. pieces of wood) in this proverb refers to the broken spinning-wheel.
11. *Annon karan kabannan, kapahan battian.*
Literally it means: "With corn I make bad food, and cotton I turn into wicks."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shy at first, a newly-married bride would soon thaw in the spinning-bee. I remember having seen a bride who tied a piece of yarn to a virgin spinner's wheel and said : *Je veer piyara khol de, je khasam piyara tor de ; i.e.,* if your brother is dear to you then untie it, if your husband is dear to you then break it. It was a proverbial saying. The girl knew the joke well. To untie the easily breakable yarn piece was a hard game, yet she had to try to show that her brother was dearer to her. But she only succeeded in breaking the thread, and the whole spinning-bee burst with laughter, saying : 'No harm, she loves her husband.'

"Spinning-songs are clever enough, my son," once an old peasant mother told me, "they remain hidden from me while my hand is away from the handle of the spinning-wheel." It reminded me of the words of a Kashmiri boatman who said : "The tunes of my boat-songs will certainly fall flat, if I sing without actually playing my heart-shaped paddle."

Work songs, all over the world, show an obvious, psychological connection between tunes and the tasks of manual labour ; they are hardly to be severed from the efforts and movements they were invented to fit. I noticed in various parts of India how difficult it was to collect the songs of toil from villagers while they were away from their work. Some of them would sing voluntarily, but they would often fail to produce the genuine music of their songs of toil. Back at their task, their songs would rush out correctly.

In districts scores of miles apart, variants of the same songs may be heard. Old songs live in the memory. But the spinners continue to make attempts at new songs.

Words of new songs sometime appear to fit a tune badly. The singers soon smooth out the crudity. Women who would make new songs always have the richest treasury of old songs at their finger-tips. They worship the genius of the old singers.

All the songs are not about the wheel. No doubt the spinners here and there return to the music of the wheel itself. Here is a beautiful song, sung to a significantly melodious tune :

"*Ghoon ghoon,* O my spinning-wheel,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?"
"Spin, girl, spin."

"Far-off is my father-in-law's place,
Should I live there or not ?"
"Live, girl, live."

"Long, long is my woe,
Should I tell it or not ?"
"Tell, girl, tell."

"My husband is a minor,
Should I stay with him or not ?"
"Stay, girl, stay."

"*Ghoon ghoon,* O my spinning-wheel,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?"
"Spin, girl, spin."

The sad girl talks to her spinning-wheel. Perhaps none else is ready to share the deep sorrow with her. She is not a rebel, not at all. She must wait till her minor husband is a youth. The spinning-wheel symbolizes the guardian angel. She puts her own voice in the mouth of the spinning-wheel. She bears with everything as she learns to spin even the rough cotton into fine thread. Her woe mingles with her duty.

Another song is addressed to the bridal veil, though, unlike the spinning-wheel it keeps silent. It is red, it will always be red, the *saloo* as it is called by brides and all men and women. The mother and the mother-in-law are things apart, as the following song portrays :

I spin, I spin a fine, fine thread, O my bridal veil,
My mother-in-law, my mother-in-law sent me a bridal basket,
O my bridal veil,
I opened it, I opened it on a dark night, O my bridal veil,
From inside came out, from inside came out a black serpent,
O my bridal veil,
I threw it, I threw it across the river, O my bridal veil.

I spin, I spin a long, long thread, O my bridal veil,
My mother, my mother sent me a bridal basket, O my bridal veil,
I opened it, I opened it on a moonlit night, O my bridal veil,
From inside came out the *Naulakha* necklace, O my bridal veil,
I put it on, I put it on endearingly, O my bridal veil.

Words are inseparable from music. They seem to fly on the wings of the melody.

The wheel may be of gold and silver, as the ancient folk-songs witness :

O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!
Mine is a spinning-wheel made of gold,
Its axle made of silver I procured.

O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!
The thread that rotates the spindle is of silk,
Beautifully I got it dyed.
O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!

In some songs the spinners dream of the sandal-wood wheels. One of my pretty sisters-in-law, who passed away four years ago, gave me a gem of a folk-song :

My spinning-wheel is of *Kikar*-wood, darling,
Get me one of sandal, darling.

Cotton I won't spin any more,
Wool I won't spin any more,
Get me silk for spinning, darling.

My spinning-wheel is of *Kikar*-wood, darling,
Get me one of sandal, darling.

The spinners seem to think little and dream much. "When goddesses lived on the earth they always preferred spinning-wheels made of sweet-smelling sandal-wood ; Saraswati always span silk, while others took to cotton ; and daily they held their spinning-bees"—an old Brahmin woman once told me, and she meant it.

The spinning-songs, in which every-day life is viewed through the veil imposed by the singers, evoke the poetry of life, ever projecting beautiful pictures.

Some of the couplets, each of them mostly complete in itself, are highly symbolical. Some are purely impressionistic. The windy freshness of their rhythmic tunes belongs to the realm of the *Giddha* dance. Frequent references to spinning in some of them seem to show their origin in the spinning-bees. In the *Giddha* the couplets are prologued, as Nihalo's song, addressed to the sun and the moon, shows. The prologue has actually no limit, it may run into many lines. But the spinners

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

often rarely take to the prologued pieces. They like to sing the simple couplets, and as regards music, it is not actually the same as is found in the *Giddha* dance; freedom is taken in order to adapt them to the rhythm of spinning.

Here are three prologued pieces. They are sung by brides and girls :

My mother gave me a spinning-wheel,
Inlaid with gold nails.
O mother, I think of you,
Whenever I see my spinning-wheel.

My spinning-wheel is made of *kikar*,
Get me one of the *shisham*-wood,
How heavily it moves,
Thirty-six times has broken the thread that rotates the wheel.

All the girls have come after the spinning,
I cannot spin any longer,
My spinning-wheel is a nasty creature,
O it won't let the innocent girl go to sleep.

O at home, my daughter, you never feel happy,
Outside you ever go to spin :
On the left hip you carry the spinning-wheel ;
The unusual thread you spin.
O you look so awfully cross,
Whenever your husband comes to fetch you.

The whole range of simple couplets emerges from living poetry.

My love is a sugar candy—
Sweetly he talks to me.

My love is a sandal tree—
I am satisfied with the scent.

My love is a cypress plant—
I begged and got from God.

Alas, I shall have to leave the full spinning-bee,
Here comes the strong man's bullock-cart.

My friendships of the spinning-bee—
O I remembered them in my bridal bullock-cart.

Let's go to give farewell to our friend,
Spinning we do almost everyday.

Leave the spinning-wheel, remove your seat,
Your parents all right will give you dowry.

O camel-drivers, the camels have gone to Lahore,
Lonely I feel while spinning, pray, ask my husband to come home.

Your drunkard son, O widow,
O he broke the axle of my spinning-wheel.

All the night you searched and searched
I hid myself in the spinning-bee.

Overhearing the echo of the spinning-wheel,
The ascetic came down from the mountain.

They do not necessarily rhyme together, nor are both always lines of a couplet of the same length. The prologue of a *Giddha* couplet, however, is beautifully rhymed. The first line of each couplet in the prologue is free as in the chief couplet ; the second line of each of the group keeps up the rhyme, balancing the one in the second line of the chief couplet.

A couplet of this type, prologued or simple, is called *Boli*.[12] From the depths of the heart comes the music that keeps up the words of a *Boli* fresh and thrilling ; its lilt glorifies the isolated themes.

The *Boli* is noted for extempore variations. The gifted spinner, it would seem, adds a new piece every now and then to the floating reserve. Every new composer would try to put the best emotion and lyrical impulse. The whole spinning-bee shares the joy of a new couplet and soon it echoes through the whole neighbourhood. The free arrangement of the lines allows ample scope to alter a few words and to put in a new idea. Passing from mouth to mouth, as observations show, the new couplets acquire their traditional character like old folk-songs.

Some are worthless as poetry. But some are remarkable both for their meaning and for feeling. Turning from subject to subject, the Boli-makers sometimes catch hold of a charming picture. It is only when they explore deep emotions that the poetic genius gleams 'like the flashing of a shield.'

Before a score of couplets have been sung, a spinner has many more in her head. So says the bidding Boli-champion with deliberate modesty :

Bolian da pul bannh dian,
Methon jogg jittia na jave.

With Boli songs I may build a bridge ;
But I cannot outshine the whole world.

Outwardly she strikes a note of humility. But she is a mine of songs. Her aspiration is to know many more, so as to outnumber the bricks used in building a bridge.

Kattni is a small reed-basket for the carded cotton rolls and balls of yarn. The spinner makes it herself giving it an ornate lid. As fancy inspires her she believes that little *Kattni* is acquainted with poems and the spinning-wheel has learnt the singing of couplets :

My *Kattni* recites poems,
My spinning-wheel sings the couplets.

Hearken, ye stars,
My spinning-wheel sings the couplets.

My *Kattni* recites poems,
The moon looks at it stealthily.

A girl begs that the youth should kill a peacock to supply her with quills to make a beautiful *Kattni*, but he refuses to oblige her :

Go and kill a peacock for me, my love,
A new *Kattni* I wish to make.

I won't sinfully kill the peacock ;
Of reeds you must make your *Kattni*.

This youth may still show his love ; he does so in his own way while she sits in the spinning-bee. It makes her inquire with a blush :

Which clever youth threw the pebble ?
It came right inside my *Kattni*.

The spinner sings freely. Like the girls and brides everywhere, they sing of love again and again :

In my dream, I embraced him;
I opened my eyes and saw him not.

The sand of your fresh foot-print,
Again and again I pick up and put to my heart.

The moon rises daily
Without my love it is all dark.

12. Boli means 'speech' literally, the plural is *Bolian*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A dust-cloud fills my sight :
My love's figure I see no more.

Twenty letters came from you :
The one about your coming you never wrote.

Pollen is formed on the berry trees :
Not yet came the lord of my heart.

Love-couplets are simple and outrageously frank. They often run into a series making a significant scroll. Love-match is rare. A girl always marries a boy after her parents' will, and she is expected to make a good wife. Wedded love provides no inspiration for love-poetry. The twilight of romance is a necessity. The "drinker of fresh milk," the sweetheart of the goatherds, comes again and again :

O drinker of fresh milk,
Layers of cream are seen now on your bosom.
Or
You'll bear a son like a lump of curd,
O drinker of fresh milk.

The bride at honeymoon is a regular theme ; it is sung everywhere :

With the edge of her veil she fanned out the earthen lamp,
With the twinkle of her eye she talked to me.

Another heroine is Banto that now figures as a type of beauty. Her head is likened to a jungle, her face symbolizes the moon, and her waist reminds us of a leopardess.

The love-sick girl cannot spin. She invokes gods for blessings ; she is so sure of their nearness. But they do not seem to help her.

The couplets have a large family. Like the spinners themselves, they exchange side-glances. Some are antiphonal. They even lead to criticism of life, bearing a progressive satire on contemporary society.

The longer songs give full pictures. They are more popular with the elderly women who take pride in their long-winded music. Redolent of the ancient spirit of the spinning-bee, they are essential :

Brothers Shed Tears

The dark *shisham*, mother, the dark *shisham*,
Of the dark shisham I got the spinning-wheel made.
For it my merchant father liberally paid,—
Who got it ready, mother, O who got it made ?
I took it from the shop and placed in the yard
People thought the yard is filled with light.
I took it from there and placed inside
People thought the lamp was burning bright.
I took it from there and placed on the roof
People thought the crescent moon had risen.
I took it from there and placed in the street
Wazir Khan was dazzled as he passed by.
Don't you fear, Wazir Khan, don't you fear, brother,
This spinning-wheel has spun your turban.
The two supports of the wheel are of the *Kau*-wood made,
Having bid audieu to sisters, brothers shed tears.

Mother and Daughter

Mother, cook the *chulaee* leaves,
Pray rend them first in tiny pieces.
Mother, make it delicious with a seer of butter,
Whenever your daughter comes from the spinning-bee.

Daughter, bring your spinning-wheel here,
Mother and daughter will spin together.
Mother, you are old and I am young,
We cannot pull on together.
Daughter, your kingly father will hear,
O where did you pick up this falling out ?
Mother, sisters of the spinning-wheel all fall out,
I too picked it in their company.

Mother, you yourself bring my spinning-wheel,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not give my seat.
Mother, you yourself bring my seat,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not give my basket.

Mother, you yourself bring my basket,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not leave me.

The Dark Cloud

From the east came the dark cloud,
From the west came the cruel rains.
Who'll help my rolls of carded cotton ?
Who'll help my spinning-wheel ?

My brother's wife will help my rolls of carded cotton,
My brother will help my spinning-wheel,
Her plaited tresses got wet,
His cheque wrapper got wet.

Where will her plaited tresses dry up ?
Where will his cheque wrapper dry up ?
Her plaited tresses will dry in the palace,
His cheque wrapper will dry up in the garden.

Song of the Bride

The first time the family-messenger came to take me
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
O family-messenger, yes, O family-messenger,
The family-messenger is a perfect fool,
He picks up a quarrel,
I cry for justice,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The second time my husband's younger brother came to take me
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
Husband's younger brother, yes, O husband's younger brother,

He is my heart's darling,
A minor, yet a thorough passionate fellow,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The third time my husband's elder brother came to take me
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
My husband's elder brother, yes, O my husband's elder brother,

Under the bed he goes—
The preserver of my veil,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The fourth time my father-in-law came to take me,
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
My father-in-law, yes, O my father-in-law,
He is a peevish fellow,
An old man, yet all the more jealous,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

At last time my husband himself came to take me,
O dance with him, my mind, the peacock dance,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I could lift my veil,
I could trail my scarf,
I could tread my path,
My husband, yes, O my husband,
My husband's master is he,—
My heart's master is he,
I go, I go, I go.

THE SONG OF LACHHI

Aha, where Lachhi washes her face,
There a sandal grows—where Lachhi washes her face.
Aha, Lachhi asks the girls,
What coloured veil suits a fair complexion—Lachhi asks the girls.

Aha, truly said the girls,
A veil that's black suits a fair complexion—truly said the girls.

The *Song of the Bride*, originally a dance-song, is adapted to the rhythm of the spinning-wheel. The *Song of Lachhi* is again a dance-song, toned down in the spinning-bee; the original three couplets do not hide themselves even in the rearranged pattern.

"The veil is a woman's life history. It is her mistress as a young girl. The red veil of the bride contains all her tenderness, her shyness and her passion. The veil of the matron is at once one with her dignity and her self-respect. The white veil of the widow is her shroud and her barrier from the bitter world. Her nature, her character are written upon it more surely than upon the lines of her hand. Without it she would be no longer herself, but a bare tree shorn of the glory of leaves."[12]

Through their songs the sisters of the spinning-wheel express their joy and sorrow, hope and despair, anger and fear. The old songs seem to pulsate with new blood in every generation.

That the spinning-bee has lost its old hold on the countrywomen is a sad commentary on an age of turmoil we are passing through. Must the machine take away the spinning-wheel? The young bride remembers her mother, but surely she does not remember by heart the whole stock of her mother's songs—songs that her mother inherited from her own great-grandmother.

Years ago, in a letter addressed to Anand K. Coomaraswamy, a lover of folk-songs discussed the loss of craft-songs in England: "What is to me most tragic, however, is the thought, nay, the conviction that for every old song found, there must be two or three lost utterly and irrevocably. We notice this particularly in the songs of the crafts. There are many records of songs of crafts having been in existence, but the songs themselves are no more to be found. It is machinery and industrialism that has destroyed them and we notice that wherever machinery and industrialism has come more recently, there do more of the old songs still survive. That is why in agriculture we have the largest collection of existing songs. In smithing, where there is still very little machinery—the blacksmith, farrier, village smith, a good many still linger, but the songs of the weavers and the spinners are gone with the hand-loom, as the songs of the potters have gone with the hand-wheel, and all those others where a man could sing peacefully in the job of his work. What would you have? You simply cannot sing when you have belts of machinery whirling aloud over your head and 5,000 other people working with you . . . I am convinced that it is only in old societies that have been untouched by industrialism, that the real connecting link is still to be found between music and handicraft, just as it is between handicraft and other things of a communal purpose.'[14]

The spinning-bee is now breaking up in the Punjab villages. Old spinning-songs are fast disappearing.

Will it not be a rich compensation to preserve on phonographic records the songs of the sisters of the spinning-wheel?

The spinning metaphor is eternal. The poet of the Vedas asked his gods 'to spin out the ancient thread.' He sang again and again: "As fathers they have set their heritage on earth, as a thread continuously spun out.'[15] Rich in detail, the picture of the young husband wearing on the first day of the marriage the garment made by the bride, as seen in the Atharva-Veda, looks very significant. Is not the ancient tradition still alive in India everywhere in one form or other? During the first year of her stay at her father-in-law's, the bride in Orissa, especially in Sambalpur district, would do no other work than spinning. Assam is equally proud of the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. And in the Punjab, it was only natural that Hussain, the Sufi poet (1539-1593 A.D.) should compare his soul to a girl, who remained unmarried because she failed to prepare for her trousseau the yarn which, after the ancient tradition, she had to spin herself. As the husband adored the young wife who brought dowry, hand-spun and country-made, so God liked the Sufi who died with a good account of *Karma*.

Freely I go to the countryside and come back every time with scores of old and new songs. Freely I ask the spinners to raise their voice in a rich chorus. Freely I tell them of the "glorious tomorrow" when life will be worth living, and new songs will outnumber the new balls of yarn.

"You want songs," said a blushing young maiden, as I approached a spinning-bee in a remote village, "why not join us in our bee? You will have plenty and to spare by the evening."

So insatiable is my thirst for folk-songs that I decided to make a fool of myself and sat down in the circle of bright, gay girls.

The maiden, who had invited me, sang, burying her head in her knees:

If you'll marry, you old man,
First get your beard shaved.
Listen, I speak the truth,
O you must bring a gold palanquin.

I saw through the joke. They all blushed. I did not regret the happy occasion however, and rose from my seat much uplifted. Then an old peasant grandmother appeared on the scene. She asked me sharply: "But why don't you enquire about the growth of the cotton?"

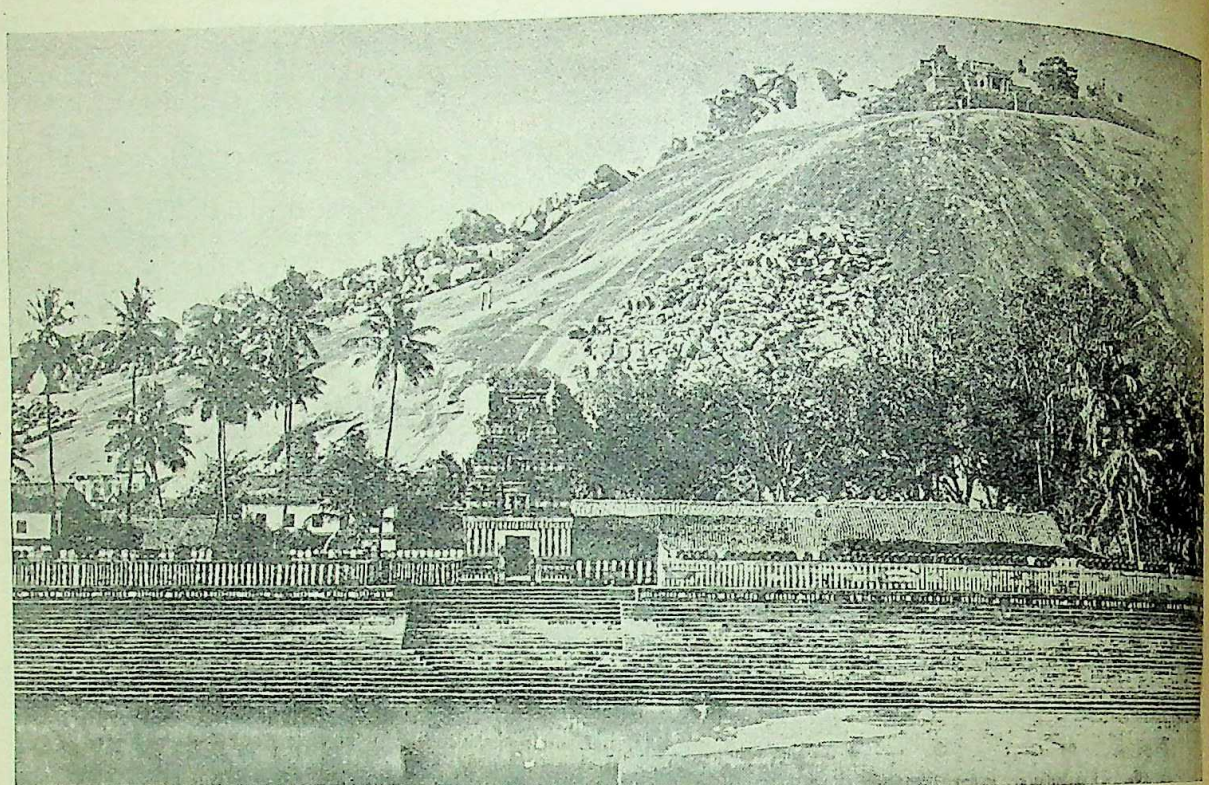
I stood there silently. "We got very little cotton this year," she went on saying, "and this year spinning-bees will be thin. Even the cotton plants fall sick like men and women and children, my son, and we can't give them medicine." This was her realism. Her songs were over.

The sisters of the spinning-wheel joined the grandmother to laugh at me. "First tell us some way to save the old spinning-wheels from white ants," the maiden, who blushed no more, was saying, "and then enquire about our songs."

13. Freda Bedi, "In Praise of the Dopatta", *The Tribune*, Lahore, June 7, 1943.
14. *The Cosmic Nationalist Review*, July 1906, pp. 19-23.
15. Rig-Veda, X, 56-6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Sravanabelagola hill, behind which stands the sixty-foot high monolith of Gomateswara, Guru of the Jains

HINDUSTAN'S OLDEST MONOLITH

By FAQIR MOHAMMED, M.R.A.S. (Bengal)

Sravanabelagola has been defined by topographers as the "Mecca of the Jains." This is a unique adjective which became Mysore's copyright in 983 A.D., when Chamundaraya erected the colossal statue of Gomateswara. In commemorating the workmanship of Aritto Nemi, this masterpiece celebrates the golden age of Jainism in India. It is here that a student of Art gets as if a glimpse of the classical Egyptian monuments. But monolithically, according to archaeologist Fergusson, the image of Gomatesvara is decidedly taller than any known statue of Rameses in Egypt. The artist has sagaciously engraved a scale on the lotus-representing pedestal, to measure the height of the image, which, with the exclusion of its foundation stone, stands sixty feet high.

Both historically and aesthetically, this seat of Jain culture has its telepathic romance. A pilgrim surveying round and round the sky-robed image, automatically recalls the pageantry of the third century B.C. when the great Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta the First, took an oath of complete renunciation and settled in this part of Mysore, as an ascetic for the rest of his life.

The Endless Penance

Carved out of fine-grained, light-grey granite, the image is a grand study in posture and [illegible] surveyor's first conception of it, is its rigid, military "attention" position. Due to the enormous stature of the statue, the topmost part of it has never been photographed satisfactorily so as to present a detailed study of the facial expression. The figure from top to bottom symbolises the meditative mood of the 'yati' during his prolonged penance to save the world. The rigidity of the upper extremity from the waist to the chin, betrays an endurance test of breath-control. The lower extremity from the quadriceps to the ankles is fairly relaxed. The face is a little elevated from the natural angle and has often led the student into confusion, concerning its objective of stare.

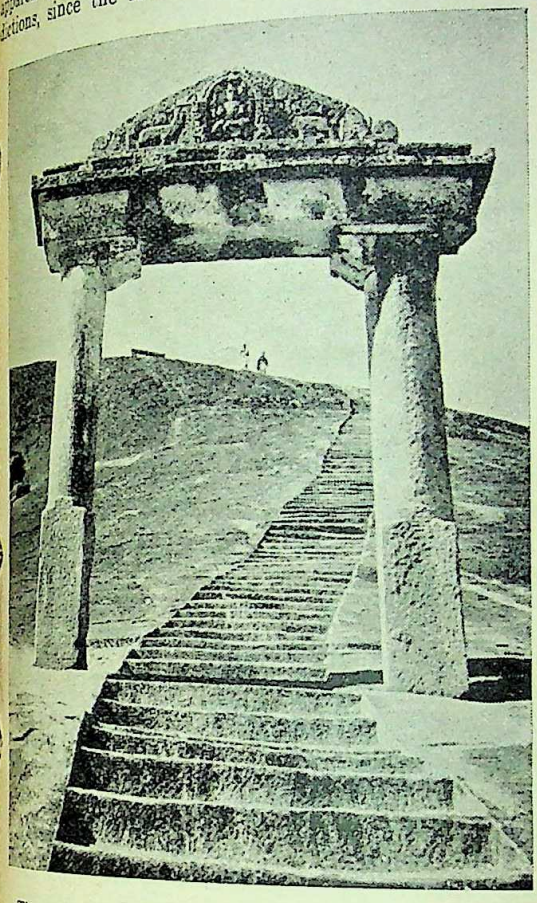
Jain philosophy interprets it as the Guru's stare at the struggling world, and a simultaneous appeal to the skies. The face resembles a full-orbed moon with beautifully arching eyebrows and a medium-sized nose. The head is covered with extremely unruly hair in spiral ringlets, which are often mistaken from a distance for tiny spools of celluloid. The nose is gracefully designed and the lips are tinctured with a faint smile. The ears are very large, hanging down the level of the chin.

The figure, from the thighs upward, is free from all support. And from the feet up to the thighs, it has been illustrated as surrounded by anthills from which creep out serpents and a green, leafy creeper envelops the legs and arms of Gomata. The creeper embraces the arms, ends at the biceps in a bunch of flowers. Some

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

surveyors read 'contentment' in the face of the image. Others who disagree with this view, affirm 'spiritual non-complacency' as a staying emotion in the face. But apparently there seems to be no ground for these contradictions, since the facial details are quite accurate.



The colossal arch-gate leading to the statue of Gomateswara in Sravanabelagola

The eyes proclaim a reservoir of internal harmony and bliss plus a hope in the future of humanity. In the philosophic Jain conception, Gomata gazes beyond the farthest line of horizon, for the resurrection of the world, especially India, from misery. The artist has injected youth into the entire work and Gomata stands in the full romance of his youthful days. The first and the last impressions of a pilgrim's gaze at the image are that Gomata appears to have completely imbibed the air of the vicinity and has every justification to be understood, in a Yogic deep-breathing pose. This was Aritto Nemi's ideal conception of Gometaswara's penance before he outlined the diagram in granite.

To-day, it has become a real pleasure for the visitor to measure and compare his height, by standing close to the monolith. And the old idea that "the cap falls down when we gaze at the summit of the Westminster Abbey" is sometimes repeated by the topographer.

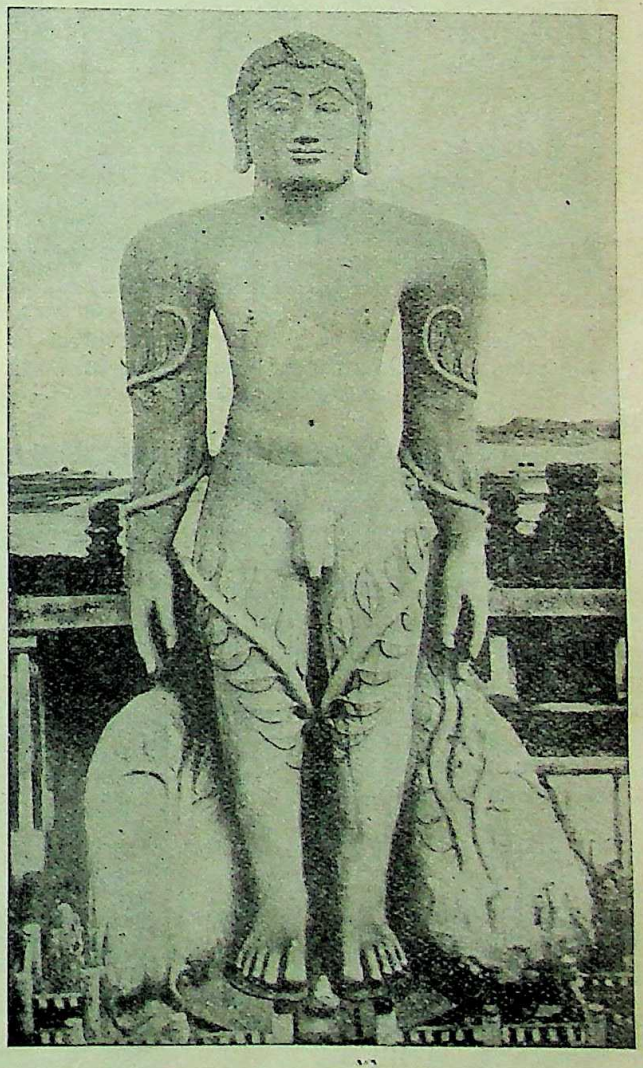
The Maha-Mastakabhisheka

Sravanabelagola is the rendezvous of Jains who come from all over India, once every fourteen years, to anoint the head of the image. This is the greatest Jain pilgrimage performed in India which is called 'Maha-Mastakabhisheka.' The earliest celebration of this festivity is recorded in an inscription, dated 1398, which reads: "Panditraya had it performed seven times."

In 1825, Maharaja Krishnaraj Wadiyar III celebrated it with pageantry and the ceremony was repeated in 1871, 1887, 1909, 1925 and 1940. The feast takes place in the month of 'Magha' or 'Phalguna' of the Hindu calendar.

The proceedings of the pilgrimage are worth recording. One full month preceding the ceremony is devoted to worship in congregations in all Jain temples in the vicinity of the statue. This is followed by 'Pada-Puja' or, the worship at the feet of the great image. Boys and girls join their parents, priests and teachers in carrying brass and earthenware pots. Facing the image, an area of forty square feet is spread with bright, yellow paddy, which accommodates about a thousand painted earthenware pots filled with holy water. Cocoanuts and mango leaves are the chief features of the occasion.

On a scaffold above the image, priests stand with pots filled with ghee, milk and other perfumed beverages. At a signal given by the Swamiji, the contents of all these pots are poured over the head of Gomata in



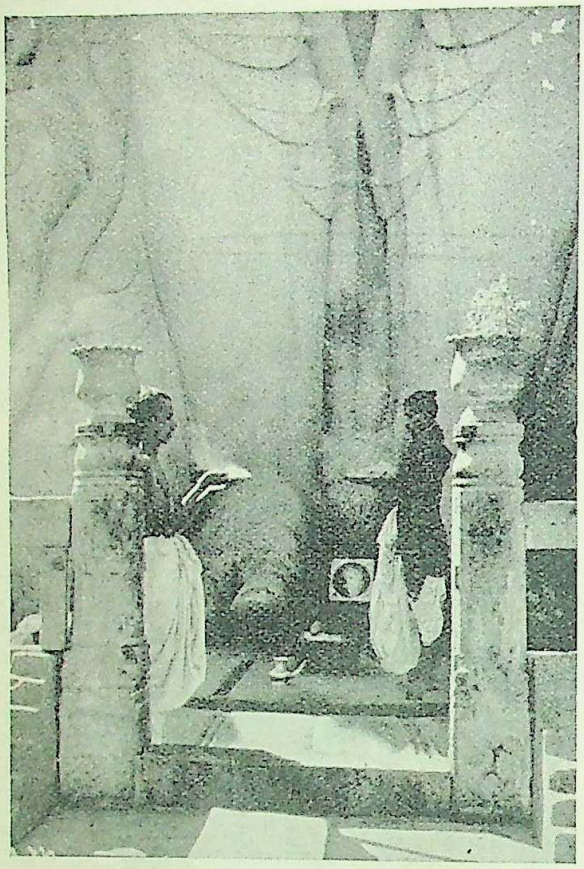
The sixty-foot statue of Sri Gomateswara in Sravanabelagola

a multicoloured stream. This is a mere preliminary bath and the spectacular bath takes place in the afternoon on the Abhisheka Day. Now the one thousand pots resting on the carpet of paddy are lifted with a magical

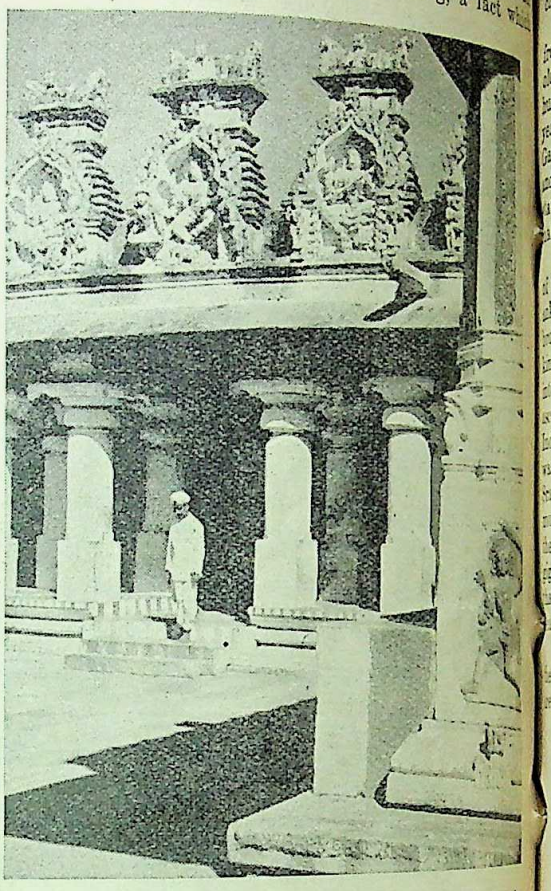
CC-0. In the Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

speed to the scaffold and their total contents are poured in a fast-ending stream, when the sudden chorus of



Jain priests offering *puja* in Sravanabelagola on the *Abhisheka* Day which occurs once in every fourteen years

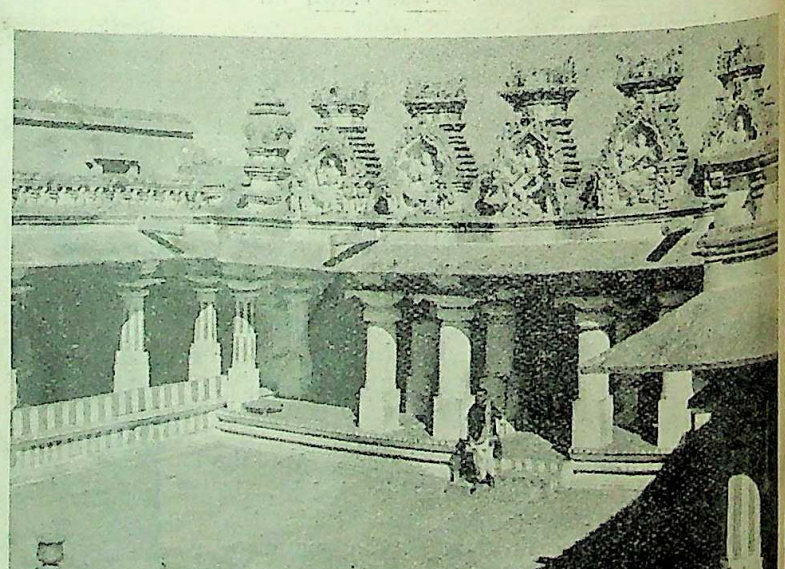


A view of Jain architecture in the Sravanabelagola temple

mantras from priests fills the air. In this final anointment, fifteen differen substances are used, *viz.*, water, cocoa nut meal, plantains, jaggery, ghee sugar, almonds, dates, poppy seeds milk, curds, sandal, gold flowers, silve flowers and silver coins. The las two articles are mixed with nin patterns of precious stones, whic are all picked up in furious spee by beggars and other pilgrims stand ing by the image.

Finally, to restore the origina beauty of the image, 1008 pots holy water are rained on the mono lith. This ceremonious festival highly expensive and is estimated t reach a figure exceeding Rs. 30,000. I was generously donated by His High ness the late Sri Klishnaraj Wadiya Bahadur who took an active part i its proceedings in 1940.

It is an exclusive pilgrimag of the Digambara sect of Jains wh hold nudism as the inevitable sign of spiritual perfection. It is on this consideration that the statue of Gomata stands completely nude. And according to the high priest of the Digambara sect, complete penance is possible only when the human body is free from requisites of the earth, including clothing, a fact



Bracket images in the Sravanabelagola temple narrating the golden of the Mauryan Empire

The rigid posture of the *yati* symbolises

with the figure of Gomata.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

self-control, while the nudity declares complete renunciation.

Chandragupta Maurya is believed to have migrated from Pataliputra to Sravanabelagola, where he spent his old age with his *guru* Bhadrabahu. A collection of five hundred inscriptions ranging from 600 A.D. till recent years, proves that this place was successfully ruled by Ganga, Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Hoysala, Vijayanagara and Mysore rulers. Chamundaraya who erected the statue was the minister of the Ganga King, Rachamalla IV.

Tradition says that Bahubali is the dynastic name of Gomata who was the second son of the first Tirthankara Purudeva. Although he defeated his elder brother in the war of succession, he abdicated the kingdom in favour of his brother and retired into the woods, where he attained perfection as an ascetic. Bharata set up an image of his brother in North India. But as the statue was surrounded by serpents and was unfit for public worship, he set up a duplicate at Sravanabelagola. It is quite probable that the image must have been carved out of a boulder prostrate on the spot, as it would have been a task to carry a granite mass over the hill. Tradition concludes that Gomata, through his penance, burnt himself to death but the statement is not endorsed by history.

The distance between the summit of the head and the downward end of the ear is 6½ feet. The shoulders are gigantically broad and are not in proportion to the size of the breastbone. The waist is extremely delicate. This is a combination of the shoulders of a Hercules and the waist of an Apollo. The nipples are diminutive for a mighty breast. The lower limbs between the knee and the ankles are rather dwarfed. Though the statue is not in total agreement with the technique of symmetry, it is stately and not lacking in command. Gomateswara has gazed over India for 958 years. But it is a baby compared with the statues of Rameses which have stared on the Nile for more than four thousand years. It is much younger than the guardians of Abu Simbal, but is more imposing, by virtue of its commanding position on the hill overlooking the wide plain below. In spite of the ravages of time and weather it retains its pristine beauty and is visible from many miles.

Just as a topographer is advised to see the Taj in moonlight, the best hour to appreciate the majesty of Gomata is in the full moon, which lights up its facial smile. Under the changing metre of the moon, the figure of Indra displays mystic beauty. Indra in the centre of the pillared hall, is holding a 'kalasa' (water-vessel) for anointing Gomata. The mellow moon makes the 'kalasa' blaze and shimmer in varying degrees, sometimes harsh, sometimes passive. These lights and shades of moonlight supplement the charm that Gomata is deprived of in sunshine. Gomatesvara at this moonlit hour is a poem in granite and a melody in solitude.

———:O:———

SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

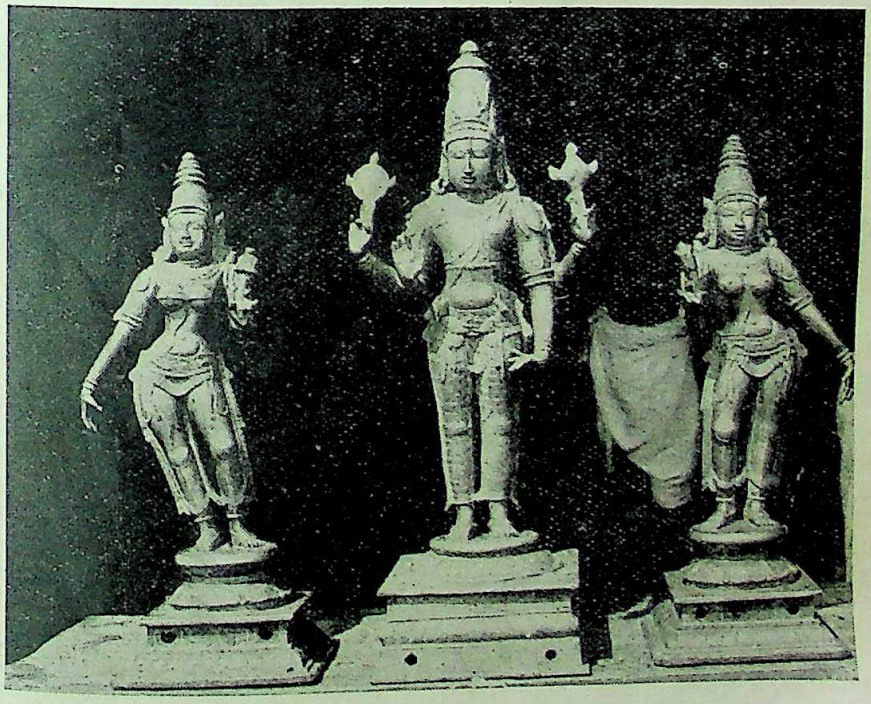
Their Real Significance

By T. N. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

Of late, there seems to have been a very great demand from students of Indian Art and Art connoisseurs to collect as many of South Indian bronzes as possible, either for purposes of exhibition or as commodities of a now-flourishing trade. So much so, like "going places" for the idle-rich, it has become a pleasant pastime for many to take a trip to the South with the hope of snatching a few good specimens of the bronzes and at the same time arranging with the clinging newspapers to broadcast these "finds," though in reality, they may be only a spurious imitation of the unavailable real one. It is the purpose of this short article to show that idols are not mere toys, that the temples are not more museums or repositories of artistic images and that the places of piigrimages are not holiday resorts.

Idol-worship has been in vogue in our country from time immemorial and has ever played a prominent part in our religious life. In the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnu Purana and other acknowledged old works, there are very many references to idol-worship.

In determining the constitution of the Cosmos, theistic schools of philosophers are agreed that there



Vishnu with consorts. A set of bronze images that must have once received worship but now forms part of some art-connoisseur's collection.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are three essences—*Chit, Achit* and *Iswara*. These the Visistadvaitins—the followers of Sri Ramanuja—describe as the Jivatmas, the Prakriti and Iswara. In whatever manner the philosophers may speak of the ultimate resolution of the three essences, the Paramatma stands out as an indissoluble factor, as it governs



A close-up view of the processional images (*Utsavaberams*) of a South India temple in Madras

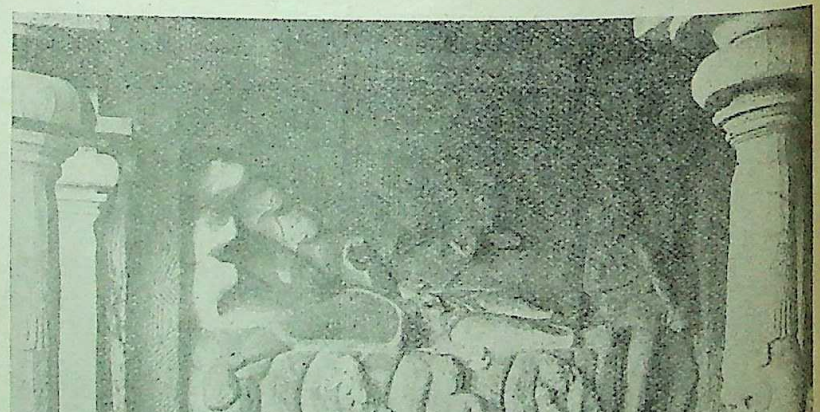
the essence of the existence. Hence it is advantageous to know the various manifestations of the Paramatman or the Parabrahman. They are five in number, *viz., Para, Vyuha, Vibhava, Harda,* and *Archa.*

The supreme being, as he is, when he is transcendent beyond the Prakriti Mandala devoid of phenomenality is the Para. This form is accessible only to those who have attained *Mukti* or to those who never had the pangs of births, deaths, and rebirths.

The Vyuha is likewise inaccessible to us, as it is the manifestation of the Parabrahman in the apartment or laboratory of his various fuhctions of creation, sustention and dissolution. The Vibhava form is accessible only to the most blessed of the creation. It is the manifestation through the various Avataras and other forms of visible appearance, when a personal contact with the divine form is made possible. Then we have the Harda or the Antaryami. God being omnipresent and omnipenetrative, He is in us and yet we see Him not. This realisation of God in every little act brings one to realise the Harda aspect.

The Archa is the easiest and most tangible form of God-perception and realization and the one universally accessible form. Ancient treatises like Silparatna, Silpasara, Silpasangraha, Mayamata, Manasara and many other works on the Hindu Iconography are not mere secular sciences or catalogues prepared for the twentieth century "art hunters" for their trade purposes. But they are essentially a science of religion and as such it is a sacred science dealing with the location and structure of our temples, the form and constitution of our idols, the ceremony of installation and perpetuation of the spiritual magnetism in these centres.

God's manifestation in the idols is the essence of our religious worship though alien religionists may deride this form of worship, perhaps due to their ignorance of the basic underlying significance of idolatry. To take an ordinary common-sense point of view, an idol represents or symbolises the Deity and even if it did nothing more than that it need not be a subject of derision. It is a common practice prevalent in all countries and more so in countries claiming a very high order of civilization, to commemorate a hero of history, a patriot of politics or a seer of science by statue, wherein are best manifested the prominent features of the hero. An equestrial statue in a coat of arms represents a great military hero, while an impressive statue in academical robes with a book in hand will easily indicate a great educationist. The unveiling of statues and their decorations form a regular *puja*. If these are appropriate to the human heroes, may we not with considerable force claim for the divine statues a continuous *puja*, as knowledge and reverence to the deity form the essence of every portion of our existence. But the idols enshrined in the holy places of worship are not mere symbols. The initial object of setting up images before us is no doubt

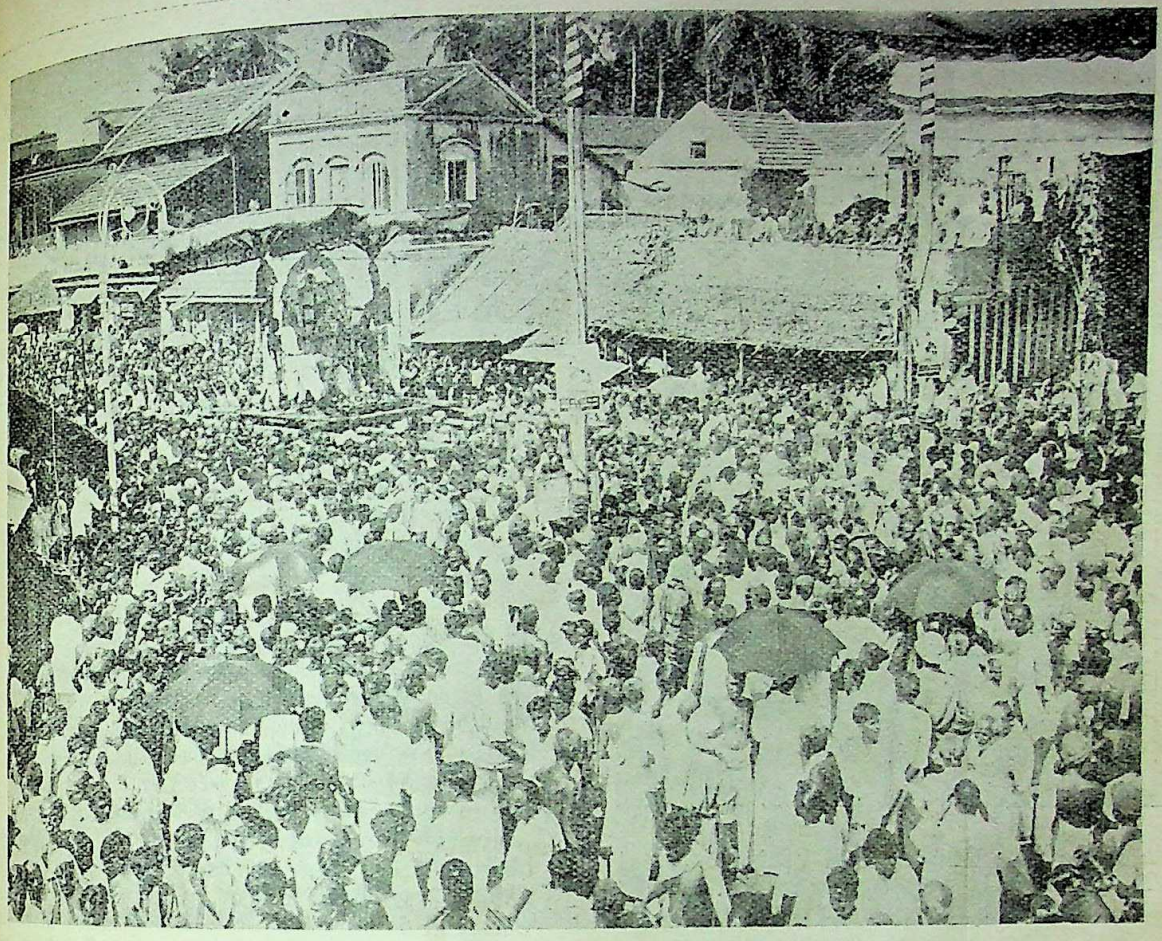


Anantasayan-murti in Mamallapuram, one of the many marvellous pieces of stone-carved images belonging to the Pallava age

to facilitate our meditation, to fix a definite object before us for concentration when our thoughts are concentrated ; they help us in taking the thoughts over to an object beyond and behind the actual phenomenon and that is the noumenon thereof. This power of translation and transportation exists in the holy idols by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A typical South Indian Temple procession, showing the Deity being carried on a *vahana* (vehicle) with all its paraphernalia

the Amsam of God, that has been invoked both at the initial *pratistha* as well as the daily *puja* of these idols made by the appropriate *mantras*. The chanting of these *mantras* concentrates in the image an amount of spiritual magnetism and develops a form of superhuman power in them. Hence we find that *pratisthas* made by those who have in themselves an Amsam or Aesam of God like Sri Sankara, Sri Ramanuja, Lord Ooranga, or Sri Ramakrishna bring in an imperishable and ever-growing magnetism. The Paramatman infuses his Amsa in such images and shrines in graded proportions and is ever present with us in that form.

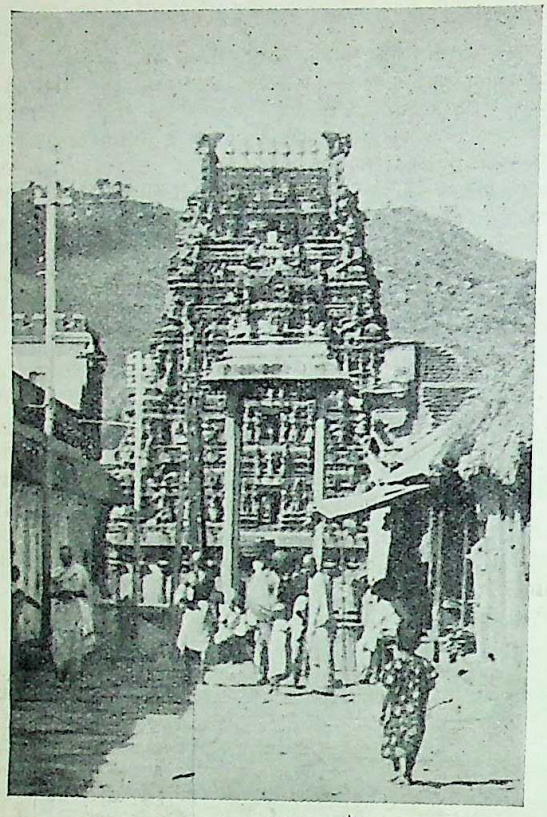
It is also to be noted that in some centres the Paramatman makes a manifestation *suo moto* without an initial invocation and that is known as Swayam Vyaktam or self-manifestation of God in an image. The famous shrines at Tirupati, Srirangam, Conjeeveram, Badrinarayan, Rameswaram, Kasi, Puri are among the many of such places, where the manifestation of God is voluntary. Though from one standpoint the shrine of even the least importance is an object of veneration for its own religious efficacy yet in the determination of the relative religious objects to be attained the varying importance cannot be lost sight of. There then are spread all over our country numerous idols, some of which are of very recent origin, some older still but whose installations are borne out by the Sthalapuranas or local chronicles describing their origin to some ancient Rishi, while some yet are of an age out of calculation.

Every shrine is a complete cosmic representation in itself coupled with all the factors of the spiritual realm and its hierarchy as will be seen by the principal idol in the temple and the various Parivaradevatas stationed all round it within the respective Prakarams, the Dhwajastambam, Vimanam and the tower. Taking only the innermost power—the presiding deity of a shrine, there are five forms, which are named Dhruvabera or the Immovable Mula Vigraha, the Kautuka or the small idol used for *archana* and *abhisheka* (bath), the Balibera or the small idol that offers food to the subordinate entities, the Snapanaberam which is constantly present in the temple and the Utsavaberam or the medium-sized idol which is used for outward processions, festivals and decorations. According to the Vaikhanasa Agama, there are five representations and as described at length that Vishnu in the Dhruva (fountain), Purusha in the Kautuka (spirit), Satya in the Utsava (laws of God), Achyuta in the Snapana (matter) and Anirudha in the Bali (energy) are the requisites for a true Archa form of God.

In the worship connected with most of the important shrines in South India, all the abovementioned five *murtis* are meditated as residing in the one principal *beram* and all the influence for good is derived principally from them. Our minds and lives have to be moulded in all aspects from the influence exerted in every temple. Hence the Snapanabera, the Bhogabera, the Balibera and the Utsavabera appeal to us in the lower aspects of life, *viz.*, the bathing, the sexual

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A view of the temple of Sri Venkateswara at Tirupati, one of the temples in South India still held in very high veneration

pleasure, the feeding or the world-sustenance and the everyday pleasures of life like marriage, but each of these is represented in a Divine form so as to dis... the vicious elements even in these lower pleasures ... thus proceeding with us in our own aspects of life t... take us all to the converging point of the Dhruvab... which is the aspect of the Supreme.

Archa form of images are of three kinds—... Chitra which represents the fully shaped idol, which ... see in temples, answering all the dimensions required ... the various descriptive analyses of Lakshana. ... Chitrardha, which are half-relief image that we find ... towers, Vimanams and pillars and the Chirabhasa, wh... are painting on the walls or canvas. The variations ... gradations of these various aspects consist only in ... extent of the Divine Amsam that one imbibes in ea... centre and even here the faith of a worshipper ... sufficiently wholesome and potent can draw unto h... self the greatest power even in a smallest shrine. B... the action and reaction of the influence are powerf... and speedy in the strongest centres of spiritu... magnetism.

It may not be possible within the scope of th... short article to go into the minutest details of th... highly scientific nature of the South Indian Iconograp... and the *agamic* rituals connected with the worship ... spiritual upkeep of these South Indian Bronzes. A meagre glimpse is given to show that these images ... not mere toys, intended by the ancient seers for de... ration of the drawing rooms of the rich and the cu... boards of the museums and art galleries. So also tru... are the various places of pilgrimage, which are not ... week-end holiday resorts for the moneyed men to ... and sport themselves by seeing the palatial colonnade... and the archaeological wonders there.

——:O:——

WORLD'S LONGEST HIGHWAY TO CONNECT ALL AMERICAN COUNTRIES

As neighboring nations in the Western Hemisphere unroll new lengths of the broad concrete ribbon that is the Pan-American Highway, a construction dream of more than 21 years is becoming a reality. The highway, when completed, will stand as a monument to the co-operative spirit of its builders since all the nations through which it passes had a hand in its construction.

Historically the Pan-American Highway began in 1924 when a group of engineers and construction men representing all the Americas assembled in Washington, D.C., to draft the constitution of the Pan-American Highway Confederation, one object of which was to "study the best ways and means to unite with one another the different national highway systems with a view to the establishment of a Pan-American Highway System." Almost overnight the conversation, stimulated by the rapid growth of motor transportation during the 1920's, turned on the ideal of one longitudinal road connecting the capitals of all the Latin American countries.

Now linking practically all of the American nations from Alaska on the north to Chile on the south, the highway already is speeding the economic inter-development of the countries through which it passes and is providing a means by which the nations, throug... an expected interchange of visitors who use the hig... way, can be linked more closely together in cultur... relations. During the war, it was of inestimable va... in accelerating the production and transportation o... essential war materials and some foods and already ha... proved its high strategic value in the matter o... hemisphere security.

When the German submarine menace, for examp... was at its worst off the Atlantic Coast of the Americ... and the use of ships accordingly was curtailed for th... importation of war materials from Latin America ... the United States, the highway was called into servic... for overland transportation. Ships at sea were routed ... to nearby ports from which their cargoes of war mate... rials, coffee and other supplies were transferred ... trucks and sent along on the highway. Because of th... shortened sea routes the number of trips for each ... was materially increased with the result that a sufficien... quantity of war materials from Latin America reached ... destinations in the United States.

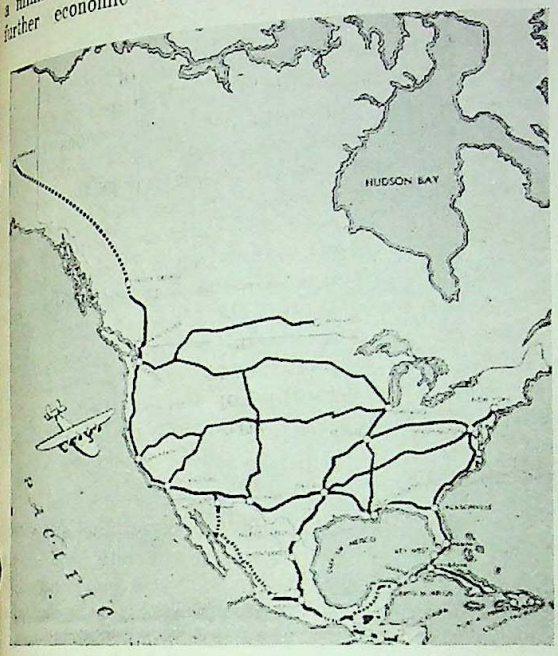
EASED SHIPPING PROBLEM

During this period the highway served more than ... a military transportation purpose. The shortage o...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shipping almost wiped out the export markets for Central American fruits and reduced coffee exports to a minimum. This disruption threatened to create further economic dislocation in Central and South



The part of the Pan-American Highway within Central America as well as that portion of the road which lies within the United States and Canada. The Alaska Military Highway is shown in a dotted line

American countries by reducing employment. To fill this breach, the affected countries directed parts of their surplus labor into construction work on the highway and thus partially maintained employment while at the same time the highway construction went forward.

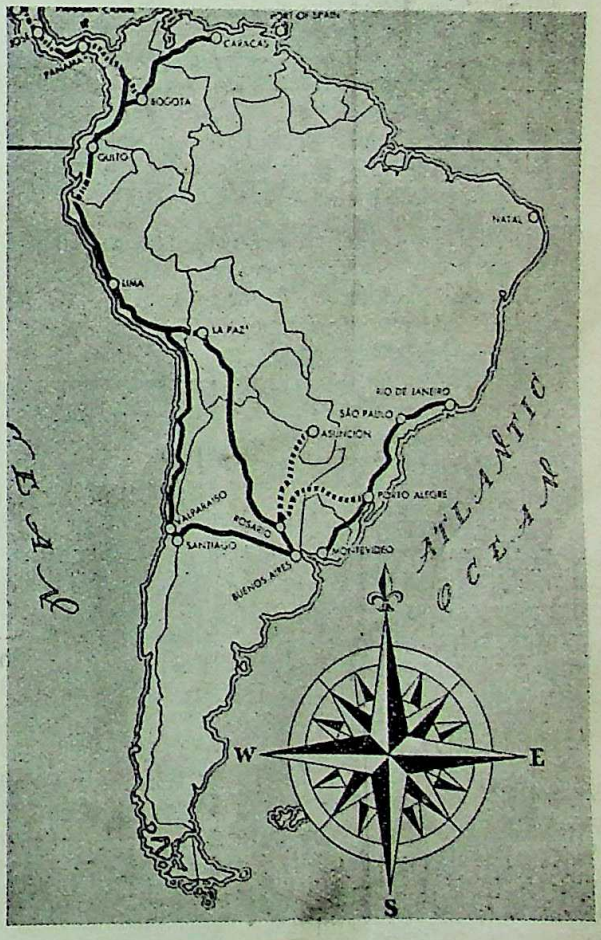
The U.S. Government has loaned money to various Latin-American countries to be used in construction of the highway, and U.S. Army engineers to plan and supervise construction. Most of the road is already carrying traffic. While some 1,200 miles, principally in Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Ecuador, are not surfaced for all-weather driving, the highway is entirely completed from Fairbanks, Alaska, to a point 432 miles south of Mexico City.

About three-quarters of the entire highway is now passible during all seasons of the year. The Inter-American section as the stretch from the southern U.S. border to Ecuador is called, is about half paved road, with another fourth surfaced for all-weather conditions. Of the 8,097 miles which lie in South America, from Panama to Chile and Argentina, one-quarter are paved, one-half have all-weather surfaces, the remainder is dry-weather surfaced and a small portion remains trail.

The route of the Inter-American section begins at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, across the international boundary line from Laredo, Texas. The longest stretch of surfaced road on this section extends from Laredo to El Portillo, Mexico. El Portillo is a little less than 400 miles south of Mexico City. About 25 miles of this particular section have not been fully improved, but this is not a matter of much practical importance since traffic moves south from Mexico City to Matamoros by way of Puebla over a route that is fully improved and adds only 40 miles of additional travel.

The distance from El Portillo to the Guatemalan border is 614 miles, a good deal of which is under construction. Two isolated sections are paved and steady progress is being made on the uncompleted stretches, with the result that it appears probable that this section will be opened with a paved or all-weather road for a short distance beyond Las Casas within a comparatively short time. This will leave one gap in the highway in Mexico—a difficult mountain section of a little more than 150 miles on which it seems unlikely that an all-weather road can be completed within a year or two.

Two additional highway projects, not wholly a part of the Pan-American Highway but linked to it, are under consideration or in progress. The first is an all-weather road from Nogales, Arizona, near the Mexico-U.S. border down the Pacific Coast side of Mexico to Guadalajara, a few miles west of Mexico City. It provides direct connection with western U.S. routes running through Los Angeles and San Francisco, California, and Seattle, Washington, to join with the Alaska Highway from the United States to Alaska.



The South American section of the Pan-American Highway which will join the capitals of all the American nations

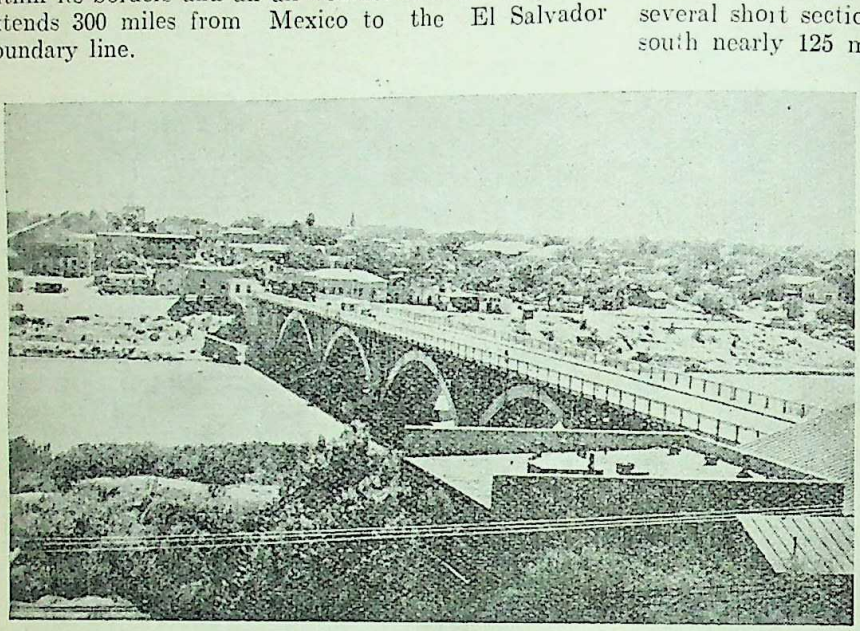
The second is a highway-ferry route from the south-eastern state of Florida to Cuba by ferry and from Cuba again by ferry to the easternmost point of the Mexican state of Yucatan. This route, if developed, will provide a short cut from the U.S. Atlantic seaboard into Mexico.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUATEMALA SECTION COMPLETE

Guatemala, immediately south of Mexico, has completed the entire stretch of the highway which lies within its borders and an all-weather-surfaced road now extends 300 miles from Mexico to the El Salvador boundary line.



The international bridge between the United States and Mexico at Laredo, Texas, is the first of many international bridges on the route of the Pan-American Highway

In El Salvador the highway is paved from the Guatemalan border to the city of San Miguel, and about half the remaining distance to the Honduras border is surfaced for all-weather driving. The remainder is suitable for dry-weather travel. El Salvador is surfacing the dry-weather section under a co-operative agreement with the U.S. Public Roads Administration.

A stretch across a narrow part of Honduras consists of three all-weather sections separated by two short sections of dry-weather road. These short sections are being widened and surfaced by the Honduras Highways Department under the supervision of the U.S Public Roads Administration.

The entire length of the highway which lies within Nicaragua is passable. A short stretch from the Honduras border is all-weather and the remainder dry-weather road. The next portion is trail and the remaining distance to the Costa Rica boundary consists of all-weather road except for about 60 miles centering on Managua, the capital which is paved. The unimproved portion of the approved route over which the highway will eventually run can, however, be bypassed on an all-weather road built by the U.S. Army as part of its pioneer road construction operations in Central America.

Out of the total length of the highway which [illegible] in Costa Rica, only 115 miles consist of paved or [illegible] weather road. In the northern section, much of [illegible] route is open for travel only with difficulty [illegible] several short sections are little more than trails. In [illegible] south nearly 125 miles is trail.

The most difficult road construction ever attempted anywhere [illegible] involved in the 71-mile section between Cartago and San Isidro del General in Costa Rica. About one-third of this section runs along the top of the Talamanca mountain range, and a large portion of it between 9,000 and 11,000 feet above sea level. The view from this section includes probably the most stupendous conglomeration of high mountain peaks and ridges anywhere along the Inter-American route. The Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans are both visible from the highway at many points.

The major climb up this range begins about 125 miles inside the Costa Rican boundary, ascending some 4,000 feet in 25 miles to the country's central plateau where its population of 64,000 is largely concentrated and where Costa Rica's coffee is grown. Some 60 miles beyond the beginning of the central plateau, the route reaches San Jose, then goes up another 7,000 feet in 34 miles to Dead Men's Pass, which is nearly 11,000 feet above sea level. From the high point the road descends gradually to San Isidro del General.



In a rugged mountain section of Mexico, the Pan-American Highway follows a roundabout course

The first portion of the road in Panama, south of the Costa Rican border, is little more than trail, but from Volcan to Panama City is paved or surfaced for all-weather travel for the remaining distance. Below the city the improved road ends at the edge of the almost impenetrable Darien jungle.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thus, for a year or two, perhaps longer, motorists along the highway will have to ferry from Panama to ports on either the Caribbean or the Pacific side of Colombia. The juncture at the Panama-Colombia border is the only one left in doubt along the entire length. Colombia has left a gap of some 40 miles to the Panamanian border to make possible a meeting place with Panama.



Using American-made road machinery, road construction crews are shown at work in El Salvador, Central America

In South America, the road from the Panama border runs along the Pacific Coast through Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Down to Vitor Peru, where it splits into two highways, one running east to La Paz, Bolivia, and thence southeast to Buenos Aires, Argentina, the other continuing down the coast to Santiago, Chile, and then turning east to Buenos Aires. The route through La Paz is 5,433 miles long, a slightly shorter distance than the route via Santiago.

Spur in Eastern South America

From Buenos Aires it is possible in the dry season to drive northward along the highway to Montevideo, Uruguay, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Of the portion of the highway which lies in Colombia, about three-quarters of the distance is all weather road, and only 165 miles is trail. All of Ecuador's 721 miles is paved or all-weather surfaced.

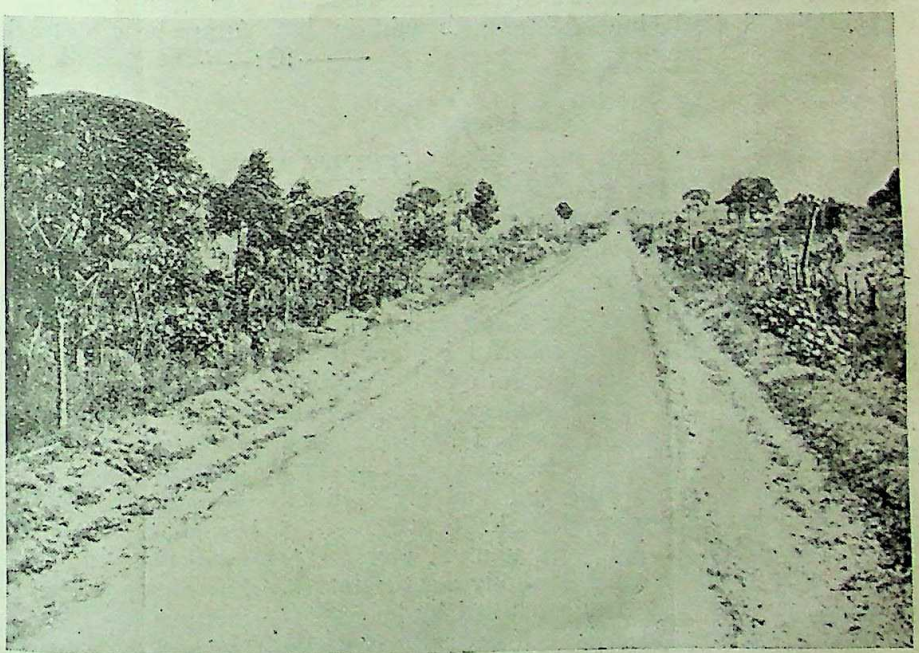
On the Pacific Coast route, about half of Peru's 1,666 miles is paved and the rest is all-weather road. On the La Paz route it has nearly 800 miles of paved road and about 600 miles of all-weather road, with a relatively short stretch of dry-weather road.

Chile has nearly 600 miles of paved and all-weather road out of a total of 1,597 miles. Argentina's two routes—one southward from La Paz, the other east from Chile—aggregate more than 2,000 miles of which approximately 85 per cent is paved or all-weather surfaced.

Uruguay's section of the route from Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro has 366 miles of pavement and all-weather road, and Brazil has 655 miles of paved road.

Points where the highway will cross international boundaries have not been finally determined in all cases. Wherever construction has progressed to a frontier there has generally been a definite agreement between the two countries as to the point of crossing. Common frontier points have been established between Colombia and Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and Argentina and Chile. The crossing between Ecuador and Peru may not be established until both countries are ready to build to the line since a choice of several routes, all difficult to construct, will have to be made.

Completing the final links in the highway will entail highway engineering and construction work comparable to the work that was necessary in building the Alaska Highway from the United States to Alaska through the Dominion of Canada except that much of it will be done in tropical temperatures instead of the sub-arctic temperatures of Canada and Alaska.



A finished section of the Pan-American Highway in the Central American republic of El Salvador

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Like the Alaska Highway, the unfinished sections of the Pan-American Highway present every variety of tough engineering problem—driving a road through deep morasses, deep forests and over mountains. Bridges must be built over torrential and raging streams and rivers, roadways blasted out of the sides of mountains and materials for construction transported many miles to the points where they will be used.

Longest Road in the World

From Fairbanks, Alaska, to its southern terminus, the road when finished will cover a total distance of 15,494 miles the longest road in the world, and will traverse 17 countries—Canada, the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Brazil, with spurs off the main highway leading into Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Argentina.

Some of the more important bridges on the Pan-American Highway are remarkable examples of highway and bridge engineering. All are of the newest and most modern design and all are well-planned as to location. One of the most noteworthy is the Puenta Cuscatlan Bridge in the interior of El Salvador. This structure is the longest suspension bridge in Central America and spans the Lempa River, the largest river flowing into the Pacific Ocean between the Colorado River in the United States and the tip of the South American continent.

Because of the scarcity of proper materials, fabrication equipment and skilled labor in certain localities in Central America, a considerable portion of the materials used in bridge construction came from the United States. In addition to the U.S. prefabricated parts used in construction of the railroad bridge on the Mexican-Guatemalan border, 93 prefabricated timber bridges and eight abandoned steel bridges were bought in the United States and shipped to Central America by U.S. Army Engineers.

Construction work on the spans was aided by a mission sent to Central America by the U.S. Forest Service. Forestry experts went into the field and classified nearby available timber. The construction program, calling for the use of local materials as far as possible also led to the utilization in Nicaragua of rock of volcanic origin for arch culverts and bridge superstructures, abutments and piers where the rock deposits were available.

A Highway for Peace

The superstructure of two bridges in Honduras, one a three-span bridge over the Cuacirope River, are finished. The newest to be completed is the Goascoran River bridge linking El Salvador and Honduras, a 480-foot steel and concrete structure built to carry heavy trucks with loads of 27 tons.

Other important bridges cross the international boundaries of the United States and Mexico, Mexico and Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, and Brazil and Uruguay, while another is planned to join Brazil and Argentina across the Uruguay River.

When the Pan-American Highway becomes an open tourist highway, what is now the "Good Neighbor Policy" between the American nations will change into a more simple, friendly understanding between the peoples of the various countries. Pre-war travel between Mexico and the United States proved this and post-war tourists undoubtedly will extend this spirit up and down the entire length of the two great western continents. This unity already is expressed in the international bridges, linking one American nation to another in an unbroken chain.

While in recent years the Pan-American Highway has been a strategic roadway for war, it will in the future be a strategic highway for peace.—*USIS.*

——:O:——

STEFAN ZWEIG

By S. I. CLERK

"Before parting from life of my free will and in my right mind I am impelled to fulfil a last obligation : to give heartfelt thanks to this wonderful land of Brazil which afforded me and my work such kind and hospitable repose. My love for the country increased from day to day, and nowhere else would I have preferred to build up a new existence, the world of my own language having disappeared for me and my spiritual home, Europe, having destroyed itself.

"But after one's sixtieth year unusual powers are needed in order to make another wholly new beginning. Those that I possess have been exhausted by long years of homeless wandering. So I think it better to conclude in good time and in erect bearing a life in which intellectual labour meant the purest joy and personal freedom the highest good on earth.

"I salute all my friends ! May it be granted them yet to see the dawn after the long night ! I, all too impatient, go on before."*

Petropolis, 22.11.1942 Stefan Zweig

And so Stefan Zweig together with his wife Elizabeth Charlotte Zweig committed suicide at Petropolis, Brazil, on February 23, 1942, ending "a life in which intellectual labour meant the purest joy and personal freedom, the highest good on earth." His was, in all probability, the unique distinction of being simultaneously, an Austrian, a Jew, an author, a humanist and a pacifist. This rather uncommon combination brought him a good deal of trouble at the hands of brutality and unreason personified in the recent dictatorship of Germany. Thrice he lost his home and had to start anew.

Stefan Zweig was born in 1881 when the Habsburgs were the monarchs of Vienna, the Golden Age of Security. While in school, he began to take a very keen interest in theatre, literature and art. This was natural in the Vienna of those days when the cultural events in the city and neither the military, nor the political nor the commercial events predominated in the life of the individual and of the masses. Above all, he devoted

* From publisher's post-script to Stefan Zweig's *The World of Yesterday.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

himself to literature more than anything else. At seventeen he knew every poem of Baudelaire and Walt Whitman. He and his school friends, with the enthusiasm characteristic of youth, were familiar with authors and poets such as Paul Valery, Stefan George, Rilke, etc., who were usually honoured by the public and the savants ten years later. Obviously, all this devotion to the Muse of Literature was at the expense of sports and physical training. He and most of his contemporaries at that time were definitely contemptuous about throwing away their time in playing games or in training their physical bodies.

Stefan Zweig is recognized today as a great European, a historian, a psychologist and a lover of mankind. Primarily, however, he was an artist—an artist of words. And, here too, he excels as a biographer. His studies of Marie Antoinette, Mary Stuart, Castellio, Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy, Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky, Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, (to mention a few) amply prove this. He was an ardent student of personalities and portraitures. These studies and his plays such as Thersites or Jermiah also reveal another important characteristic of the author. He champions Erasmus and not Luther, Mary Stuart and not Elizabeth, Castellio and not Calvin. His hero or heroine is one who succeeds in the moral and the spiritual sense, not one who succeeds in the ordinary mundane way. His studies differ from ordinary biographies because his goal is different. He is convinced that "it is only through the self-portraiture of a great artist that the genius of mankind becomes comprehensible to earthbound mortals."[1]

What occupied his mind throughout his life was the problem of the spiritual superiority of the vanquished. His plays such as Thersites and Jermiah pre-eminently deal with this. Jermiah is not a pacifist play. In it Stefan Zweig portrays the man who is denounced as a weakling in time of enthusiasm and temporary victory, but who, in the time of defeat, is the only one not only to endure it, but also to master it. This thought of his too makes his biographical studies really interesting.

It is difficult if not impossible to deal in any detail whatsoever with the innumerable books of the author. However, apart from his full-length biographical studies, mention may be made of a series of biographies he wrote under the general title of *Master Builders* : *An Attempt at the Typology of the Spirit*. It consists of three volumes : (1) *Three Masters* : Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky ; (2) *The Struggle with the Daimon* : Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche ; (3) *Adepts in Self-Portraiture* : Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy. As two random instances of Stefan Zweig's supremacy of portrait sketches, we may take up Casanova and Tolstoy from his book *Adepts in Self-Portraiture*, "wherein he describes Casanova, Stendhal and Tolstoy as "the three representatives of the ascending gradations of the same creative function, self-portraiture."

Casanova a great writer ? His entire literary output is the story of his own life. In it we have a naive self-portraiture, a simple record of deeds and events with the least attempt to evaluate them or to study the actual working of the self. Only when the joys of life became irrecoverable memories did Casanova venture to soil his fingers with ink. With him what is important is not the way in which he tells the story of his life, but the way in which he has lived it. What an average author has to invent, Casanova has actually lived. Normally, artists can never experience what they imagine and men of action and men of pleasure cannot tell their stories. Casanova is most probably the unique exception. He tells us the exciting story of his life without any moral restraints or fears. He never had an inkling that he was destined to become famous and hence his book is so interesting. Urged by absence of pleasures and by utter loneliness in his old age he writes his memoirs at Dux where he is librarian to Count Waldstein. The writing of this book is his last win at the gaming table. But he departs before the cards are turned and never learns that he is a winner. Yet, winner he is, "for since he lived his life and wrote his story, no romancer and no thinker has invented a more romantic tale than that of his life or fabled a stranger personality than Casanova."[2] He may be denounced as immoral or disavowed as an artist, but none can deprive him of his immortality. Casanova demonstrates that it is a man's vitality and not character that determines whether he will be immortal or not. With immortality, morality is nothing, intensity all.

While Casanova is satisfied with a mere (though keen) description of his life, with Stendhal, self-portraiture reaches a higher level, the psychological. It is with Tolstoy that self-contemplation attains its highest level and self-portraiture in his case becomes a moral self-questioning. It becomes ethico-religious. And Stefan Zweig is both original and brilliant in his biography of Tolstoy. Tolstoy had a normal peasant physiognomy. His beardless face in youth was also similar to that of any average Russian peasant. "Rough-hewn like wood split for firing are the crossbeams of the forehead surmounting the little windows, the tiny eyes. The skin, like the outer surface of a wattle-and-dab cottage, is of clay, is greasy-looking and lusterless. In the middle of the full quadrangle of the face, we see a nose with gaping, bestial nostrils, a nose that is broad and pulpy as if flattened by a blow from a fist. Behind untidy wisps of hair project misshapen, flapping ears. Between the hollowed cheeks lies a thick-lipped, surly mouth. The general effect is inharmonious, rugged, ordinary, verging on the coarse . . . Tolstoy knew well enough that his countenance was unpleasing . . . That was why he soon let the hair grow on his face, that his mouth might be hidden behind a sable-mask—which only in old age grew silvered, and thereby venerable"[3] Only his eyes expressed the genius of the man. As Stefan Zweig quotes Gorky : "In his eyes, Tolstoy had a hundred eyes." Almost magical and magnetic, "they could blaze in the topmost altitudes of the spiritual world, and could with equal success throw a search-light into the darkest abysses of the soul."[4] All things were possible to these eyes ; only, being inactive was impossible for them. And with such eyes ever piercing the very heart of truth, happiness is impossible for the one who possesses them.

Unlike most of the men of letters and artists, Tolstoy had an extraordinary physique. His strong body served him almost right to his death. Even at eighty he continued his daily vigorous gymnastic exercises. His sight remained unimpaired to the day of his death. So were his hearing and memory. As a matter of fact,

1. *Adepts in Self-Portraiture.*

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it was his own bear's strength that Tolstoy feared unrestrained always and everywhere. He was almost panicky of the bestial unrestraint of the physical senses.

Tolstoy's writings are vividly real. Reading him and only him, we might be convinced that art is a simple matter and that all writing is hardly anything more than a faithful account of reality, an effortless transcription. However, what appears to be sketched freehand in broad and bold and clear outlines has really been achieved by very hard workmanship of a man who set to work painstakingly and diligently. Thus, for instance, seven drafts were made of *War and Peace* before the final novel was ready. Every detail was thoroughly checked by references not only to the contents of public libraries, but also to letters and other documents in private collections. Once his search for truth finished, he would strive for clarity. Here too the aim was perfection. At the same time, the toilsomeness of the process leaves no trace upon the finished product. Tolstoy's prose is timeless. His folktales, "Three Old Men", "Does A Man Want Much Land ?", "The Death Of Ivan Ilich And Polikoushka", and "Linen-Measurer" may have been written a couple of thousand years before the invention of printing or in the nineteenth or twentieth or thirtieth century, "for what finds expression here is not the contemporary mind as voiced by Stendhal and Rousseau and Dostoeffsky, but the primitive mind, which is changeless and perennial—the terrestrial pneuma, the primal sentiment, primal anxiety, primal sense of loneliness, felt by man brought face to face with the infinite."[5]

Tolstoy is not a man of the "higher" type, nor are his qualities those of a muse. They are ordinary qualities intensified. As compared with an average man his mind and senses work more vigorously. He never ceases to be normal. Hence his art is intelligible and absolutely human, and people hesitate to call him a genius. His books speak the language of naked truth and none other ; this is his limitation ; but they speak that language more perfectly than the books of any other imaginative writer, and this is his greatness. An incomparable recorder of truth, he lacks the power of creative fancy. Also, his cold and clear illumination brings little warmth to the heart. His books describe a world with no dreams, no illusions, no lies—"a world in which the only light is relentless truth."[6]

Turning upon himself, Tolstoy, a fanatical devotee of truth, is ruthless in knowing himself thoroughly. "But self-portraiture cannot be finished once and for all to attain the finality of objective works of art."[7] And to get a true likeness we must study all his works, novels and tales and diaries and letters. He had a mania for self-revelation. His urge to self-observation begins with the dawn of consciousness and ends only on the death-bed at the age of eighty-two. He was terribly introspective. Instead of a formal autobiography, Tolstoy writes the most complete autobiographies in the complex of his works. The novels and the tales contain perfectly recognizable portraits of their author in every phase of his career (*e.g.*, Lieutenant Olenin in *The Cossacks*, Count Besuhoff in *War and Peace*, Squire Levin in *Anna Karenina*, etc.,). Unlike other artists who usually present themselves to the public in one impersonation (Shelley in Epipsychidion, Goethe in Werther, Gottfried Keller in Der Grune Heinrich, Joyce as Stephen Dedalus), Tolstoy presents himself to the public each decade in a new appearance. This and his diaries and letters leave hardly an unexplored region in the vast extent of his existence.

It was when he was verging on fifty that Tolstoy suddenly turned away from art and towards religion. This was not abnormal. Only the intensity of the process was unusual. The process itself was merely the inevitable adaptation of the bodily organism to the approach of old age. He fails to solve the mystery of life. But as an artist, he projects his own need into humanity at large, thus universalizing it. He was unable to be a pious Christian, but he succeeded in projecting questing ego into the world announcing the terrible problems which assailed it so as to serve as warning and instruction for all mankind. As the basis of his doctrine, Tolstoy selected the text "Resist not evil," expanding it 'Resist not evil by force." Denunciation of force today by Gandhiji or Rolland owes a direct inspiration to Tolstoy. By "evil" Tolstoy meant force. Force also implies possessions, ownership and a desire to own more. Thus Tolstoy declared, "Property is the root of all evil and all suffering." Force is needed to acquire, increase and to protect property. State and Church aid these activities directly. Tolstoy is thus an anarchist, and in this respect even Trotsky and Lenin have not, theoretically, advanced beyond him. Tolstoy's books shook the Tsarist, the capitalist order of Russia to its very roots, just as Rousseau's writings destroyed French monarchy. Tolstoy would have opposed Bolsheviks' methods, but he did smooth the way for the Russian revolution.

To depict the archetypal man, "whose image (often recognizably enough) is hidden away within us all, to disclose his figure as clearly as possible and as completely as possible amid the complexities of our world : this was Tolstoy's primary aim as writer, an aim that could never be fully attained, and one that was all the more heroic for that. He was able to seek out and describe Everyman thanks to the unrivalled veracity of his senses."[8] And not since Goethe has any imaginative author been as successful as Tolstoy in revealing himself and the archetypal man. "Tolstoy, the indefatigable worker is the embodiment of Everyman's will, and Tolstoy, the incomparably sincere is the embodiment of Everyman's search after knowledge and truth."[9]

Now that we have dealt with two casual instances of Stefan Zweig's art of depicting personalities, we may consider his own method of work. He was an impatient and temperamental reader, and he believed the readers of his own books to be similar to himself in this respect. Consequently, his own writings have no superfluous descriptions or unnecessary minor details which bring failure to so many authors. Usually, he would have a number of drafts of his works before submitting the final work to the publishers. In the first draft he would allow his pen to go ahead without the least possible check. However, his real work—that of sifting and condensing—would begin no sooner a fair copy of the first rough version of the final book would be ready. Unlike others who like to show off everything they know about a subject, he always aimed at know-

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ing more than what he gave out in his writing. This process of eliminating everything unnecessary would be repeated twice or thrice and in the end the process would become a sort of a chase for another sentence or even a word the absence of which would increase the tempo without lessening the precision of the writing.

Any study of the life and work of a person is incomplete so long as his interests and hobbies are not included in such a study. Beginning at the age of fifteen, thanks to larger means and augmented passion, Stefan Zweig gradually succeeded in collecting manuscripts of the greatest masters of all times in their own handwriting. He began by collecting merely famous autographs. Later he went in for manuscripts—the originals of works or fragments of works—which in a way help a person to have a glimpse into the creative method of some beloved master. Then he went further. No more satisfied with having merely manuscripts pages of a poet or a composer, he began to represent each poet or a composer in his happiest creative moment, the one of the highest achievement, *i.e.,* searching not merely for the manuscript of one of a poet's poem, for example, but of one of his most beautiful poem, nay if possible, "one of those poems which from the minute that the inspiration found its first earthly realization started on its way to eternity."[10] His collection contained among other things, a leaf from Leonardo's workbook, notes in mirror-writing for sketches; Napoleon's order of the day to his soldiers at Rivoli; a complete novel in proof sheets by Balzac; a first unknown version of Nietzche's *Birth of Tragedy*; a cantata by Bach and the aria of Alceste by Gluck and one by Handel. He was also interested in collecting even the furniture of a great person. Thus he writes in his autobiography, *The World of Yesterday,* that he was able "to acquire all the remaining furniture from Beethoven's room which had been auctioned off after his death and bought by Privy Councillor Breuming."

What was the ultimate object of such specialized collection of manuscripts? It was not the sense of sheer possession that tempted him, but the love of moulding a collection into a work of art. Ultimately, he wanted to leave this entire collection to such an institution which would spend a fixed sum every year in order to further the collection in his own manner, thus making the collection a living organism. However, the events in Europe upset his ideas and part of his collection he sold, part he gave to the National Library of Vienna and the rest is almost untraceable today. After all, he well maintains, "My joy always lay in the act of creating never in what had been created. So I do not lament for what I once owned; for if we, driven and hunted in these times which are inimical to every art and every collection, were put to it to learn a new art, it would be that of parting from all that once had been our pride and our love."[11]

10. *The World of Yesterday.*
11. *Ibid.*

Stefan Zweig was of an emotional and artistic temperament. He was profoundly distressed by the disorders of our times, and was passionately anxious to pave the way to a better world. He deplored the fact that even though we have today infinitely surpassed our ancestors in technical and intellectual matters, in moral and humanitarian things, we are today worse than the most savage race of mankind. Wars without declaration of war, concentration camps, persecution, mass robbery, bombings of defenceless women and children—these and their likes have been our lot today. Like a few great contemporaries of his such as Freud, Yeats, Gorky, Joyce, Rilke, Toscanini, Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig too typifies the truly great Europe—not the Europe which breeds imperialists and fascists, but the Europe of Plato and Socrates, Leonardo and Garibaldi, Wagner and Beethoven, Rousseau, Voltaire and Tolstoy.

List of books by Stefan Zweig published in English:

Verlaine: Critical biography, 1905.
Emile Verhaeren: Critical biography, 1910.
Erstes Erlebnis: Four stories of childhood, 1911.
Jermiah: Play, 1917.
Drei Meister: Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky, 1920.
Der Zwang: Novelette, 1920.
Angst: Novelette, 1920.
Romain Rolland: Critical biography, 1921.
Die Augen Des Ewigen Bruders: Legend, 1922.
Amok: Novelettes, 1922.

Der Kampf Mit Dem Damon: Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, 1925.

Ben Jonson's "Volpone": Play, 1926.
Die Unsichtbare Sammlung: Episode, 1927.
Der Fluchtling: Episode, 1927.
Ver Wirrung Der Gefuhle: Three novelettes, 1927.

Sternstunden Der Menschheit: Five historical minatures, 1927.

Drei Dichter Ihres Lebens: Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy, 1928.

Kleine Chronik: Four sketches, 1929.
Joseph Fouche: Biography, 1929.
Rahel Rechtet Mit Gott: Legend, 1930.

Die Heilung Durch Den Geist: Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy, Freud-Biography, 1931.

Marie Antoinette: Biography, 1932.

Triumph Und Tragik Des Erasmus Von Rotterdam: Biography, 1934.

Maria Stuart: Biography, 1936.
Castellio Cecen Calvin: Biography, 1936.
Der Begrabene Leuchter: Legend, 1936.
Benmeister Der Welt: Biography, 1938.
Gesammelte Erzahlungen: Fiction.
Megellan: Biography, 1938.
Brasilien Land Der Zukunft: Travel, 1941.
Amerigo: A Comedy of Errors in History, 1942.
The World of Yesterday: Autobiography, 1942.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EGYPT AND UNITY OF THE NILE VALLEY

By P. MADHAVAN NAIR, B.A.

I

The entire range of Anglo-Egyptian political relationship is dominated by two geographical features of paramount importance, the Suez canal and the river Nile. The former constitutes a vital artery of British Imperial communications; the latter supplies the life-blood of Egypt's existence. To Britain, the safety of the Middle East and particularly Egypt which lies athwart her communications to the Far East and Australia is essential. The present conciliatory attitude of Britain in respect of her policy in the Levant and the Middle East as evidenced by her withdrawal from Syria, the formal grant of independence to Trans-Jordan, and the seeming hostility to Jewish immigration into Palestine is a welcome prelude to the impending Anglo-Egyptian negotiations.

Egypt is a mixture of reaction and progress, poverty and prosperity, of the East and West, of the ancient and the modern. Physically it pursates with life, activity and colour in the Nile valley and delta and looks barren, monotonous and lifeless in the inhospitable and scorched wastes of the Sahara and Nubia. Egypt enjoys a unique position in the modern world being strategically situated at the meeting point of two continents, Asia and Africa, as well as of the two seas, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. She is outside Asia and yet part of it and is for all practical purposes an oriental country.

The Suez Canal and Egypt

Egypt's strategic position has been enormously magnified ever since the cutting of the isthmus of Suez, that narrow neck of land which united Africa with Asia, and the opening of the great international highway, the Suez Canal—the product of the genius of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The importance of the Suez waterway can scarcely be minimised for this great artery of trade has cut short enormously the distance between Western Europe and India and countries of the Far East and Australia. Thanks to the Canal, Egypt has now attained a position of international importance. The Canal has brought in its train both evils as well as benefits to Egypt. She now lies at the cross-road of the world's trans-oceanic and trans-continental commerce. The proximity to this strategic highway has given Egypt great political and military significance for she commands and guards the Suez Canal and the routes leading thereto. Consequently she has been a prey to the clash of imperial interests. The British consider the Suez Canal as a vital link in the greatest sea route which connects the scattered parts of their Empire over which they boast, the sun never sets and want to ensure its security by retaining their military and political foothold in Egypt. To Britain, the security of Egypt and the Canal zone is a very vital concern which dominates her policy in the Near and Middle East. Egypt urges the evacuation of British troops not only on grounds of political prestige alone, as is commonly supposed, but also because of the intriguing supervisory influence which the presence of the British Army in Cairo exerts on her international politics and equilibrium, her foreign policy and sovereign status. The political agony of Egypt is likely to be prolonged until the day her aerial navigation and commerce assumes a preponderant influence.

Egypt Versus the Arab World

Egypt lies in the centre of the Arab World, midway between the colourful land of Morocco, the garden of North Africa, in the west and the ancient and picturesque oil-land of Iraq in the east. She is the premier State of Arabism politically, economically and culturally. She has a bigger population and her economic resources are vastly superior to that of any other Arab State, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Yemen or even Saudi-Arabia. Further, Egypt has an enterprising and industrious population politically conscious and fully alive to its great and hoary past. The people of most other Arab States, except perhaps that of the young republics of Syria and Lebanon, are still in their political infancy, are strongly conservative in outlook and are mostly nomads wandering about with their 'ship of the desert,' the camel, and carrying on a little trade in dates, hides and textiles, which are directly the result of their geographical environment. Egypt has a powerful and influential press and the activities of its agitators and the student community are well-known and hardly need any reference.

Egyptian Culture and Civilisation

The land of the Pharaohs was the seat of a great and ancient civilisation and the massive pyramids, the one of the world's wonders, and the brooding sphinx bear testimony to its virile and fascinating past. The Egyptians knew the arts of agriculture, architecture, astronomy, etc., before any other people and their civilisation is very ancient and wonderful, dating back to at least 40 centuries before Christ. She is the chief seat of Koranic and Arab learning and the ancient and celebrated University of El Azhar and the modern University of El Faud are among the most important and influential in the Arab world. El Azhar especially is the seminary of Islamic culture, the glory of a thousand years, holding aloft the torch of Arab learning.

The Arab League

The above facts would make it clear that Egypt enjoys a unique and special position among the countries of the Near and Middle East and there is no doubt that she is the leading state in the Arab world. Hence we witness the appearance of Egypt in the foreground of the Arab League, which is working for the formation federation of all the Arab States. The League represents upwards of 40 million people in the various countries of the Near and Middle East and has been formed with the object of safeguarding their common interests and independence. It is a new factor of great significance in international politics and under its energetic Secretary General Azzam Bey has become a force to reckon with in the politics and strategy of the Middle

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

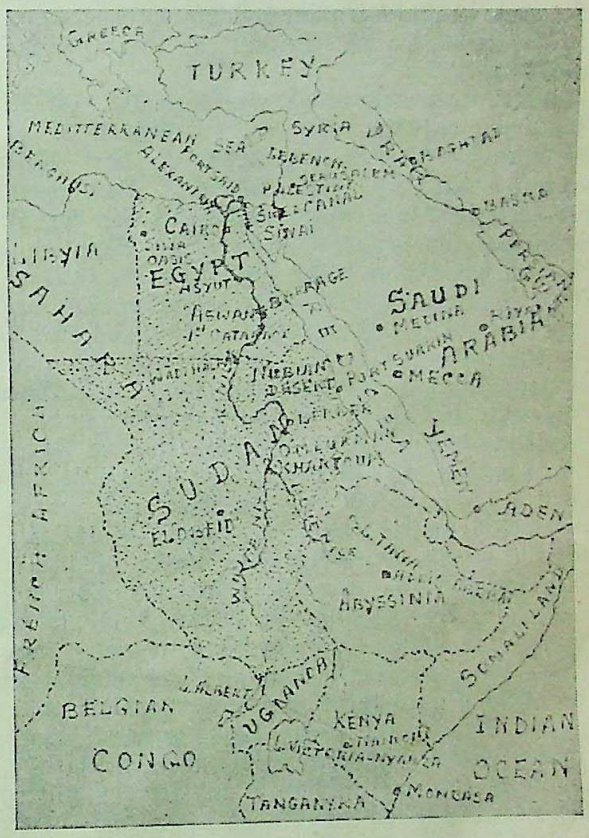
and Near East. Further, behind the Arab League is ranged Muslim opinion in other countries. The League's anti-Zionist and anti-French feeling has been taken into account by Britain in determining her policy in the Levant and Palestine.

The Arab States have recognised the leadership of Egypt in the League they have formed and Egyptians themselves know full well that considerable prestige would accrue to them for taking this interest in their common future. Even King Ibn Saud, the powerful and august ruler of Saudi Arabia, in which are situated the holy places of Mecca and Medina, responds to the call of Arab brotherhood and is one of the greatest champions of the Arab federation. The necessity for such a federation is obvious, for the Arab States situated as they are in the fertile oil-lands of the Near and Middle East are a prey to the conflicting ambitions of rival Powers and jealous imperialists who are always on the look-out for oil concessions, special privileges, spheres of influence and extra-territorial rights, by whatever name we may call it. Economic values take precedence over political values and therefore progressive Arab politicians devote much thought to the economic and cultural aspects of the Arab federation, like removal of customs barriers and passport restrictions, the establishment of a uniform educational system and type of learning. It is only after such an economic and cultural basement has been laid, will it be possible to guage the prospects of an enduring Arab federation or confederation. The coping stone of the scheme of Arab unity includes military alliances between Arab States.

The concept of Arab unity is not a new thing and was always on the horizon ever since the Holy Prophet Mohammad united the Arabic-speaking peoples with the message of Islam, and was imperfectly realised under the Ottoman Empire. In spite of serious obstacles, internal and external, the Arab dream and goal of unity have persisted through the centuries and have been partially achieved by the establishment of the Arab League during the last War, though seemingly under British inspiration. The process, however, has been accelerated in recent years by force of circumstances and dread of possible dangers like the Axis threat to the Middle East in the last war, etc. Nevertheless the League is a triumph of Arab diplomacy, foresight and solidarity. It will be a still greater triumph for the Arab people's genius for organisation, united endeavour and statesmenship if their defensive union becomes a reality in fact and can endure all possible trials and tribulations which it may have to face in the difficult times ahead.

Historical Background

Though Egypt was a prey to European intrigue and suffered from the dreadful effects and hampering influence of the vile 'Capitulations'* and the most galling fetters of internationalism, from which she suffers even today, she now stands as a united and compact state, politically wide awake and fully alive to her past glory and future greatness. After various vicissitudes of fortune under the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, Romans, Saracens, Mamelukes and Ottomans she entered upon the nineteenth century exhausted and spent, with her learning and culture nearly extinguished. The foundations of the Khedivial dynasty was laid by an able Turk, Mohammed Ali who ruled from 1805-1849 and after his death Egypt again plunged into a hotbed of misrule and corruption, intrigue and financial chaos, which paved the way for the beginnings of European control. The Napoleonic occupation of Egypt, though shortlived, had sowed the seeds of French influence in Egypt and the Middle East. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 due to French enterprise.



Egypt and the Sudan

The purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Co., by the astute 'Jew' Benjamin Disraeli, the famous Earl of Beaconsfield, was a master-stroke. Ismail the Khedive is reported to have said, "This is the best investment for England and the worst one for us." As a result of this transaction Britain came to have a controlling interest in Egypt which further gave her the excuse for actively interfering in Egyptian politics. For a time co-operation between France and Britain was tried in Egypt, but compromise between the two rival powers was found to be difficult and the dual control, which incidentally was ruining the country, cracked beneath the weight of a variety of reasons especially financial instability and misrule, the Arabi rebellion and the fanatical Mahdist revolt in the Sudan. The people were discontended and Colonel Ahmed Arabi became their leader and virtual ruler of the country with the army at his back. The Arabi rebellion having been ruthlessly suppressed British ascendancy became an established fact in Egypt and ignoring the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan a virtual British protectorate was instituted over Egypt, and

* Concessions and privileges granted by the Khedive to Europeans wishing to reside and trade in the country. They were grossly abused, and they seriously retarded Egyptian progress.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cromer and others did the rest by ruling her with an iron hand beneath the velvet glove. Peace and order was restored by the British, "the race against bankruptcy" was intensified and irrigation received attention, though "education remained the Cinderella of the State," miserably neglected. Other reforms introduced by the British include the suppression of the "three C's", corruption, the notorious corvee and the dreaded 'courbash'. In spite of plenty of room for criticism, the fact remains that the British did something for the economic and social regeneration of Egypt. The Sudan was reconquerred from the Mahdi and by the treaty of 1899 France made her exit from the Nile Valley for good and an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was declared over the Sudan with Britain as the predominant power.

The Protectorate which was formally established over Egypt only in 1914 was abolished after the termination of the War in 1922. A new Egyptian constitution with a King, bicameral Parliament and Cabinet of Ministers was promulgated and Egypt was declared an 'independent' country. An Egyptian kingdom thus came into being under British tutelage in which the monarch exercised absolute powers and the theory that the power vests in the King and Parliament was found to be a constitutional fiction. This constitutional advance did not satisfy the Egyptian nationalists in the least and the lot of the 'fellaheen', as the bulk of the hardworking agricultural population of Egypt are called, remained as pitiable as ever with little hope of emancipation. Agitation therefore grew apace and it was after many years of ceaseless struggle, confusion and tension that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was signed, which while recognising Egypt's independence provided for the retention of British forces in Egypt ostensibly for strategic purposes and to ensure imperial interests and conveniently left the Condominium Agreement of 1899 over the Sudan severely alone and undisturbed. But by the treaty Egypt secured a measure of independence, integrity, international status and recognition. Her foreign policy and defence still continued to be controlled by an alien power and the treaty was obviously a onesided affair.

Ever since the Wafdists, the premier nationalist party in Egypt under its leader Mustapha Nahas Pasha, the successor of the famous Zaghlul, concluded this treaty there has been continuous agitation for its revision on the basis of equality and reciprocity and the recognition of Egypt's predominant interest in the Sudan which controls the headwaters of the Nile, the life-giving river of Egypt. The Egyptians want to annul this onesided treaty and do away with the special privileges of Britain and the establishment of a fully-sovereign Egyptian State. They are, therefore, clamouring for the withdrawal of British troops from their soil. The British now seem to be and have been balancing the king, the vested interests and the so-called 'liberals,' of whom Ismail Sidky the strong man is typical, against the forces of Egyptian nationalism which is ardently desirous of coming to a peaceful and honourable settlement with Britain.

Irrigation in Egypt

The importance of irrigation to the prosperity of a country like Egypt where "the struggle for water" is so keen cannot be over-emphasized. It is one of the major concerns of the State, for the whole of Egypt except the Nile Valley and Delta and a few oases form part of the vast and rainless Sahara. The very life of Egypt depends on its irrigation. Irrigation is also more important in India where it is an insurance against drought and famine. The desert soil is intrinsically fertile and only needs water for sustenance of life and farming purposes. This is as true of Egypt as of extensive areas in Sind and even of vast arid tracts in eastern Australia, notably in Queensland, where a marvellous transformation has been wrought by the construction of what are called Artesian wells. Under Mussolini the Italian colonists dug bore wells on the coast of Libya and the result was that excellent orchards and farms came into existence. It is common knowledge that where there is sufficient supply of water in a desert either by natural springs or otherwise, fertile spots humming with activity occur which are called oases. There are a few such oases in Egypt like Siwa, Farafara, etc. The camel caravan rests under the shade of the date palm in the oasis after an arduous and fatiguing journey under the burning sun and while quenching their thirst heartily thanks Allah for being at least so much kind and bountiful to them. The desert caravan sighs with immense relief and high glee at the sight of a genuine water spot, as most often they are sadly disillusioned and cruelly disappointed by phantom lakes and ponds which lure them on and on to the unreal haze of the mirage—an interesting phenomenon frequently seen in the desert.

In the case of Sind and Egypt huge irrigation projects, the famous Sukkur barrage in the former and the great Aswan barrage and other barrages, notably the one just below Cairo, in the latter have transformed tens of thousands of acres of arid waste into flourishing agricultural land. The control of the flood waters of the Nile was really a stupendous problem. But modern engineering skill came to the rescue and by means of reservoirs especially the one at Aswan, opened in 1902, one of the greatest of the world's irrigation enterprises, the turbulent and colossal waters of the Nile have been controlled and diverted by means of channels and water-courses to irrigate the scorched wastes of Egypt. No wonder smiling wheat-lands and cotton-fields came into existence in place of the barren desert. Father Nile has showered his bounties on Egypt liberally and without its life-giving waters Egypt would have been a parched desert like the rest of the Sahara. Lord Milner once said, "Egypt as a geographical expression is two things—the desert and the Nile." It is in fact the gift of the great river.

The Nile Valley and Delta

Though the area of Egypt is over 3,50,000 square miles the inhabited portion and the economically important part is the valley of the Nile and its delta. The Nile valley stretches like a narrow ribbon a few miles wide on the average, from Khartoum in the Sudan to the delta. The delta is more spacious and is more than 150 miles wide at the river's mouth. The fertile and developed area of Egypt is only about 14,000 sq. miles. Beyond a few miles on either side of the river, except where the land receives the benefits of irrigation, it is all a chaos of sand dunes, bare rocks and barren hills with its cactus and mimosa thorn, over which the 'Khamsin' exhibits its wild and boisterous fury. The Nile valley is so very fertile that in ancient times it was considered as one of the granaries of Imperial Rome and rival powers had fought for the corn of Egypt.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Economy of Egypt

The economic significance of the Nile valley and delta and the importance of irrigation in Egyptian national economy has already been alluded to and stressed. Egypt is essentially an agricultural country and the Egyptians have always been great agriculturists. The country is potentially rich and prosperous. Agriculture is gaining more and more in importance with the expansion of irrigation and settled cultivation. The 'basin system' of irrigation in vogue in Egypt a few decades ago has now been supplanted by 'perennial' irrigation, thanks to modern engineering skill. The rich alluvial deposits and mineral matter brought down by the Nile from the Abyssinian highlands and equatorial Africa have ensured the fertility and wealth of Egypt. Wheat and barley are the main winter crops. Rice, sugarcane, maize, millets and fruits, chiefly dates are extensively cultivated. But the pivot round which the economy of Egypt turns is cotton. A great cotton crop is raised and Egyptian cotton is reputed to be of good quality being second only to that of Sea Island cotton and far superior to the Indian variety and is in great demand.

Egypt is deficient in her mineral wealth. She possesses a little iron, oil, salt, etc., but only a statewide mineral survey can reveal her actual resources. There is great scope for the development of water power from the huge irrigation projects which will be essential in any scheme for the development of manufacturing industries. Small industries especially in textiles, sugar refining, tobacco, leather-tanning, etc., have grown up in recent years. The Egyptian pottery industry is one of the most important. There is great scope for the development of industries especially in textiles in the future.

The resources of Egypt as yet unexploited include tens of thousands of acres of arid but potentially fertile areas still awaiting irrigation and development. Another enormous potentiality is the Suez Canal, now controlled by a private Company in which the British Government holds the largest number of shares bringing in a fat yearly dividend to the British Exchequer. The Company's concession terminates in 1968 and if it is not extended then the canal will become the property of Egypt. It will be a welcome windfall but it may also bring in its train heavy responsibilities and complications. The maritime powers of Europe especially Great Britain would, no doubt, press for the reduction of the heavy transit duties now in force and would insist on substantial guarantees providing for the defence and neutrality of the canal. From the strictly economic point of view the unity of the Nile valley would seem to be necessary to Egypt as her lack of raw materials, minerals, etc., can be made up to a considerable extent by the incorporation of the intrinsically rich Sudan. This aspect of the question is discussed elsewhere in this article.

The People and Their Occupations

The population of Egypt is about fourteen million of which about twelve million are Muhammedans, about a million Egyptian Christians, generally called Copts and under a million Jews, Sudanese, Bedouins and other races of whom the vast majority are illiterate. The population is congregated in the Nile valley and delta with which the whole economic life of the country is inseparably linked. If the desert regions be excluded the population of Egypt is very dense. The Muslim and the Copt live side by side in peace and the savage intolerance of the past has departed. The Muslim invokes the name of the Almighty in the Mosque, the Copt in the Church, otherwise the two are hardly distinguishable. In the villages especially "the Crescent and the Cross, the Mosque and the Monastery have stood peacefully side by side for many a long year." The thin and wiry Bedouins, "the people of the tent," a nomadic race, dwell on the outskirts of the valley and in the oasis of the desert to the west and east of the Nile, eking out a bare existence on their camels and dates.

Life in the village is simple and almost primitive, though in the big cities of Cairo, the capital, Alexandria, the chief port, Port Said, a great coaling station and other places, the standard of living of the inhabitants is far higher. Houses except in the big cities are mostly made of sun-dried bricks. The condition of the 'fellaheen', who are the true descendants of the ancient Egyptians, though unenviable is slowly but steadily improving. The Pashas and Sheiks or reactionary landlords, the same type as the Zemindars in India, retard the economic emancipation of this down-trodden and much exploited people through the centuries. Nevertheless in spite of the conservatism of the Egyptian, Egypt is, not stationary but changing, and those who think otherwise deceive themselves.

The chief occupation of the people is agriculture. A good number are engaged in trade and commerce. Industries are slowly developing and are likely to become more and more important in the future. Egypt has a good railway system connecting Wadi Haifa and Assuan (Aswan) in the South with the busy ports and cities of the delta. A brisk trade is carried on between the Sudan and Egypt by the Nile steamer and by railway.

II

The Sudan and the Nile

The Sudan or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as it is called is of special significance to Egypt and the Egyptian. The Sudan and Egypt lie contiguous to each other and are conterminous and indivisible from the point of view of the Egyptian. Above all the life-giving river of Egypt, the Nile, flows through the Sudan. Egyptian politicians miss no opportunity to emphasize the essential unity of the Nile valley. They assert that Egypt needs the Sudan and Sudan needs Egypt. Their concern is chiefly with the Nile waters, with their security and control in all circumstances.

The Nile is one of the greatest and longest rivers in the world. which takes its rise from some of the fascinating lakes of equatorial Africa, especially the Victoria-Nyanza, the great African inland sea and the picturesque lake Tsana perched amongst the lofty Abyssinian highlands, over which Emperor Haile Selassie, the erstwhile refugee potentate in London, claims dominion. The Blue and White Niles fed by other tributaries join together near Khartoum and flowing through the Sudan and Egypt empty into the Mediterranean Sea. The Nile is navigable except at a few points where there are 'cataracts' or rapids and here transhipment of cargoes is necessary, though of late this hindrance has been largely overcome by means of canals, etc. It is a great artery of inland communication in Egypt and the Sudan and in spite of the competing railways it remains the more economical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

means of transport and numerous steamers ply on its waters day in and day out carrying produce to and from the different towns on its banks.

The Nile is the only source of pure water for rainless Egypt. Virtually it is the jugular vein of Egypt, its sole means of existence. The Nile quenches the thirst of the parched sands of Egypt. Egypt without the Nile is inconceivable and once this only source of fresh water supply is cut she will soon be transformed into a veritable desert in spite of herself, and even the vestiges of life will disappear from its soil. Father Nile is, therefore, dearest to the Egyptian : it is the life-heart of Egypt. Control of the Sudan would give Egypt control over the waters of the Nile. If a hostile power in control of the Sudan diverts or prevents the free flow of the waters of this great river, it would have calamitous repurcussions on Egypt immediately. Though such a contingency can never reasonably be presumed to occur, its possibility cannot be ruled out for all time, and, in any case the natural apprehension and desire of the Egyptians as regards security of the Nile waters would seem to deserve sympathy and consideration. This factor must be borne in mind in any discussion and determination of the status of the Sudan.

Economic and Other Aspects of Unity

The acquisition of the potentially rich Sudan, which may for all practical purposes be considered as the *hinterland of Egypt,* would go a long way in strengthening the economy and in the making of the future industrial structure of Egypt. The industrial and economic development of Egypt would only be a matter of time if the Sudan is added on to her. From this rich region with its wealth of raw materials and natural resources Egypt would be vastly benefited. The expanding needs of an industrial society can be met by a developed Sudan. It is clear, therefore, that the cry for the unity of the Nile valley is based on economic considerations as well though, it is often asserted that only the anxiety to ensure the safety of the Nile waters is the sole and compelling factor.

It is obvious that economic, political and military considerations all play an important part in the shaping of this demand. *The unity of the Nile valley or control over the Nile waters means in effect the union of the Sudan with Egypt.* Such a union would give great political prestige and importance to Egypt as she would then become one of the biggest States of the world. Her dominions would be so enormously extended as to make it a problem in the matter of defence. It may well prove a liability and strain on the Egyptian State and Exchequer at this stage. But Egypt would become one of the largest countries of the world and her economic resources are bound to be augmented immensely, sooner or later. It will further unite the Arabs of the Nile valley and the dense population of the Nile delta will have ample scope for expansion and development. One would sometimes pause and wonder if the Egyptians are not really ambitious in claiming such a vast and rich territory like the Sudan on the pretext of the security of the Nile waters. But nevertheless, it is equally obvious that Egypt has a better right to the Sudan than any other Power except the Sudanese themselves.

Sudan—A Promising Region

The most striking feature about the Sudan is that it offers a variety of climate, scenery and natural vegetation. It is rich in natural resources and raw materials, especially in her forest wealth in the equatorial forests of the south, with its ebony, acajou, mahogany, bamboo, etc. The rich Savanna region of the central Sudan contains enormous tracts of pasture land, arable land and excellent pasture land. The great north African Savanna or tropical grassland region which lies south of the hot desert of the Sahara and north of the equatorial region and extending from the Abyssinian highlands in the east to Gambia and Senegal in the west, is generally referred to in Geography books as the 'Sudan.' But here we are concerned only with the political entity called the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan or simply with the Sudan. With the development of irrigation and with an industrious and larger population the Sudan can become a great producer of food-stuffs and raw materials especially cotton, rubber, etc. Though much of northern Sudan is arid desert and a large area in southern Sudan marshy and covered with tropical jungle, the vast stretches of fertile savanna lying between the two and well-suited to agriculture and stock raising is really a region of great promise. The chief commercial crop is cotton and it is grown extensively. Millets, dates, maize, groundnuts and other food crops are also produced. There are thousands of acres that yield and thousands of acres more that will, when properly irrigated, yield valuable crops especially cotton. The Sudan possesses large numbers of domestic animals, namely, sheep and cattle and there is an abundance of wild game, such as the elephant, antelope, giraffe, etc., in the parklands of the savanna and in the tropical forests. In the semi-arid regions of northern and central Sudan sheep and cattle rearing are profitable occupations. Sudan supplies much of the beef cattle needed by Egypt. She is also a great producer of gum arabic, ivory, hides and skins, ostrich feathers, etc. Copper, gold, salt and other minerals are utilised.

The Sudan is at present mainly a pastoral country while Egypt is primarily an agricultural country. The most fertile and well-watered area in the Sudan is the region lying between the White and Blue Niles, thanks to the facilities afforded by the Sennar Dam across the Blue Nile. Cotton and food crops are produced by a more or less settled African population who have come to appreciate the benefits of settled agriculture. Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, has direct communications with Cairo and Alexandria, a distance of about 1,400 miles, by rail and river. Many railway lines have been built lately in the Sudan in order to open up and exploit the country.

The Sudan is governed by a British Governor-General with his headquarters at Khartoum. The country is divided into fourteen provinces and each is administered by a British Commissioner who "has practically a free hand" within his sphere of authority. The Sudan which was the happy hunting ground of Arab slave traders in the nineteenth century, first came under British influence in the second half of the nineteenth century ; but was temporarily lost as a result of the Mahdi rebellion. Mahdism triumphed and the fanatics killed Gordon, the Governor-General of the Sudan, and Egypt herself was seriously threatened. In 1898 Lord Kitchener retrieved British prestige by defeating the Mahdi's successor in the decisive battle of Omdurman. It was a memorable battle for the Dervish army was a magnificent force—superb in its courage, devotion to duty and contempt of death. Even the natural heroic, almost reckless bravery of the Dervishes in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ave of a rain of shot and shell from British rifles and ...ans was of no avail and Omdurman, the greatest native city in Africa and capital of Mahdism fell to the victors and with it fell the short-lived Mahdi Empire. Khartoum was entered and soon the Sudan lay prostrate. In this reconquest of the Sudan Egyptian soldiers played a prominent part. Cromer himself says, "It is true that the Egyptian treasury had borne the greater portion of the cost of the campaign and Egyptian troops, officered, however, by Englishmen, had taken a very honourable part in the campaign." It was really a composite army which did the job and the part played by Egypt has been urged as one of the grounds for her claims over the Sudan. "Further, it has been proved especially in the last century that the affairs of the Sudan exercised a very important influence on the course of events in Egypt." Without doubt a disturbed and hostile Sudan would be a menace to Egypt in more ways than one. The British stamped out slave traffic in the Sudan and gave her some sort of Government and did a little to promote irrigation and communications. This huge region, which is as large as British India and potentially rich, and blessed with its wealth of natural resources, is one of the most promising regions of the world but only if it is properly developed.

The Sudanese and Union With Egypt

A considerable number of the Sudanese are Arabs and profess Islam. This is especially so in the northern Sudan, where the Muslims form the bulk of the population. It is understandable that Egyptians should desire union with their Arabicized brethren in the northern Sudan. Yet union with the northern Sudan alone is not likely to satisfy Egyptian aspirations, for they would soon raise the plea that the headwaters of the Nile are in the southern Sudan. Cromer says that "the effective control of the waters of the Nile from the equatorial lakes to the sea is essential to the existence of Egypt." Nevertheless the unity of the entire Nile valley here and now does not seem to be feasible and it has to come necessarily by stages. In the central and southern Sudan the vast majority of the people are Negroes. They do not profess Muhammadanism and are mostly heathen. They comprise many tribes like the Shilluks, Dinkas, Nuers, and are very backward and lazy, though in recent years, a few of them have taken to settled agriculture with the facilities afforded by the Sennar Dam and other irrigation enterprises sponsored by the British Sudan with a view to exploit the country. "In contrast with the Egyptians, a most industrious race, the Sudanese tribes, both Arab and Negro, are as a general rule indolent." The chief occupations of the Negroes are cattle rearing, hunting and collecting. Further, the tribes from the north and south had in the last century carried on slave traffic in the southern Sudan and this has rendered them odious to the Negro inhabitants. It is, therefore, debatable whether the Sudanese would willingly acquiesce in the demand for the unity of the Nile valley at present and that they really desire to merge with their far advanced neighbours.

The Sudan and Egyptian Questions Discussed

The Sudan is a very vast territory about a million square miles in area but having only a population of about millions, which is sparse when compared to Egypt. The defence and speedy development of so backward a territory would be well-nigh impossible for the Egyptian state for some time to come with its present population, economic resources, technical skill and military prowess. Further, the Africans in the central and southern Sudan are in a low stage of development so as to make it extremely improbable whether the Negroes will benefit in any substantial measure by political union or fusion with Egypt at this stage. When the Sudanese Negro too becomes at least moderately civilized and advanced the option of becoming citizens of a Greater Egypt may be left to them to decide, especially since they are non-Muslims and belong to an entirely different race, having little or nothing in common with the Egyptians. At present it would neither be just nor sufficiently advantageous to hand over these utterly backward people to the tender mercies of the far-advanced Egyptians. The duty of Britain in the circumstances would seem to be the speedy development of the country and the advancement of the Sudanese economically, educationally and politically so as to make them fit for enjoying a political partnership and union with Egypt, which is visualised as the final and ultimate goal. But any Egyptian demand for the northern Sudan especially north of Khartoum, and the scrapping of the artificial boundary, would be more weighty and feasible. Further, Egypt's paramount interests in the Sudan must be recognised and she must be admitted as an active partner in the governance of the Sudan, which alone would give her an opportunity of vindicating her oft-repeated protestations for the welfare of the Sudanese. The Condominium Agreement of 1899 should be ended as early as possible or within a fixed time limit. This coupled with the withdrawal of British forces to the Canal zone or the Sinai peninsula, as the case may be and the recognition of the complete sovereignty of Egypt both in internal and external affairs, would seem to satisfy the legitimate national aspirations of the Egyptian people. It is more than probable that Britain would assume to herself the responsibility for the defence and security of the Canal in partnership with Egypt or alone, in the former case as the predominant power. The British barracks in Cairo and Alexandria would be shifted to the Canal zone or Sinai where Egypt may be approached to grant bases to her.

The vulnerability and strategic importance of the Canal from a military point of view was demonstrated by the Axis threat to Egypt in the last war. It was a stupendous task indeed to roll back the "Afrika Corps" under its indomitable General, Rommel, beyond the borders of Egypt, but El Alamien sealed the fate of Hitler's dream of a Middle East Empire and the battle proved decisive. The Italian and Axis menace to her security, though over, had made Egyptians realise the necessity for a strong and sovereign Egypt to ward off all future attacks and assure her security. This coupled with the fact that neutral Egypt was transformed into a great military base in the last war without her consent have accelerated the Egyptian clamour for the withdrawal of British troops from her territory. The disposition of strong military units in the Canal zone or Sinai with military and air bases in Palestine, which has been turned into a virtual military arsenal, due to the ill-advised Jewish immigration agitation and Arab resistance, to fall back upon in the event of emergency, would sound a safe strategy for Britain in the Near and Middle East. But nobody knows for how long Palestine will remain a British mandate, torn by internal *hara kiri* and communal strike. Nevertheless this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

may well prove an acceptable *via media* in the circumstances, especially in view of the clash of the very vital interests of both powers, Britain and Egypt. Such an amicable settlement of the Egyptian question can be followed up by a mutual friendly alliance between Egypt and Britain. A British Mission headed by no less a personality than Earnest Bevin with a full complement of notable Service Chiefs including Lord Stansgate, the Secretary of State for Air, as members have gone to Egypt to explore the possibilities of settling the Egyptian question satisfactorily.

From all appearances it does not seem to be likely that Britain would allow her paramount interests in the Canal zone to be waived or minimised or divest herself of the responsibility for the defence and safety of the Canal in favour of Egypt or any other Power. Imperialist Britain will not allow the Canal being put under international control as in the case of Tangier, where the recent entry of Russia as a partner has very much intrigued her. Her foremost concern would be to safeguard her vital imperial communications to the Far East and Australia, etc., and the security of Egypt and the Middle East from extraneous influences. Neither is it possible that John Bull intends to walk straightway from the Sudan, which is likely to remain a thorny problem. Her policy would seem to be the development and exploitation of the Sudan, while at the same time maintaining friendly relations with Egypt, reconciling herself as much as possible with the Egyptian demand for the unity of the Nile valley or the fusion of the Sudan with Egypt.

The question of the Unity of the Nile Valley or the Sudan Question ranks with the problem of the strategic defence of the Suez Canal as burning issues in which Egyptian national interests, prestige and ambition are equally involved. The British and Egyptian points of view will be one of great divergence. But with sufficient goodwill, tolerance and earnestness on both sides there is no reason why the crucial questions should not be satisfactorily and amicably settled and Anglo-Egyptian co-operation established on a friendly and lasting basis, which will be in the common interests of both Egypt and Britain.

(1) *Modern Egypt* by the Earl of Cromer.
(2) *Egypt* by P. G. Elgood.
(3) *King George VI and his Empire* (in three volumes) Volume III, Ed. Charles W. Domville-Fife.
(4) *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire* Volume III, Ed. Herbertson & Howarth.
(5) *Economic Geography of the British Empire* by C. B. Thurston.
(6) *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

———:O:———

THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA

By Prof. RASVIHARY DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is sometimes said that India is a land of philosophers. The statement is not certainly literally true, if it means that every individual Indian is a philosopher or even that a majority of Indians are greatly interested in abstract philosophical questions. But I believe there is a sense in which India may be rightly called a land of philosophers—a sense in which it cannot be called a land of scientists or artists. If we consider the cultural activities of educated Indians throughout their recorded history, even up to the end of the Mahommedan rule, we find unmistakable evidence of their singular concentration on philosophical problems, and we cannot fail to be struck by the massive output of their work in this field, distinguished alike by the wealth and variety of their ideas and by the metaphysical depth and logical rigour of their thoughts. There have been so many thinkers of diverse schools, having really first-class work to their credit. Some of them have left us systems of thought which even today appear very remarkable for the boldness of their conceptions. Whatever else India may or may not have achieved in the past, the record of its philosophical work is glorious indeed. It is not too much to say that the whole of our cultural life was distinguished by a strong and robust philosophic vein. It is not true that there were no scientists or artists in India, but it is certainly true that they were not as numerous or as prominent as the philosophers.

But all this was in the past. What is our present record? I am ashamed to confess that it is extremely depressing.

We continued our philosophic activities right up to the last days of the Mahommedan rule. True, much of it latterly tended to become merely scholastic in character. But still many highly intelligent people took lively interest in abstract logical and philosophical questions, and were greatly concerned about their philosophical ideas. But do we really care for any philosophical ideas now? I doubt very much.

When, with the coming of the English into India, the Western culture made contact with our mind, we felt for a time dizzy. When the state of confusion passed away, we found that we were faced with something which we could not easily accept or reject. We had something of our own which would not easily fuse with the alien thing that pressed against our soul with the conquering might of our rulers at its back. Some of us then disowned their ancient heritage and went wholly over to the other side. They became completely Westernised in their thoughts and ideas. As our culture had some vitality in it, this could not happen to any very large extent. Many, as a reaction against Western ideas, clung ever more tenaciously to our old-time notions. But as English education made steady progress in the country, some compromise seemed inevitable between old India and modern Europe and, as a result, we have now a steady flow of spiritual hybrids coming out of our schools and colleges every year. No synthesis is effected between our old social and religious ideas and the ideas derived from our study of Western science, history and literature, between our old traditions and modern instruction. Our religious, social and domestic life is dominated by ideas derived from our ancient past and we also carry about notions with us which originated with the Renaissance and the Reformation in Western Europe. Just as we go in boots and trousers to work in an office and on our return home again slip into our old Indian costume, so we profess Western ideas in our class-rooms and lecture-halls, but are content to regulate our social and domestic life in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

our old Indian way. There is no question here as to which of the ideas, Indian or European, are truer or more valuable. We merely point to a division in our mental life which no careful observer can easily miss. It can be safely asserted that nothing great or valuable can come out of a mind which is thus divided against itself. No wonder then that the Indian mind now is so singularly sterile in the field of ideas.

Our activity, of late, in the field of literature has no doubt been very much stimulated; but I do not know if we have in the modern period achieved anything which will last through time.

We are probably doing better in science. But science is a highly specialised activity of the human mind, and although the great cultural value of scientific work in its highest form can never be denied,—of science pursued for its own sake, for the knowledge and understanding of the reality which surrounds us on all sides,—yet science, when it is cultivated purely with a view to obtaining some material advantage out of it, science which makes such irresistible appeal to industrialists and militarists cannot surely rank very high in the scale of cultural values. At all events, scientific work does not engage our whole mind or personality; we pursue it with our intellect alone, and our volitions and emotions have scarcely any part to play in it. We do not react to a scientific problem with our whole being, but only with our intellect. It is otherwise with any artistic, literary or philosophic work, in which all the resources of our mind have to be engaged if we are to achieve anything effective and satisfactory. In this kind of work the wholeness of the mind that goes into operation is a necessary condition of success, in a sense in which it is not so necessary in purely scientific work. It is probably because of this that we have been able to do something in science even with a divided mind, with a spiritual division in our inner being, while we have remained so far absolutely barren in the field of philosophy.

During the time we have been having the benefit of Western education, no new theory or fruitful idea in philosophy can be laid to the credit of the Indian mind. Even in America, which no one will claim to be a land of philosophers and which is not particularly noted for any cultural innovations, we have seen the rise (and, probably, fall) of such novel theories as Pragmatism, Behaviourism, etc. In a country of common sense like England, there is no lack of evidence for bold and powerful speculation in the higher regions of metaphysics. Italy and France have made their valuable contributions. It is not necessary here to refer to Germany which since Kant's time has more than maintained its claim to leadership in European thought. There seems no end to the new and fruitful ideas—to the systems and schools of thought—that are ever cropping up in this fateful land. But what is the record of India in this period, of the so-called land of philosophers? As far as one can see, it is perfectly clean, being absolutely blank.

Philosophy is born of a self-conscious activity of the spirit; it represents the reaction of our whole personality to the great problems of life and the world. But when there is a spiritual discord within our own self, when really we are not of one mind, we can but weakly react to the great spiritual problems which face us in life, and the result of our spiritual activity is bound to be very disappointing. It seems we are not now possessed of our own self and are thus utterly incapacitated for the kind of spiritual activity which produces living philosophy.

There are any number of professors of philosophy in this country, but there are, with one or two notable exceptions, no philosophers. It is no exaggeration to say that real philosophical thinking has become very rare indeed. With the best of our efforts we succeed merely in echoing faintly some philosophical thoughts that have once been actually thought at Berlin or Oxford. We seem merely to learn laboriously some words and phrases current in western philosophical literature and repeat them to our students. We do not think for ourselves and do not teach our students how to think, and the result has been disastrous.

Even our students seem to have seen through the sham thing we offer in the name of philosophy. They do not, therefore, come to our classes, with the result that many colleges, even Government colleges, *e.g.*, in Bombay and Madras Presidencies, have ceased to teach philosophy as a college subject. We sometimes hear of certain universities contemplating to close down their departments of philosophy. Such indifference to philosophy, to the great problems of life and conduct, cannot bespeak, in my opinion, any very sane or healthy state of our national mind.

However, I believe this indifference is only apparent and not real. If we could offer real philosophy, there would be no dearth of students to take it up in this country at least. In the present state of affairs, our professors of philosophy do not, as a rule, discuss in the class any real problems which have seriously troubled them in their life nor do they offer in their lectures any solution to the problems which assail the minds of their students. The inevitable result is that our professors, not being themselves seriously interested in the problems which they discuss in the class, cannot bring any earnestness or enthusiasm to bear on their work and thus they naturally fail to interest their students.

With our political enslavement our mind also seems to have become very weak. We do not dare to think on our own account. If we had the courage of our own thought, we should discuss our own problems and also give our own solutions; and the present unhappy condition, in which in our classes we merely reproduce timidly the problems and solutions given in a text-book, imported from England or America, would soon come to an end. How are we, then, to get out of this quandary?

The first thing necessary is to acquire the firm belief that we can really think for ourselves, that however dependent we may be in physical existence on other persons and powers, for our philosophy at least we need not lean upon any, that though our bodies may be in bondage, our spirit is ever free, that not only we can, but we must, form our own view of life and the world in absolute freedom. If we confess our incapacity there, we cease to count as human spirit and deserve no better life than that of lower animals. No, I do not think we have sunk to that level yet. We seem to be bound by an illusion and that illusion has to go. We have to realise that we are not doing any philosophy worth the name, when we simply repeat or reproduce what Plato has taught or Bradley has said. In fact by our words we express no thought at all, when what we say has not been clearly realised in the intimacy of our own personal thinking. Close systematic thinking is not of course an easy matter, but it can be acquired by a constant exercise of our thinking power which is a divine

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gift to a rational mind. To neglect or deny this gift is to neglect or deny our rational or spiritual nature.

The above requirement relates to a change of mental attitude ; it does not suggest any further practical step. As a practical measure, I would suggest that our students should be introduced to philosophy through consideration of views and ideas derived from Indian philosophy. They may study European philosophy as much as they like, but their minds should first be well informed of the ideas which have actually shaped the life of the community in which they live. This will give their minds a firm foot-hold in the concrete spiritual reality from which they draw their sustenance and which they can ultimately modify and enlarge to the enrichment of their own life and of the life of the world at large.

In the present state of things, a student by being initiated into philosophy through Western ideas, is lifted up, as it were, in the mid-air from his actual spiritual moorings and is left there alone, unable to derive any proper nourishment for his philosophic self from his social environment, with which he is no longer in tune. No wonder that he cannot react powerfully to his surrounding world and he cannot produce anything substantial of his own.

My suggestion is that our students should begin with a study of Indian philosophy under the guidance of teachers who have themselves studied the subject in original Sanskrit. It is not desired that the students should tie themselves to the various dogmas of Indian philosophy. They should also study the critical works of European thinkers, and their ultimate aim should be to rise above Indian and European philosophy to pure philosophy which recognises no provincial, sectarian or any other barrier.

Thirdly, our students should learn philosophy through the medium of the vernacular. I have the impression that philosophical ideas conveyed through the medium of English do not enter deep into our mind. The exact significance of many philosophical ideas is not clearly realised because of the linguistic barrier. The language remains a barrier even when we have learned to use it grammatically. Because of our exclusive preoccupation with the structure and sound of this difficult foreign tongue, our mind acquires a sort of hyper-sensitiveness to its verbal form to the neglect of its intellectual content. It has thus come about that even when we are ostensibly engaged in learning philosophy, our attention is constantly directed to the niceties of language rather than to the exact significance of the ideas meant to be conveyed. And the result is that our so-called philosophical education gives us merely a verbal dexterity in the use of certain words and phrases. In the examinations too, the candidate who has a greater facility with the English language is usually found to fare better ; and since our teachers of philosophy are generally chosen mainly on the result of university examinations, it is almost always the case that one, who can talk glibly or wields a facile pen, has a better chance of getting the charge of teaching philosophy than another candidate who, even with a halting tongue or pen, may have a real gift for original thinking. The result is seen reflected even at the top. People, who are supposed to be in the front rank in the field of philosophy in this country, are noted rather for their fine eloquence than for any depth or soundness of their ideas. It seems that the distinction between a talker and a thinker is not often marked. I am sure this state of things will be modified, at least partially, if we choose the vernacular as the medium of our philosophic discourse.

———:O:———

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SATYAGRAHA : ITS TECHNIQUE AND HISTORY : *By R. R. Diwakar. Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Prefatory observation by Kishorlal Mashruwala. Hind Kitabs, 107, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. 1946. Pp. xxii + 202. Price Rs. 5-12.*

The last World War has taught humanity, at least this lesson that although war is undertaken to bring about great decisions, to reshuffle the relations between human communities, yet the price which men have to pay for it is often much more than what they actually gain by it. New forces are raked up by the violence employed, which sometimes defeat the very purpose for which war was undertaken. Under these circumstances, it is natural that more and more attention should be paid to methods of social change which do not suffer from the shortcomings of war. The experiments in nonviolent organization, which have been carried on in India during the last thirty years for the redress of economic, social and political wrongs, have naturally drawn the attention of every serious student of human affairs.

Shri Diwakar's present publication on the technique and history of Satyagraha is, therefore, a very timely one. He has devoted fifteen out of twenty-five chapters to a theoretical treatment of the subject. The principles underlying Satyagraha have been discussed with care and its organizational aspect described in detail. Shri Diwakar then gives us a historical account of the most important Satyagraha campaigns undertaken in India. This is followed by a chapter on similar experiments outside India. An appendix containing pledges taken by Satyagrahis on different occasions, a bibliography and a glossary of certain terms used in the book, come at the end.

The treatment of the theoretical aspect is fairly exhaustive, although it may fail to satisfy the more serious student who wishes to go deeper into the psychological bearings of Satyagraha. Similarly,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

chapters devoted to history would perhaps have gained by a less narrative and more critical treatment. But as the first systematic account of Satyagraha in India, the book deserves to be warmly welcomed. Shri Mashruwala has contributed a very valuable chapter by way of introduction.

SWARAJYA-SASTRA (The principles of a non-violent political order.) : *By Vinoba Bhave. Translated in English by Bharatan Kumarappa. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 68. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book is a collection of notes made of talks given by Shri Bhave while he was in prison : they consequently lack the fulness which one usually expects in a treatise of the present kind. The questions dealt with are of a fundamental nature, and deal with subjects like the function of a state in a people's life ; the political and economic implications of non-violence; non-violence as a means of self-protection available to the common man, and so on. Shri Bhave has something original to say with regard to each of these questions ; for he is not only a philosopher by temperament, but has also had the advantage of an unbroken series of experiments in the organization of non-violence extending over nearly a quarter of a century or more.

One may find the discussion on the historical role of the state unsatisfying here and there ; but this is amply made up by what the author has to say with regard to the structure of a non-violent society, which forms the major portion of the small book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MILLAT OF ISLAM AND THE MENACE OF 'INDIANISM' and THE MILLAT AND THE MISSION : *By Choudhury Rahmat Ali.*

THE FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN : *By Khan A. Ahmed. 16, Montague Road, Cambridge.*

It is a patent trick of Imperialism to try to divide their colonies and subject countries when the inevitable forces of history compel them to quit. Ireland had the bitter taste of this trick, Palestine has been suffering on this account. The old maxim of *divide et impera* has now been turned to Divide and Quit. That patent device is now being applied to India and experiments at partition and division of a subject country are being carried on on a scale so vast as the world has never seen before. What is now being represented as the deep urge of a particular community will, after careful historical analysis, be found to be nothing but the artificial demand of reactionary elements fostered carefully by British Imperialism. It seems strange today that Sir Syed Ahmad said : "Just as the Aryan people are called Hindus, even so are the Musalmans—Hindus, that is to say, inhabitants of Hindusthan." He further said : "The word nation (Qaum) applies to people who inhabit a country . . . Remember that Hindu and Musalman are religious words ; otherwise, Hindus, Musalmans and even Christians who inhabit this country—all constitute, on this account, one nation. When all these groups are one nation, then whatever benefits the country, which is the country of all of them, should benefit them all . . . Now the time is gone when only on account of difference in religion the inhabitants of a country should be regarded as of two different nations." (*Vide*, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's *India Divided*, p. 94). Such sanity of logic has been unfortunately lost in the mad welter of communal politics.

The pamphlets under review are supposed to contain the first Pakistan plan and were published long before the Muslim League resolution on Pakistan. This idea of independent sovereign Muslim states was put forward by the author, Mr. Ali as a protest against the betrayal by the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference of the cause of the Millat by accepting a Federal Constitution. A fierce protagonist of the two-nations theory, or rather of a number of Muslim states all over India, he has seven commandments, *viz.*, (1) Avoid Minorityism, (2) Avow Nationalism, (3) Aquire proportional territory, (4) Consolidate the individual nations, (5) Co-ordinate them under the 'Pak Commonwealth of Nations', (6) Convert India into 'Dinia', (7) Organize Dinia and its dependencies into 'Pakasia'. Thus he will not only have two Muslim zones but many. He would have Pakistan in the west, Bangistan in Bengal and Assam, Usmanistan in Hyderabad, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Hindustan, Moministan, Moplaistan, Safistan and Nasiristan. There will thus be not only three independent states of Pakistan, Bangistan and Usmanistan, but there will also be seven Muslim nations settled in the Hindu region in their own territory proportionate to their population and all these will make up the Pak commonwealth.

Ordinarily such a plan, which implies the entire negation of history, would have been dismissed as sheer lunacy or ravings of a distorted mind, but nothing seems to be impossible today. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in reviewing this scheme in his book *India Divided*, has commented : "Who knows that in course of time the other parts of his scheme already published and yet to be published will also be not accepted by the League and thus Indians must be prepared to look forward for the day when the very name India will have disappeared." The sooner such schemes are buried and buried once for all, never to be resurrected, the better for all the communities living in India and for the world.

MAKING THE MOST OF YOUR INCOME : *By R. E. M. Beale. D. B. Taraporevala and Sons and Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is based on the methods of the best known efficiency experts with practical examples from the lives of J. D. Rockefeller, Mahatma Gandhi, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, etc. The financial education of the individual has been neglected in our country and it should be directed toward a true appreciation of the value of money. In more ways than one saving can make a man poorer and spending can make a person richer. The best investment that young people can make is in themselves. If the reader agrees, he should buy this book which is one of the most interesting and useful volumes on self-improvement.

J. M. DATTA

POEMS FROM INDIA : *By Members of the Forces. Chosen by R. N. Currey and R. V. Gibson. Oxford University Press. Pp. 94. Price Rs. 3.*

This anthology of verses includes entries for H. E. the Viceroy's first verse competition and other poems collected through private channels.

It represents a group of young but promising poets who were on active services in India, including a few Indian writers. Among the women writers Muriel Wasi displays a delicate sensibility in her *To India*, and Tara Ali Baig gives a touching description of the Bengal Famine.

The first effect of War on man is not poetry. Yet one must agree with the writers of the Preface that poets today require poetry to do far more for them than their grandfather did. The urge for poetry is undeniable and in this volume, it has called forth a varied and delicate harvest from these hardy men of the war. The tender nostalgia from an alien field, the simple, the natural and human interest in the expressions of beauty, and above all, the undying human heart, "aching for the immense and tremulous coming of dawn's light," (Stuart Piggot),—these refuse to be crushed by war, and live unvanquished on the pages of this book. To Keith Watson "the gates of heaven are but the cliffs

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Dover." To Barry Amiel death is a matter of mathematics. Alun Lewis sings beautifully, in the manner of Hardy, of the peasants outwatching the course of history. Paul Widdows' Minutiae are beautiful little moth-like things, H. E. the Viceroy contributes a nice little poem to this volume. Clive Branson, of *British Soldier in India* fame, contributes an interesting verse, and I. N. Bartley's *The Sickle Moon,* based upon the Bengali of Bishnu De, deserves mention.

According to the writers of the Preface "the book aims at increasing understanding between British and Indian." It would however be difficult to say that it has completely succeeded in this particular mission. For, the poets, except a few of them, do not give any evidence of an appreciation of India's traditions, her political ills and aspirations. Writing physically in India, the poets are mentally far away from her deeper existence. That however does not take away from its sheer poetic merit which deserves to be appreciated. The volume offers a rich banquet, and while Brooke and Owen relive in many of the poems, it explores far other sentiments than only the "pity and horrors of War."

THE CRIMSON THORN : *By John Gasworth. Published by Susil Gupta, 1 Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Pages 64. Price Rs. 3.*

The essence of poetry is timeless. Poets are our contemporaries, because they are extra-contemporaneous, they are super-temporal singers of unchanging values. The essential world of poetry has made a resplendent appearance in the poems of Mr. Gasworth, of which the present volume is a representative collection. Mr. Gasworth has already acquired an outstanding position in English poetry, and these poems, representing as he himself says, his "preliminary efforts," can claim a delicate mastery of art. The poems centre round the age-old theme of love but are rendered reviviscent with refreshing varieties of experience.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

INDIA SPEAKS—Inauguration Volume, May 1946 : *Edited by Krishna Hatheesingh and Amiya Chakravarty. Published by A. Banerjee, 2 Commercial Buildings, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The ninety pages of this volume are replete with poems, short stories and articles from the pens of the best writers and thought-leaders of the land. Among its contributors are such great names as Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Abanindranath Tagore, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, C. Rajagopalachari, Saratchandra Chatterji, Pramatha Chaudhury, Indira Debi Chaudhurani, G. L. Mehta, K. T. Shah, Yusuf Meherally, M. R. Masani, Annada Sankar Ray, Asoka Mehta and others. Saratchandra's unique story "Mahesh" has been rendered into English by John D. Burit. Pramatha Chaudhuri's "Binabai," one of a remarkable series of Ghosal stories, is a brilliant piece of fantasy. In his article entitled "The International Mind" Amiya Chakravarty gives us a survey of Rabindranath's educational work. In her notes Krishna Hatheesing observes, "India has contributed much to the civilization of the world and she will continue to do so even in the future. India speaks for freedom and peace." The editors of the journal are to be congratulated upon their success in securing the co-operation of a host of able litterateurs. The printing and get-up are excellent.

S. L.

LIFE BEYOND DEATH : *Pp. 292. Price Rs. 6-8.*
OUR RELATION TO THE ABSOLUTE : *Pp. 208. Price Rs. 6.*

Both these books are from the pen of Swami Abhedananda and published by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19-B, Raja Raj Krishna Street, Calcutta. Both the books treat of subjects, which, though not exactly identical, are closely allied and, therefore, permit of joint review.

We shall first of all point out some of the defects of the publications for which the publishers, and not the author, are responsible. The spirit of advertisement rampant in the books, is somewhat distasteful to us. A list of distinguished men with whom the author was acquainted during his life, is irrelevant to the valuation of his work as author. And newspaper reports of his speeches and his movements appear rather undignified in books of this kind.

There are many Sanskrit quotations in Roman character in the books. But diacritical marks have been seldom used and the international system of transliteration also has not been followed. This makes them difficult reading.

Use of hyperboles is of tactical advantage in public oratory but somewhat out of place in sober writing. In *Life Beyond Death* (p. 48 ; *cf.* also p. 63), our author says, "The question what becomes of the human soul after death is as old as the first appearance of man on earth." Did the first man really ask this question as soon as the ape-mother brought him into existence? It is an ancient question no doubt, but certainly not as old as man himself. Again, on page 64, we have : "Motion produces nothing but motion." Is not this a somewhat loose statement? In *Our Relation to the Absolute* (p. 15), we have : "True psychology has not been taught in the West. It has been taught in the East." It is self-laudation, but is it correct? We should not expect such statements from our learned author.

Ignoring these and similar small defects some of which any rate of which the publishers could have easily avoided, the books before us can be regarded as presenting interesting reading. We have a happy combination of the preacher and the philosopher in the author; and his reputation is a guarantee of the worth of his work. The conclusions of the books have been arrived at by sober philosophy and preached with the ardour and eloquence of one who believes in them. Let us add that the philosophy in these books is mingled with accounts of clair-voyance and clair-audience, telepathy, television and tele-kinesis and ordinary hypnotism and higher spiritualism and mediumship. By some this will certainly be regarded as an added lustre to the ratiocinations of the books.

The printing and get-up leave little to be desired.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY : *By Sitanath Tattvabhusan. Published by the Brahmo Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price eight annas.*

Pandit Sitanath was a veteran missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, an outstanding scholar of Vedanta and a popular author of a number of religious books in English and Bengali. The interesting story of his long life, extending for about nine decades, is told by himself in the 26 short, simple chapters of this book. His autobiography reads like a drama, and is, in a sense, a chapter of the eventful history of the great Brahmo movement. He was the dynamic philosophy of the Brahmo Samaj and his treatise on the Philosophy of Brahmoism is a masterly work on Indian theism.

The twelfth chapter of the book, under review, is especially instructive. In this chapter, entitled "Brahmaism and Vedantism," the author gives out his matured experiences. Therein he says that Brahmaism is not different from the Brahmavada of the Upanishads. "The Brahmavada of the principal Upanishads," aptly observes the author, "which constitutes the Vedanta in a primary sense, is fundamentally identical with what I understand and accept as Brahmaism . . . Maharshi Devendranath made a mistake, in the period of his ascendency of the Brahmo Samaj, in discarding Vedantism, which was up to that time, recognised as the religion of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Brahmo Samaj . . . Raja Ram Mohan professed and preached Vedantism. His Vedantism consisted in the acceptance of the fundamental teachings of the Upanishads" (pp. 105). The thoughtful author rightly believes that the discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake, one which has, in his opinion, done and is doing a great deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. "It had led," he remarks, "to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created an unnecessary gulf between the old and new society, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non-Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the glorious literary and the spiritual achievements of the Hindu race" (p. 106).

What he believed, Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan practised and preached. He confesses that a part of his life work was to popularise the chief works of Vedantism by way of cheap editions, lucid expositions and annotated translations in English and Bengali. The prophetic observations of this great Brahmo thinker, made at the close of his missionary career of about sixty years, should be received by the members of the Brahmo Samaj as sincere and sound warnings.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WOMEN AND SOCIETY IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES: *By Mr. K. C. Banerjee. Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pages 102. Price Rs. 2.*

The author of this book is a world-tourist, who returned to his country just before the second world war began. He started only with a few rupees in his pocket and went round the world and returned with a wealth of experience and first-hand knowledge about men and things which his countrymen very much appreciated as the popularity of books published by him in English and in Bengali shows. In the present book, the author writes about the women of Japan, China, Burma, Indonesia, Persia, and Near East. Although everything Japanese is now decried, the author has everything good for Japanese women. Although modern in every sense, the Japanese woman is true to her national culture and ancient civilization. Although of the same Mongolian stock the Chinese woman is quite unlike her Japanese sister. She is mere like her Indian sister in manners, modesty and conservatism. Burma gives a different picture altogether. Here is the truest woman of the world—of the East and the West taken together. In Burma, men depend upon women, and not vice versa as everywhere else. The women of Malay, Java, Bali and other East Indian Islands are Indians in a new garb. The women of Iran and Turkey are no longer oriental but western in every sense, thanks to Bahai movement and Reza Shah in the former and Kamal Pasha in the latter country.

Freedom and progress of women mean progress of the country concerned. It is no longer tenable that freedom means moral degradation of the fair sex. Women are women in every country as sisters, wives and mothers of the nation and in their progress, lies the progress of mankind. This is the lesson our author has drawn from his travel experience and we fully agree with him.

A. B. DATTA

BENGALI

GO-DAN : *Prem Chand. Translated by Sri Priyaranjan Sen and Sri Swarnaprabha Sen. Saraswati Press, Benares. Price Rs. 5-8.*

It is high time that Indians should get rid of their provincial narrowness. Efforts are being made through social and political work to bring us closer to one another. But few of us still realise what a tremendous force literature can exert towards the achievement of that ideal. The people of India from one end to the other are nourished by the same tradition, saturated with the same ideals and living under the same social conditions. Only ignorance keeps them apart. The literary works of our master-minds have revealed to us our profound kinship and inspired us with a new vision. In the portrayal of our present-day social life, there is no one to compare with Prem Chand in Hindi literature. Critics have often compared him to Bankim and Sarat Chandra. By rendering this exceptional novel of peasant-life into Bengali, the translators have not only enriched our language but done a real national service.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MAHANAGARI : *By Rampada Mukherji. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

The novel has been named *Mahanagari*, because the story is set in the background of the Great City, the capital city of Calcutta, which is always full of colour and life with its wide streets resounding with the ever-busy roar of traffic, with its gaudy array of palaces and parks, with its dazzling cinemas and restaurants, with its multifarious clubs and associations and with its many-sided activities dealing with the various problems of life ever changing with the course of events of the world. How this colourful and kaleidoscopic life of the great city reacted upon Supriya, a young man coming fresh from his native village to earn his livelihood in the great city, forms the subject-matter of the novel.

Supriya, the hero of the novel, though born and bred in a village and educated in a moffusil town, is a talented young man with literary aptitudes and poetic susceptibilities. He finds himself ingrafted in the capacity of a private tutor in the wealthy and aristocratic family of Nitish Das, who, though born in affluence, has devoted his life to the cause of his motherland by being an active member of the Congress and other national institutions. His youngest son Smarajit and granddaughter Ila have got a circle of friends, Reba, Rini, Anu, Ranjit and others who have their rendezvous both in the residence of Nitish Babu in North Calcutta and in the palatial quarters of Mr. Ranjit in Ballygunge, the well-known quarter in South Calcutta of fashionable and aristocratic society enjoying freely the superfluous amenities of life.

The story is full of charming episodes and brilliant dialogues and the copious but complex life of the great city is portrayed with an admirable skill. Supriya in the end is engaged to Anu, a modest and fair girl, while Smarajit and Reba are a romantic and interesting pair who, however, meet a tragic end for the service of the motherland.

The author has in this novel omitted to look upon the dark side of the great city. He has ostensibly shut his eyes to the dreary and cheerless life of deprivation led by the lower-middle class and the proletariat, which he has reserved for his numerous stories appearing in periodicals. This appears to be both the strength and the weakness of this masterpiece of a novel, which is otherwise a finished work of literary excellence.

B. K. SEAL

KRISHAK ANDOLAN O MADHYABITTA : *By Sushil Kumar Basu. Published by S. K. Mitra, Panjia, Jessore. Pages 86. Price twelve annas.*

This is a book in which the writer advocates the immediate abolition of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal but it is not clear whether he wants it with or without compensation to the zemindars. He wants ownership of land for the tillers of the soil. He expects that industries will revive after the abolition of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

present zemindary system as its abolition will set free a huge amount of capital for investment in industries. The author is a believer in large-scale state industries, but it is not easy to follow him when he wants to do away with the middle class hold of the current Indian politics and economy. According to him, the middle class, particularly the lower middle class is helping the capitalists and the zemindars in the matter of their exploitation of the lower classes and workers. But he forgets that the middle classes are exploited as well by the capitalists. His advocacy for the cause of the down-trodden toilers of the soil is deserving of serious attention by authorities of the country who controls the public opinion and the state for the simple reason that the progress of the country means the uplift of rural India. The solution lies in India determining her own destiny.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SADHANA KE PATH PAR : *By Haribhau Upadhyaya, Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 237. Price Rs. 3.*

MANAN : *By Haribhau Upadhyaya. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 113. Price Re. 1-4.*

VISHVA KI VIBHUTIAN : *By Haribhau Upadhyaya and Chandragupta Varshaneya. Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 149. Price Re. 1-8.*

The first is an unusual sort of an autobiography. It is a record of a number of experiences and events to which the writer has reacted in the spirit of an earnest adherent of the ideal of non-violence in thought, word and deed. It is marked by rare honesty and humanity, something similar to those which have characterized Gandhiji's classic story of his own life. And if, as they say, one ounce of eloquent actuality is more than a hundredweight of hair-splitting theory, then Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya's life is bound to be a convincing sermon on the sovereign human virtue of love and its sure ultimate victory under all circumstances. *Sadhana Ke Path Par,* thus, will be a source of abiding inspiration.

Manan is a miscellany of Shri Upadhyaya's meditations on the True, the Good and the Beautiful, the Inner Light and such other outstanding values and verities of life. They are pin-points of profound philosophical reflections.

The third book, *Vishva Ki Vibhutian,* is a collection of sixteen sketches of the world's great prophets and poets and philosophers, and singers and scientists, of past as well as present, of both East and West, like Gandhiji, Joan of Arc, Socrates, Rabindranath, Edison and Jagadish Chandra Bose. The publication is primarily intended for the students of schools so that they may be imbued with an attitude of obeisance to those who have achieved greatness in any of the many fields of human idealism and endeavour.

G. M.

MARATHI

JATYAVARCHYA OVYAN : *By S. L. Karandikar, M.L.A. Published by Mrs. Sita Karandikar, 399/1 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Re. 1-8.*

This booklet comprises of 17 skits written by Mr. S. L. Karandikar as Editor of *Trikal,* whenever he felt the necessity or urge for writing something spicy and humorous. Some of these skits remind one of the master of Marathi sarcasm, irony and banter, the late Prof. S. M. Paranjpye. All of them have one or other moral implicit in them, by reason of the treatment given to the subject-matter of his short essays by Mr. Karandikar. His earlier works, *viz.,* biographies of Savarkar and Tilak, as well as "The Menace of Pak-stan" were quite serious and well documented. Those who know their Karandikar from only such works will be agreeably surprised to discover the hidden talent of Mr. Karandikar for grim, sometimes sardonic humour.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

RANG TARANG, Part V : *By Jyotindra N. Dave, M.A. Printed at the Gandiva Press, Surat. 1944. Paper-bound. Pp. 158. Price Re. 1-4.*

Jyotindra Dave, at present oriental translator to the Government of Bombay, is spare of body, thin to the extreme of spindleshanks. No one would suspect that this spare body and unproportionably big head carries within it the quintessence of wit and humour, both at his desk and on the platform. He has been awarded a Gold Medal for this, his singular characteristic, always in demand in Gujarati. His study of the subject, *i.e.,* Hasya-rasa is deep and intimate. This collection of thirty pieces would provoke laughter in any man, quiet, not side-splitting. Dave can make others laugh, himself remaining silent, solemn, quiet, even glum. He has written largely in this vein and is still at it. We welcome all his efforts as attempts to relieve the dullness and drabness of our lives and literature.

GRAM CHITRO : *By Ishwar Petalikar. Printed at the Charotur Printing Press, Anand. 1944. Cloth-bound. Pp. 187 + 14. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Each village has its headman, saucar, sweeper, carpenter, school-master and various other functionaries and characters. As to what sort of persons they are and as to how they carry out their duties and fulfil their functions, is set out in this delightful little book of *vignettes* with a realistic touch by the young author. We have nothing but admiration for the pen of this rising writer.

RAS RAMANAM : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Paper cover, pp. 93. Price Re. 1-4.*

This first part of a collection of 59 Ras (Lyrics and Lovesongs), bearing on Krishna Jivan (21), Rama Jivan (7), Beautiful scenes of Nature (5), Erotics (9), Life of women villagers (6), Pangs of separation in case of a Beloved (6', Virrasa (epics) (2), Life of Children (1), Home Life (1), and relating to the Life of the Poet Prince Kalapi, into whose footsteps Raj Hans has stepped. The variety of subjects related by the writer is arresting and he has done equal justice to all, in a style which tolerably correctly follows the vogue in which such songs are written. He has fully entered into the spirit of this branch of Gujarati poetry.

RUP LALSA : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1945. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 3.*

In this story the author depicts events which remind one of the eternal triangle between the four main characters, Shodhan and Rajendra, Sharda and Lata. Interesting complex situations arise, which test the standard of the morality of each of them. Lata is prepared to remain unmarried for her whole life, while Sharda, although wedded to the ideal of a Sati, suffers a moral lapse. These complexities are woven into an attractive whole and very well serve to show the Red Lamp which means this far and no further.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America :**—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(*The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East*).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :— **H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A,** Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	As.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, 4, 5, 8 & 9 out of Stock*) each No. at	4	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji each Vol.	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Eminent Americans: Whom Indians Should Know— Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland	4	8
Emerson & His Friends— ditto	4	0
Evolution & Religion— ditto	3	0
Origin and Character of the Bible ditto	3	0
Rajmohan's Wife—Bankim Ch. Chatterjee	2	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	3	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust.*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
History of the Reign of Shah Alum— W. Franklin	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	0	8
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4
Indian Medicinal Plants—Major B. D. Basu & Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar—Complete in 8 Vols. [Authoritative Work with numerous Superb Plates]	320	0

Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, Upper Circular Road, CALCUTTA

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ— রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	
চাটার্জির পিক্‌চার এল্‌বাম (১, ৪, ৫, ৮ ও ৯ বাদে)	প্রত্যেক ১
চিরন্তনী (শ্রেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা দেবী	
উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ	
সোনার খাঁচা— শ্রীসীতা দেবী	
আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ	
বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ	
উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী	
কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক	
গীত উপক্রমণিকা—(১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) প্রত্যেক	
জাতিগঠনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ—ভারতচন্দ্র মজুমদার	
কিশোরদের মন—শ্রীদক্ষিণারঞ্জন মিত্র মজুমদার	
চণ্ডীদাস চরিত—(৺কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সেন) শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র রায় বিদ্যানিধি সংস্কৃত	
মেঘদূত (সচিত্র)—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	
হিমালয় পারে কৈলাস ও মানস সরোবর (সচিত্র)— শ্রীপ্রমোদকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়	
পাথুরে বাঁদর রামদাস (সচিত্র)— শ্রীঅসিতকুমার হালদার	
জল্পনা—শ্রীহেমলতা দেবী	
খেলাধূলা (সচিত্র)—শ্রীবিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার	
বিলাপিকা—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য	
ল্যাপল্যাণ্ড (সচিত্র)—শ্রীলক্ষ্মীশ্বর সিংহ	

ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়
১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

First Thoughts of India

Dunis Gray Stoll writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

My first contact with India was, in the neat Bengali phrase, *mone mone* (through the mind). Necessarily it was based on second-hand knowledge through books and personal intuition. But it was a genuine experience that set me vibrating within, revealing much to me of a great people and a great country.

Before I came to India, my reading and the many good Indian friends I had made in England, had shown me a vigorous pattern of life, a culture warm and fertile with the genius of the human spirit and Mother Earth. It was a society very acceptable to me though different from my own.

Early this year I arrived in Bengal to see this pattern of the mind take shape in fact, turning in living forms of humanity like a variegated kaleidoscope. Ever since my five senses have been busy confirming and correcting preconceived ideas. Much of Bengal has come to meet me like an old friend; but there are other things, of course, that have proved unexpected and strange.

The villages are exactly as I had imagined them. Towers of fan-spread palms, scarlet splashed simul trees and dark shady pools. Little bamboo, mud, matting and thatch homes rising from the soil, hidden within them a peasant woman's busy world of family, kitchens and motherhood. Every village has its problems of dearth out of a primitive life of pitiful frugality. Yet every village is potentially rich, with its heritage of natural simplicity to treasure with pride, with its power to nurture its sustenance from the earth. The peasant stock of Bengal has proved again and again its admirable capacity to endure reverses with patient gentleness. They have stubborn strength like the persistent drone of Indian sunlight. They are the meek who will one day inherit their own earth.

On my second day in Bengal, by a happy chance, I was privileged to meet Mahatma Gandhi. This gave me a definite introduction to India. One has to open a conversation with a nation somewhere, and I was indeed fortunate to begin with a revered figure so close to the people's heart. Later on, I looked forward to meeting other leaders of thought, representing the many varied aspects of their country's aspirations.

With thousands of reverent humble people in a crowd of quietness, I joined Gandhiji's prayer meeting at Sodepur. Our voices rose and fell to the lilt of the Indian responses, pulsing with beautiful and simple expressions of faith, accompanied by the rhythmic peal of instruments and clapping of hands. It seemed to me that the congregation was united in the corporate clasping of human souls together, sons and diughters of Mother India reaching out their hands in worship of the World Mother.

Gandhiji impressed me as a true peasant son, his feet firmly planted on the earth's immediate issues, his eyes fixed on the ideal and distant stars of God. His sensitive and expressive eyes beamed on me through his steel-rimmed spectacles glistening in the sun.

He opened our conversation with the shrewd good-humoured comment: "I hear you are a lover of peace. Of course, there are pacifists *and* pacifists."

His concise English was clear and straight to the point. He struck me as being purposeful in argument, his mind steady on its course like the needle of a compass.

A worldwide reputation for saintliness has not prevented him from being more practical and sensible than most politicians. He has a perfect focus of what is wrong with India's 700 000 villages, and advocates co-operative schemes for restoring them to health. He recognises that peasants are the roots and sap of the country. Unhealthy roots produce poor crops.

Obviously the god of mass-production has not persuaded him to bow down to the dialectical dogmas of a swift Industrial Revolution. Gandhiji has the modesty to learn from the mistakes as well as the successes of the West. Almost alone among the paper planners for India's future he has faced up to the fact that food cannot be grown in tins. A city factory may turn out millions of tin cans a day, but the cans will go empty if the village dies of neglect.

Gandhiji believes that the preservation of village India is a spiritual as well as an economic necessity. The big industrialised city unit drains the country of of its rivers of peace and everyday stability. The peasant, compelled by poverty to work in a slum area, is a restless and unsatisfied man. He is lost in the teeming chaos of an alien urban environment. He is helpless in the festering squalor which facile imitation of some less desirable aspects of the Industrial Revolution has imposed upon him. He turns in despair to vulgar artificialities and ways of life that are substitutes for his real spiritual back-ground and social traditions.

Through the pitiful darkness of the city slum, the rustic common sense of Mahatma Gandhi's message shines like clear sharp stars.

I am not one of those who credit Gandhiji with a monopoly of God's truth and wisdom. But I do think that he is a shrewd far-sighted patriotic son of India. His conception of the country's agriculturists and craftsmen progressively adopting machinery at a pace strictly conditioned by the basic needs of the home consumer is highly sane. He is all for self-sufficiency and putting first things first. He would provide the Indian housewife with necessities before luxuries, with good clothes and food for her family before lipsticks

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and outings to the cinema. She would have electric light and cookers in the kitchen, if Gandhiji had his way, long before a car appeared in the garage.

Gandhism and science are popularly misrepresented as being incompatible. As I see it, the reverse is the cise. I would go so far as to suggest that neither can survive without the other. The main difference between Gandhism and science is a matter of stress on essentials and emphasis on values.

"Machinery has its place," the Mahatma declared. "It has come to stay."

One of the most curious and unexpected things that have struck me about India, is that it is not the saint who refuses to meet the great man of science half way, but the great man of science who refuses to meet the saint. A leading Indian scientist told me : "Gandhi's ideas are all bunk." Some of their clashes of opinion are quaintly paradoxical. For instance, the Mahatma advocates the spreading of India's crafts and industries widely over the land, because this policy seems to him conducive of social happiness and health. The scientist, on the other hand, favours the concentration of industry in large city areas. This appears to me a suicidal policy in an age menaced by atomic bombs. Again the saint is surely the more practical man ?

It has been a shock to find modern Indian scientists taking the dust off the feet of the Swami called *What was good enough for Europe yesterday, is good enough for India tomorrow*. I envisage India tomorrow as a country not content blindly to copy the past, whether of East or West. I see old Mother India as a peasant mother in Renaissance, a country rooted in her own mature traditions, but spilling over with youth's life and fresh ideas. It is in this faith that I am continuing my conversation with India, passing on from my first thoughts to wider revealment, I trust, and deeper understanding.

—

Retrograde Outlook

The New Review observes :

In our view what is most unsatisfactory in the constitution recommended by the Cabinet Mission is that it is at best accommodated to medieval conditions of life. Space-time relations have so altered, solidarity has become so complex and binding, scientific progress is so rapid that modern economies have to be on a scale which was unthinkable in former ages. As we have repeated time and again, the only countries of sufficient dimensions to allow full play to solidarity and progress are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and, under certain reserves, the British Empire. In other words, centralisation has become so necessary and at the same time so easy that most departments of public life must cover the national territory, and the larger the territory, the more efficient and beneficent centralization becomes. It is only in the matter of personal development and individual life that local autonomy does justice to civic requirements.

Only befogged medievalists can contemplate that currency, customs, tariffs, etc., be not attributed to the central administration of future India. The Bengal Famine of 1943 and the present scarcity should have shown that even so individualist a profession as farming profits by national solidarity. The retrograde outlook and the illogism of the Union plan are equally apparent in the matter of residuary powers. The Congress itself has on that point regrettably renounced the views of C. R. Das and seems to take it for granted, as all other parties to the proposals do, that, after a few subjects have been reserved for the centre, all remaining powers should be best left with the provinces. Such a measure is a rash challenge to the accelerated tempo of India's industrial, commercial and social life and is a gamble on the future. Where is the logic of centralising communications, (including bicycle-paths and bullock-roads), and leaving to the provinces 'residues' like [illegible] vision, industrial atomic power, and the unsuspected scientific inventions and discoveries of the coming decades ?

Measured in the life-dimensions of the present day India is a middle-size overcrowded land which can hardly live and progress unless mass-welfare is secured on a national scale, and its cultures are so many and so varied that they demand a large measure of autonomy. The principle that should command the distribution of powers between centre and provinces should be : one national economy and several autonomous cultures.

—

Pakistan Showing Through

The same *Review* observes :

Lord Pethick Lawrence called the White Paper 'not an award but a recommendation.' Yet on two leading points it is distinctly an award : the composition of the Constituent Assembly, and the unity of India. Pakistan (whether the large-size variety with its two areas in the north-west and the north-east, or the small-size type with its three districts, north, north-west, and north-east) was definitely rejected. It offered no acceptable solution ; it failed to give protection and security to the Muslim minorities in Hindu majority regions or to Hindu minorities in Muslim majority districts. Moreover administrative, economic, and military considerations ruled it out. Transportation, postal and telegraph systems would be disintegrated ; the Indian armed forces would have to be broken into two with a consequent loss of efficiency for national defence, and in any case strategy demanded a deeper hinterland than Pakistan could possibly provide. Finally, the Indian

Commons Bank of India Limited

Estd. 1913. Phone: Cal. 4610

P5, Canning Street, Calcutta.

One of the oldest and respectable Banks of India.

Invest in our 'SILVER JUBILEE CERTIFICATE' and receive double amount. They are never failing securities.

Mr. Asoke Kumar Sen Roy,
Managing Director.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

States would feel little inclined to join a divided India, and a Pakistan State made of provinces seven hundred miles apart with its essential communications across the Hindu State would be no attractive or even workable proposition.

Consequently, and here is a sample of political artistry, Pakistan which was unthinkable on the inter-national plane, was calked down on a national plane. Within the Union of India, in charge of a minimum number of national interests, there was envisaged the formation of three 'Groups' of provinces. These groups correspond to the three Sections which will separately discuss their regional structure before they coalesce with the States Section to form the All-India Constituent Assembly, and which will be elected by the provincial Assemblies on a communal basis. Section A comprizing Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa, will have 167 non-Muslim and 20 Muslim representatives. Section B (the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab and Sind) will number 22 Muslims, 4 Sikhs and 9 non-Muslim non-Sikhs. Section C (Bengal and Assam) will have 36 Muslim and 34 non-Muslim representatives.

From the text of the White Paper and Lord Pethick Lawrence's explanation, these sections (Hindustan, Pakistan A and Pakistan B) would be empowered to frame the constitution of each of their provinces. Such a provision ill accords with the 'residuary powers' left to each province; the Premiers of Hindu Assam and Muhammedan N.-W. Frontier province have protested and the Congress has taken up their case.

There are many other posers arising out of the White Paper. The Cabinet Mission could not and had not to foresee every possible loophole. Their sincerity and their perseverance have been duly appreciated by all parties. But their political structure, a weak Centre, three Groups potentially strong and mediatized Provinces, looks like a futuristic picture drawn in an obsession for a compromise between the major communities.

ONWARD MARCH

ONE STEP FORWARD

NEW BUSINESS COMPLETED

IN 1944 over Rs. 1,67,00,000

IN 1945 over Rs. 1,86,00,000

INCREASE OF OVER 19 LAKHS

This is clear proof of the growing faith of the public

IN COY'S INTEGRITY.

BEST COMPANY TO INSURE WITH OR TO REPRESENT

Western India Life Insurance Company Limited, Satara.



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding) ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc. etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,

261-263, Hornby Road,

Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

In an article in *The Indian Review* G. A. Natesan pays tributes to the memory of Srinivasa Sastri. In the concluding portion of his article he observes :

Sastri was essentially a man of courage. The story is told and we have it on the authority of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayaya who wrote about it in his *Janmabhumi*, that on the Poona railway station platform years ago, as they were returning from a Congress Session, a number of people were squatting, some lying with their luggage, waiting for the train to arrive. Two or three soldiers were strolling up and down. Sastri found one of them kicking an Indian who was sleeping, using his luggage as his pillow. Sastri's rage knew no bounds ; he rushed up and accosted the soldier with words like these : "You scoundrel, how dare you kick that poor Indian ?" The soldier was dumb-founded, and his comrades quietly pulled him away from the scene.

In all his public career, Mr. Sastri displayed independence of a high order. His speeches were bold and pointed. In exposing the faults of the bureaucracy, he did not mince his words. Though he was often known as a Moderate, yet those who knew him intimately could say without contradiction that he was really an extremist at heart. If in the course of some of his great speeches and orations, he weighed his words and spoke with deliberate caution, it was due to the scrupulous care which he always took not to offend the susceptibilities of any one or in the slightest degree damage the cause which he had been asked to represent. He was ever bold, but never reckless in the use of his language. He could never stoop to play to the gallery.

No temptation would ever make him deviate from the path of duty. Here is another incident to which I can bear testimony, and that happened in Lord Chelmsford's regime :

The story of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre and the atrocities of the Martial Law Administration in those days had plunged the whole country into deep indignation. And so at the Amritsar Session of the Indian National Congress a resolution for the recall of Lord Chelmsford had been tabled. On his way to Amritsar, at one of the railway stations near it, Mr. Sastri found an important member of the Viceroy's Council entering his compartment ; and in the course of conversation, the visitor suggested and later implored Mr. Sastri to raise his powerful voice against the contemplated censure on Lord Chelmsford. But Mr. Sastri had only one answer to give, and that was "No." It is well-known that on account of this refusal, Mr. Sastri was passed over when a vacancy next occurred in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Indeed it is the way with the foreign bureaucracy to pass over patriotic men who cannot easily fit into their scheme of things.

At the First Round Table Conference held in London, Sastri expressed himself strongly in favour of giving India what was long overdue—Home Rule, i.e. Dominion Status. It is wellknown that he advocated the right of secession also. Mr. Churchill in his great campaign against India addressing his party meetings mentioned this as one of the grounds for opposing Home Rule to India.

Sir Samuel Hoare who felt that Sastri had been so troublesome to him would not think of having him again for the subsequent Round Table Conference. The reason publicly given was solicitude for Sastri's health. But everybody knew, it was merely an attempt to eliminate inconvenient men. About the same time the Presidentship of the Council of State was offered to him, which he had no hesitation in declining.

During the last two years Mr. Sastri was agitated over the question of Pakistan, and he wrote and spoke strongly against any attempt to break up the fundamental unity of India. He did not like C. R.'s scheme to appease Mr. Jinnah and the intransigents and he made no secret of his attitude. Nor did he approve of Gandhiji's agreement with C.R.'s proposal. He took a definite stand against disruption of the country in any fashion. But Sastri was habitually tolerant, and though he differed from Mr. Rajagopalachariar on the point he expressed his conviction that C.R. should be brought back as the leader of the Province.

Sastri was indeed so consumed with thoughts of the country and so anxious about its future that one could say that even during his prolonged illness, he was ever musing by day and dreaming by night of the freedom of India and its unity.

I should like in conclusion to stress what I consider the essential greatness of the man from my long and close friendship with him. His spirit of independence and his desire to act up to his convictions, in spite of protests and entreaties even from those near and dear to him have been the outstanding features of Mr. Sastri's life. Mr. Sastri never hesitated to give expression to what he felt as the right thing to do, even on occasions when public feeling ran high and passions were roused to an undesirable degree.

We do not often come across in our public life many men of Mr. Sastri's calibre so sincere and upright. He leaves behind him, as Trevelyan said of Macaulay, "a great and honourable name, and the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and transparent as his own sentences."

FREE HOROSCOPE

is made. For Results only Rs. 2 is charged. To prove how the science of Astrology is wonderfully definite,. this great concession is awarded to people. One lac of Horoscopes ordered in the meanwhile. Cent per cent correct results guaranteed, if your birth-time is accurate, otherwise money will be refunded surely. Send birth-time-date-place at once. Absolutely new, scientific, infallible methods. The Highest Degree-Holding Astrologer and Tantric **Prof. N. Chakrabarti,** M. A., PH. D. (pld.), Siddhantajyotirvid, Rajvaidya, 66, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta. [*Other Fees* :—Palm or Horoscope Reading—Ordinary—Rs. 4. Detailed—Rs. 16. Special—Rs. 64. Send Horoscope or distinct ink impression of Palms with age, and results will go per V. P. P. Marriage or Question Answer (per)—Rs. 4. Annual (Whole Life) Reading—Rs. 1280.]

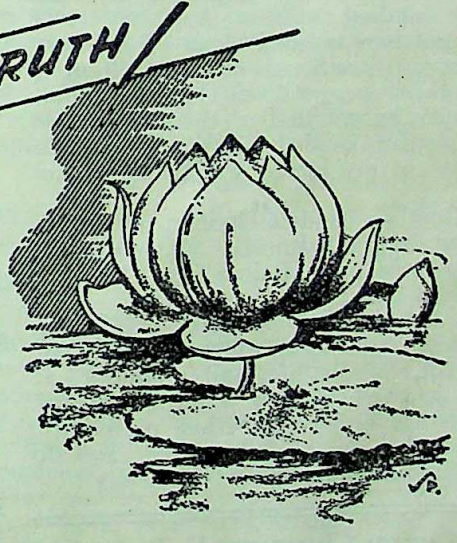
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DRINK
SNOW VIEW
DARJEELING TEA
Kamalalaya Stores L.

For
ALL
YOUR
REQUIREMENTS,
AND ON
ALL OCCASIONS
Let
KAMALALAYA
STORES, LTD.
MEET YOUR
DEMANDS
156A, Dharamtolla Street,
Calcutta.

Beauty IS TRUTH
SO SINGS THE POET



BEAUTY is also the 'open sesame' to admiration and popularity in Society, particularly for women.
Preserve and enhance your beauty!

MARGO
SOAP
helps to protect delicate skins, the foundation of all beauty, with its active Neem principles.

NEEM TOOTH PASTE
Keeps the teeth white, sparkling and healthy, the foundation and source of a charming and sweet smile.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Ancient Wisdom

The Theosophist writes editorially :

The three words, so significant to all Theosophists, "The Ancient Wisdom," suddenly appeared lately one morning in England as the title of a leading article in the London *Times*. Little wonder that one at once read the leader to know what miracle had happened in insular Britain. The miracle was, however, very simple. The forty-fifth President of the Classical Association gave an address, once more emphasizing the value to the modern mind of an acquaintance with the leading minds of Greece and Rome.

It is true that a good acquaintance with "classical" thought does help to clear one's mind from the fog created by the modern novel, the detective story and the cinema. All this, however, is an academic discussion. But the important fact is that the *Times*, the best representative of the best British mentality, never dreamt that there are other civilizations than Greece and Rome that have the "Ancient Wisdom." Two older civilizations far older than either Greece and Rome, are completely ignored, as if they just did not exist for England. They are India and China.

In this ignoring the value of Oriental thought, British universities, and I presume on the whole American universities, are unique. They are unique because there have been European minds which have tried to incorporate into their philosophy what other countries, especially India, had to give. When over a century ago the first German translation of a few of the Upanishads fell into the hands of Schopenhauer whose influence is profound on Western philosophical thinkers, he wrote as follows in his *Parerga* II :

"From every sentence deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions ! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death !"

There fell into Goethe's hands a German translation of Kalidasa's famous drama *Sakuntala*. (It has lately been atrociously vulgarized in an Indian film). But this is what Goethe wrote in 1787 :

"How often has the cursory reading of a book, which irresistibly carries one with it, exercised the greatest influence on a man's whole life, and produced at once a decisive effort, which neither a second perusal nor earnest reflection can either strengthen or modify. This I experienced in the case of *Sakuntala* ; and do not great men affect us somewhat in the same way ?"

More famous still is Goethe's verse in four lines about Sakuntala, thus translated by E. B. Eastwick :

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms, and
the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enrapt-
ured, feasted, fed,
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in
one sole name combine ?
I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is
said.

What of China—of Confucius and Lao-Tze ? What a civilization has persisted, strong and rooted in its soil in spite of every calamity, flood, famine and invasion for four thousand years, and is "still there, going strong," is it not time to ask if there is not some "classical" quality that should be incorporated into the thinking of a modern man and woman who considers that he or she is a representative of the "best" thinking of the people? But who reads Confucius' *Analects* today or Lao-Tze's *Tao Teh King* ? If ever there was a thinker who can give us the principles for which we are groping in the dark to define to us what is true "Democracy," it is Confucius, the man who threw open all careers to all, especially in municipal and provincial and central administration, by stating clearly what is a "gentleman." When one is the Confucian 'gentleman" he is fitted for all careers in the State, while retaining his own unbending integrity as a "gentleman."

And the "old Boy", Lao-Tze ? How refreshing in these days when one has to fill up forms and be indexed and classfied, to come across his saying : "You must govern a state as you cook a small fish ; don't overdo it." Certainly Greece greatly, and Rome in a minor manner, had the Ancient Wisdom ; but not less two older civilisations, India and China.

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic. Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge :—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

BE TALLER



In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19½	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen REGD.

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co., Dept. 44. (M.R)
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Fort, BOMBAY.
Hornby Road.

(Copyright)

Other Products :— LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Proto-Historic Indian Pottery

Ancient pottery is always fascinating, and in a sense it is more so than even ancient sculpture or painting. P. Joseph observes in *The New Review*:

This is perhaps because pots are so much interwoven into the very life of a people that they are the most representative remains. Yet another reason, that may conduce to the fascination, is that pottery gives an insight into the artistic notions and the character of the makers.

The study of the pottery of several countries, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, has been so thorough that it has become an almost exact science. In India conditions have not been so very favourable for want of materials. Nevertheless Indian ceramic study is interesting.

The most ancient Indian pottery has been unearthed from the Indus valley.

The innumerable pieces, mostly broken, give us the impression that the Indus people did almost nothing else besides making pots. Such vast quantities can have only one meaning; that the people used mud pots almost to the exclusion of metal vases. The material was evidently the alluvium from the Indus valley, for we find many particles of sand in the pottery. Most of it was made on the wheel, and fired in circular kilns possessing heating arrangements beneath a floor provided with glues. The superiority of technique is seen in the fact that almost all the vessels are very well fired.

First comes a class of pottery called bichrome.

Leaving out of consideration the miniature pots, less than half an inch in height, which have excited the admiration of all, we may take the larger ones. Speaking chronologically the most ancient kind of pottery discovered so far was thinly painted and called bichrome, because decorated with two colours. The body of the pot is coated with a thin layer, called a slip, of a pale red substance, probably ochre. It is finely polished with a burnisher, and this leaves a smooth surface. The pale red or buff slip is painted in two colours, black or chocolate and red. The black or chocolate is used for the designs, which are purely geometric, and the red for thick horizontal bands to separate the registers containing the designs. Among the patterns may be easily recognized lozenges in row, either solid or filled in with hatchures, chevrons, rectangles and sigmas. Three shapes are usually found among the pale ware; the straight-sided beaker, the hemispherical bowl and the squat pot, all of them rimless.

Following the above class comes a thick ware, called monochrome.

The body is invariably dark red, which is also the shade of the slip of red ochre. On the red background are painted patterns in black. Most of the designs are still geometrical, but curvilinear rather than entirely linear. Together with geometrical patterns appear figures of animals, birds and plants, which are true to life with naturalistic detail. The shape of the vessels are mostly different from those of the bichrome ware. They show many variations. Among the common types are pointed-bottom vases, high-footed dishes, tumblers with flat base, goblets, longish jars with flared mouth or narrow-mouthed jars with a tapering stem. Most of the pots are rimmed.

Next to the monochrome ware is the plain red ware.

This ware contains the dark red slip we have already referred to. As a matter of fact, the monochrome and the plain wares are so similar in make and shapes that it seems the same people fabricated both.

A kind of bichrome ware seems to have been displaced by plain red pottery; but this two-coloured pottery is quite different from the earlier bichrome ware. The later ware introduces new types and is very coarse in make and design. While the earlier is wholly geometric in pattern, the later contains more plant forms. The geometric designs in the later pottery are extremely limited. All the painted motifs possess none of the fineness of execution seen in the earlier ware.

Finally appears a kind of black pottery with incised patterns.

Just like its immediate ancestor this ware too characterises an era of deterioration It would appear that the stages, marked by the last two kinds of pottery, were in vogue in the declining days of the Indus civilization.

Besides these common types of ware, which we have described in chronological order, there are others. Some of them are stray ones, while others belong to a class, whose chronolgical position is not yet clear. The most characteristic of the stray ones is the kind of pot with knobs on its body. This knobbed pottery, not found in large numbers, has defied the ceramic experts as to its specific use. Another rare type of pot is cylinder-shaped with perforations all over the body. It seems to have been intended as a heater or brazier. One more uncommon kind of vessel is the one called 'Reserved slip' ware. Its technique consists in covering the whole pot with a thin fine slip, and then wiping it away partly so as to expose the body, thus making by contrast of colour and texture an unobstrusive but not ineffective ornament. The slip applied to this ware is as in most of Indus pottery, dark red.

The class of pottery, whose place is not yet fixed in the sequence is known as polychrome. It is so called because more than two colours are used. The usual slip is there, on which green or white is employed together with the red and black pigments. The decorations are mostly geometric in design; rarely are introduced animals and birds, (bull and peacock).

Pottery gives us an insight into the artistic notions and the character of the makers. Pottery embodies the artistic standards of a people.

From the purely geometric motifs on a certain kind of pots we can deduce that those who drew them were yet in a rudimentary stage. They certainly were adepts at painting inanimate objetcs, and were not yet confident at reproducing the dynamism of the animate world, say of animals. We observe the progress made in the pottery with animal designs. In this stage the painters felt they could rise confidently above the easy world of squares, triangles and circles to the more difficult one of bulls, ibexes, fowls and peacocks. What is more, they could not only outline animals, but at the same time bring out the inner being of the animals. We find in the monochrome painted ware not merely illustrations that suggest the presence of bulls and ibexes. We do not merely feel that the animals are there; we actually see them. There is a very important point to note with regard to the artistic standards of the monochrome post-painters. They drew their animals giving them all the dynamism that a very thick brush could possibly impart. They showed what an ibex or a bull really was like. If we are to use a label we should say that their art was realistic.

This realistic standard of art seems to account for a trait in their character, which is in evidence in their pottery. Realism tended to make them practical. As time progressed they curtailed their practice of vase-painting. This is borne out by the fact that from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

use of two colours they went to the use of one. It is more clearly borne out by this that the shape of the monochrome ware and the plain one that followed it are absolutely alike. We are thus forced to the only conclusion that the vase-painters in a fit of utilitarianism seem to have decided to give up painting altogether in favour of plainness. It is true there was a revival of painting later on; but it was so degenerate and decadent that it only proves that painting vases did not accord well with the change in the nature of the people.

Cost of Planning

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

There have been ideas and blue prints as to how to organise the life of the people but there were two obstacles that kept the flood in check. The funds calculated to be essential to execute these nebulous schemes were so enormous that people were dubious as to whether such investments will make them richer or poorer, even granting that the fabulous capital could be found. The second difficulty was the lack of political power which would be needed to put through schemes of such magnitude.

With the dim light of the dawn of a National Government we may be pardoned for hoping that the second of these difficulties will vanish as the morning mist. Furthermore, if the schemes are such as to be within the capacity of the average citizen to execute them and if the wisdom of the plans is made so plain that the man in the street can comprehend it, they would not call for much Governmental backing to put them into practice. Therefore, one essential factor is that the plans should be simple and also inexpensive.

As regards the cost, plans that call for the investment of thousands of crores in a country, where getting one square meal a day is an achievement with the majority, are destined to be largely left on paper. If we wish to be practical, the cost must be capable of being distributed amongst the people in such small amounts as to fall within their meagre means. The conception itself should be such as to catch the imagination. If this can be done then the people's operation can be obtained without any coercion.

To adjust our schemes accordingly it is of the importance to remember that ours is an agricultural country where over 70 per cent are occupied on the exploitation of the earth and an additional 18 per cent on industries connected with it. Hence it would be foolish to ignore this section of the public in our plans. Indeed, any plan worth the name, should start by planning the life of this section first. That means we have to initiate a systematic and an efficient production through a careful reorganisation of village industries.

In the nature of things, these will not call for much capital, and if the people concerned are convinced they would take to working the schemes on their own. Of course, certain functions of Government, ancillary to these occupations, such as irrigation, land and forest conservation, etc., will need funds but these would be modest in comparison with the demands of the schemes put forward to "Industrialise" the country.

In tackling this end first we would have arranged for the gainful occupation of nearly 90 per cent of the population without much difficulty. Having done this the Government may turn its attention to public utilities, key industries and communications. It would not to be a herculean task to find the capital needed for this part of the work if the first step taken is to arrange for the 90 per cent of the population that has resulted in their increased productivity.

We trust that the Government that will now assume power will put first things first and go about their work in such a systematic manner as to reduce both the money cost and human cost of ushering in a planned economy.





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwarth

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
	MAROH 1942 —	15%	
Bengal Cotton Estate	„ 1943 —	10%	SONARPUR
Tripura	„ 1944 —	10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
	„ 1945 —	10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For one	year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„ two	years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„ three	„	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb.

Phone:—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Co-operative Movement of China.

Kuang-mien Lu, Director, North-West Headquarters, Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, writes a short historical sketch of the co-operative movement in China in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1946 :

According to the latest data, up to June, 1944, there were 173,328 co-operative societies in China, with a total membership of 15 191 823 and an accumulated share capital of CN $501,517,132. The co-operatives are roughly divided into four kinds—credit, consumers, marketing and producers. Many of our existing co-operatives are credit societies, about 50 per cent. These are then followed by marketing or agricultural societies, about 34 per cent, consumers' societies, about 11 per cent, and producers' societies, about 5 per cent.

The development of the co-operative movement in China is only a matter of twenty-five years. The first co-operative, the People's Co-operative and Savings Bank, was organized in Shanghai in 1919 by Professor Hsueh Hsien-Chow, together with a number of his colleagues and students of the Futan University. Professor Hsueh studied for many years in Germany and was much impressed with the German co-operative credit movement, which was started in Germany around the sixties of the nineteenth century, ten years after the Rochdale Pioneers, and later became a very strong movement spreading over cities and countryside. However, Professor Hsueh's Co-operative Bank in China was not able to last very long, and closed with his death a few years later. Hsueh wrote many books and also published a paper called the *People's Weekly*, expounding co-operative principles and reporting co-operative achievements abroad. Though Professor Hsueh was not able to accomplish much himself, the co-operative seed was sown for later development and growth.

In 1924 farmers' co-operative credit societies were organized in Hopei, a Province of North China, with the help and direction of the China International Famine Relief Commission. The Commission is a combination of a number of relief organizations in North China which helped to tackle the most serious famine of 1920, resulting from drought for two succeeding years in the Provinces of Hopei, Shansi and Suiyuan. In 1921 there was a good harvest and the relief organizations joined together and formed a permanent relief body, the CIFRC. with the object of devising ways and means of preventing any further repetition of famines. One of the first steps taken by the new Commission was the promotion of the co-operative organization among the farmers. In granting small loans at a very low interest rate to the farmers for productive purposes through the co-operative credit societies the Commission was aiming on one side at freeing the farmers from the exploitation of the moneylenders and on the other side at re-equipping the farmers with the cattle, tools, seeds and fertilizers necessary for their farm work. The number of co-operative credit societies increased steadily after 1922, and by 1930 there were established altogether over 900 societies, mostly located in the Province of Hopei, with a total membership of 25,000.

Meanwhile co-operative organizations were spreading far and wide in Central China, principally in the two Provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang in the years after 1928, when the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking. Two farmers' banks were established in Kiangsu and Chekiang in 1929 with the sole object of financing the co-operative credit societies. In 1934, after five years of promotional work under the Provincial authorities of these two Provinces, over 3,000 societies came into being with a total membership of 9[illegible]. Later a National Farmers' Bank was established and co-operative works were extended to nearly all the Provinces under the National Government. In 19[illegible] National Co-operative Conference was called by the Executive Yuan, and resulted in the promulgation of the Co-operative Law. A Central Co-operative Bureau was established under the Ministry of Industry for the registration and promotion of the co-operative organizations throughout the whole country, with branch offices attached to the Provincial Governments. Later the Bureau was reorganized into the present Central Co-operative Administration and placed under the direction of another Ministry, the Ministry of Social Affairs.

A number of educational and social institutions such as the Mass Education Movement, the University of Nanking, the Nankai Institute, the Rural College of Choping, the National Christian Council, the National China Farm Products Marketing and Research Committee, together with a number of private and commercial banks, were all taking an increasing interest in the promotion and financing of the co-operative movements. Some of them were making most valuable experiments, and were carrying on a great deal of educational work such as the training of co-operative students and organizers. So far the co-operative movement in China up to 1937 had not been able to extend further to a considerable extent beyond the scope of credit and agricultural marketing. The consumers' and producers' movements had not been able to take root in China until after the war started with Japan in 1937. There were only a growth of the last seven or eight years. The statistics in 1937 show that there were altogether 16,983 co-operatives of various kinds in the whole of China, and the total membership was well over two million.

During the last few years of war the co-operative movement in the occupied territories must have suffered greatly, but statistical data show that the war gave new impetus to the development of the co-operatives in China. A great number of consumers' co-operatives were established in the cities. They were attached mainly to Government offices and public organizations, and were entrusted sometimes by the Government with the distribution of controlled goods such as sugar, cloth, salt and various other articles. Many of these co-operatives were not real co-operatives owing to the fact that the members were usually not taking a very active part in the running of the co-operative businesses. The managements were often in charge of people directly appointed by the administrative heads of the organizations concerned. However, these co-operatives sometimes rendered very useful service to members in obtaining for them a fair share of daily necessaries at controlled prices, which otherwise would be [illegible] difficult to get. Of course, there are exceptionally few and really democratically controlled consumers' societies such as the Sa Ping Pa Society in Chungking. They are, however, few in number, and the bulk of the consumers' movement in China reveals a general lack of understanding of co-operative principles.

Another line of co-operative achievement during the war was the organization of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. The Association for the Advancement of the Industrial Co-operatives was established in Hankow in 1938. It was a semi-governmental organization under the leadership of the chairman of the Executive Y[illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with four regional headquarters situated at strategical points at the various Provincial cities undertaking the promotion and financing of the industrial co-operatives. Owing to the shortage of all kinds of manufactured goods in the interior of China, and with the active participation of hundreds and thousands of refugee labour and skilled workers as the result of the evacuation of the coastal Provinces, the movement grew very rapidly during the first four years after 1938. According to the data of the CIC Association, the number of industrial co-operatives in 1942 was a little below 2,000, with a total membership of around 30,000. The actual number of industrial co-operatives must be more than this, as a great number of these industrial co-operatives were established spontaneously by the workers themselves following the examples of the workings of other co-operatives in the neighbourhood, and they were not necessarily receiving any financial help from the CIC Association. In 1944 there were well over 5,000 industrial co-operatives registered under the Ministry of Social Affairs. These industrial co-operatives have done a great deal during these years of war in the mobilization of all available man-power and natural resources manufacturing innumerable articles to meet civilian and military needs. The co-operatives were owned and run by the workers themselves, and they have been able to form a number of federations through which joint business and educational activities were carried on with very successful results. Indeed these industrial co-operatives have achieved something more than just helping the national cause. They have been able to demonstrate to the ordinary working-class people a new form of life by which they get practical lessons in the workings of democracy and learn to become masters of their own destiny.

Is America Fair to Islam ?

Under the above caption John Earle Uhler discusses the much-vexed problem of Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine in *The Catholic World*, February, 1946 :

The General Assembly of the United Nations has just convened to consider, among other serious problems, the Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine. President Truman has already expressed himself in favor of the Jews, thus throwing the influence of America to that side. In November he made public a letter he wrote on last August 31st to Prime Minister Attlee, in which he urged that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine at once. In December, both the United States Senate and the House passed a resolution to the effect that the American government should use its good offices with Great Britain to permit unrestricted entry of Jews into Palestine for the purpose of establishing a national home.

These are the latest of the many such efforts made by American politicians in answer to England's White Paper of 1939. In this document London announced that immigration of Jews into Palestine would be banned after March 31, 1944. It stirred many Jews of America to make an appeal to the President of the United States—then Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, the President agreed to intervene on behalf of the Jews (although later, after a conference with Ibn Saud, head of Saudi Arabia, he appeared to have grown cool to the project). On March 27, 1941, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency announced the establishment of the American Palestine Committee, with the purpose of preparing Palestine for "large-scale" Jewish immigration. It was a committee of no mean political influence. Senator Wagner accepted the chairmanship, saying that he was "looking forward to the day when the Jewish Commonwealth will take its rightful place among the free nations of a peaceful world."

So vigorously had the American government thus encouraged this movement that the Zionists have been heartened to make rugged statements about their plans. Doctor Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist emergency council, at a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said, "The Jewish people must be permitted and helped to develop their homeland in Palestine in such a way as to be able to drain off, in a relatively short time, two or three million Jews from the crowded and economically tensioned centers of central and eastern Europe." Doctor Chaim Weizmann, the leading spirit of the Jewish Agency, wrote, "The Arabs must be clearly told that the Jews will be encouraged to settle in Palestine, where they will establish "a state of their own." He added, "If any Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish state, every facility will be given them to transfer to one of the many and vast Arab countries."

American sympathy with the movement headed by such able and fervent leaders as these was given impetus during the war by the persecution of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis. But the movement itself has an ancient origin. It goes back—dimly—to Moses, who led the "children of Israel" from their persecution in Egypt to the land of their ancestry. This was the birth of a nation. After many vicissitudes, including, on the one hand, the construction of the first Temple at Jerusalem by David and Solomon, and, on the other hand, the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, many of them were again restored to "the promised land" under the headship of Zorobabel. They began the reconstruction of the Temple, which had been destroyed by the Babylonians fifty years before. It again fell into ruins and was again restored, this time by Nehemias under Persian benevolence. Still another such cycle of decay opened, and was closed by Esdras, who revived the old glories of the Temple. Then began the domination of the West. Under Hellenic rule, the dispersion of the Jews was expanded. Antiochus Epiphanes, a political off-shoot of Alexander the Great, was partly responsible. He set up a statue of Jupiter in the Temple, commanded the sacrifice of swine on the altar, destroyed the sacred books, and drove the faithful to the mountains. And yet again the Jews fought their way back under the leadership of the Machabees, who cleansed the temple and guided their people, until the invasions of the Romans. These new enemies killed thousands of Jews and sold other thousands into slavery. They plundered the Temple, but still once more a chief arose from Zion—Herod the Great—who conciliated the Romans, was made king, and rebuilt the Temple into a magnificent structure. Then came the crash of the finale. The Jews rebelled against the Romans and were defeated. Jerusalem fell. The Temple was destroyed, A.D. 70.



Please Note Down

Calcutta Address of India's Best Magician

MR. P. C. SORCAR

The Man with X'RAY EYES

Post Box 7878
Calcutta

Always write here for your engagements.

Please note the trade-mark spelling

'SORCAR'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Jewish state vanished and has never again been restored. Soon afterward, Jews were forbidden even to enter the Holy City. Then, almost two thousand years passed, and there were only fifty thousand Jews in all of Palestine.

During these two millenniums, however, the dream of a Jewish state remained vivid. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Talmud was completed. It has no immediate bearing on a political state of the kind now being contemplated, but it gave to the scattered Jews a common point of contact. With the Old Testament, it was their spiritual capital and emphasized the antiquity of their traditions. For about a thousand years of the Christian era, they even had an Exilarch—Prince of the Exiles—the glories of whose office are described by Disraeli in his novel *Alroy*. Their restoration to Zion was sung by poets like Juda Halevi and Solomon ibn Gabirol. It was promised by claimants to the Messiahship, like Sabbatai Zevi. And the credulity of thousands of followers attests to their nostalgia.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the dream seemed to be coming true when England was vying with France for the control of the Levant. English statesmen, including Disraeli, envisioned a Jewish state in Palestine under the influence of London as a means of defending the route to India. The vision enlarged with the building of the Suez Canal. It was brought into clear focus when the first international Zionist congress convened at Basle in 1897. In appreciable numbers, Jews began to immigrate into Palestine. They bought property through the Jewish National Fund. In America, they were aided by an organization led by Mr. L. D. Brandeis, later Justice of the United States Supreme Court. And then, after the first World War began, their dreams seemed to break into reality when, in 1917, the British foreign secretary Lord Balfour, wrote to Lord Rothschild, that the Cabinet had approved "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Britain's allies agreed, Woodrow Wilson expressing emphatic approval. In 1919, the Supreme Council of the Allies made Palestine a mandate of Great Britain, with the understanding that the Balfour Declaration should be put into effect.

The Jews took all this at face value. Thousands of them, specially from Europe, poured into the Holy Land, their population there increasing about a thousand per cent, from 50,000 to a half million. Land that they purchased had increased, since 1918, from 180 square miles to more than a thousand, or over one-third the arable land of all Palestine. Many of them congregated in the cities, chiefly Jerusilem, Jaffa, and Haifa. They virtually founded the all-Jewish town of Tel Aviv. They opened towns and factories. With Jewish capital and under Jewish management, they established almost a thousand large industries—among them, the Palestine Electric Corporation, which furnishes light and power to an extended district. For the education of their children they built a number of schools. They organized technical and agricultural institutions. In 1925 they opened the doors—Balfour himself honoring the inauguration—of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. They encouraged the use of Hebrew as the national language. The children of Israel were once more shaking off their bondage and prospering in the Promised Land.

With this history in view—stressed a thousandfold by the recent persecution of the Jews in Europe—it is with reluctance and trepidation that a denial of Jewish aspirations can be expressed.

The Arabs, however, have their side—a side that is not being heard in America.

For the first time in their history, the various and far-scattered Arab peoples were united, thirteen centuries ago, by a common bond—Islam. At that time Palestine was part of the Byzantine empire. It was Christian, not Jewish. It was taken from Christians by Mohammedans

ASOKA & HIS INSCRIPTIONS

By **Dr. Beni Madhab Barua,** M.A., D.Litt. Price Rs. 15 only.

Of Asoka *H. G. Wells* said :—

"Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousness and serenities and royal highnesses and the alike, the name of ASOKA shines, and shines alone, a star."

This evaluation of the great Maurya emperor finds a striking confirmation in the present monumental work. The entire position of the history of Asoka has been critically reviewed mainly from a first hand study of the inscriptions and other source materials. And in this searching analysis nothing has been taken for granted, no reliance placed on foregone conclusions. It is a challenge to traditional thinking in Asoka and a blow to many of our cherished notions in the field. An expert, authoritative, well-documented study. Indispensable alike to historians, students and general readers. (Size—Royal. P. 500).

THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE CROSSROADS

By **T. Cliff.** Price Re. 1-4 only.

An expert, authoritative, well-documented study of the Middle East. Wide in its range and unique in its approach, the book will be of immense help to those who want to understand the problems of the Middle East.

THE LEAGUE DEMAND

By **Dr. Rajendra Prasad.** Price As. 12 only.

A unique study of the communal problem of India in all its facets. A 'must read' book for every Indian.

NEW AGE PUBLISHERS Ltd. 22, CANNING STREET, CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Under Omar, the Arabs besieged Jerusalem, 627 A.D. The Christian commander, Sophronius, surrendered. At the suggestion of the conqueror, the two leaders then made a search for the ruins of what Omar called "the Mosque of David," the Temple that had so often been destroyed and rebuilt—and last razed by the Romans in A.D. 70.

And thus they entered. It was a place from which all traces of the Jew had been so wiped out that nothing but a rubbish heap remained. To Omar and all other Mohammedans it was a place of special adoration. There lies the Holy Rock. There, so the Prophet Mohammed declared, one prayer is better than a thousand elsewhere. He prayed there. He ascended from there to heaven on the back of El Burak, the sacred steed, which left the imprint of its hoof. An angel kept the rock from following the Prophet to heaven, and the mark of the angel's hand is there. At the last day, the holy Kaaba of Mecca will come there, and there Gabriel will blow his triumpet. Allah's throne will be there, and there the Faithful will assemble.

After Omar's conquest, a mosque arose near the spot and bore his name. Since his day—except for a short time during the Crusades when Christians re-possessed the land—this Holy Place has been in the hands of Arabs.

To them, the glory of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and of all the Prophets of the Old Testament means as much as to the Jews. They differ under this head upon but one point. Islam looks upon Jesus Christ as the greatest of the Prophets, with the exception of Mohammed. It, therefore, sees in everything connected with the life and death of the Savior a heritage of Mohammedanism. So the Moslem regards all of Palestine as sacred soil. In worship, the knee not only of millions of Jews but also of fifteen times as many Mohammedans bends to this shrine.

In spite of differences in religion and even in view of the increasing pressure of population, the Mohammedans have always been tolerant of the Jews—that is, until 1920.

The peace of this conjunction was broken by the militancy of modern Zionism. Three years after the Balfour Declaration, or by the time of the Easter Sunday riots of 1920, the Mohammedans were growing alarmed at the steady increase of Jewish immigration. When Balfour wrote his famous letter, there were about 50,000 Jews in Palestine. This number swelled to 85,000 by 1922. In 1932 alone, 10,000 Jews moved in. In 1933—30,000. In 1934—40,000. In 1935—over 60,000. Later, when the British government cut the quota down, they were smuggled into the country in numbers that are not known. The Arab saw that the streets of the cities were being crowded with Jews. In the market, he began to feel the pressure of increasing Jewish competition. He awoke to the fact that mile after mile of cultivable land was going into Jewish hands. He found himself elbowed from his *mihrab* by thousands of foreigners performing rites different from his own.

Against further encroachment, the Ulema, or the spiritual leaders of the Mohammedan world, took their stand. The Ulema of Al Azhar at Cairo, the leading Mohammedan theological institution of the world, appealed to leaders in all Moslem countries to protect Arab Palestine. And their word has gone out to the millions of the Faithful.

The Arab-Jewish problem is represented in an impressive drama on Friday evenings in Jerusalem. Outside the pale of the Haram esh Sherif (the Place of the Temple), the Jews gather at the Wailing Wall. Their leader chants, "For the palace that lies desolate, sit in solitude and mourn." and the response sounds from the congregation, "We

But Americans do not hear the Moslem muezzins who mount to the top of the minarets inside the walls and chant their calls to prayer. And if Zionism imposes a political state on their Holy Land, a cataclysm of blood will begin again to drench the earth.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MARXIST-LENINIST BOOKS

SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF MARX AND ENGELS :

500 pp. Cloth bound. **Rs. 5**

The character and contributions of two correspondents give this book an extraordinary fascination. They discuss their practical work in the labour movement, comment on current political events, elaborate their REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, and discuss in outline their fundamental books.

A TEXT BOOK OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM :

By DAVID GUEST. 90 pp. **12 As.**

Written by a brilliant young English philosopher who was killed in Spanish Civil War in 1938, the book deals briefly and lucidly with such aspects of dialectical materialism as the general nature of dialectics, dialectics and society, and the philosophical struggle today. It also includes suggestions for further reading.

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION :

By R. P. DUTT. 390 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 4-8**

This is incomparably the best book on Fascism that has yet been written. It is not too much to say that it is the duty of every anti-fascist in the world not only to read but master thoroughly every word of it.

V. I. LENIN :

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

Prepared by

Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.

284 pp. Nicely bound. **Rs. 3-8**

This is a text-book of Marxism as put into practice by Lenin and can best be compared with the "Short History of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevics)". It will appeal to the academic mind which wants to make a thorough study of Lenin's work. It is a concise, well-documented account of Lenin's life and work as revolutionary leader and man of action, and as thinker and philosopher. It is a piece of research, the work of people who are thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and who are at the source of all information available.

NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY LIMITED, 12, College Square, Calcutta.

Democracy and Nature

W. S. Taylor observes in *Unity* about the Essence of Democracy :

Many people seem to think that democracy derives from a supernatural world, and that democracy is therefore contrary to nature. From that point of view "justice for all" is democratic, while "dog eats dog" is wholly unrelated to the democratic.

When, however, we contrast democracy with anarchy and despotism, and see what democracy essentially is, we find that democracy is a natural and superior development.

Democracy is primarily a defense against despotism. This appears in many traditional statements of democracy. For example : "Freedom has a thousand charms to show. That slaves, howe'er contented, never know." "A free multitude is guided more by hope than fear ; a conquered one, more by fear than hope ; inasmuch as the former aims at making use of life, the latter but at escaping death." "Liberty, equality, fraternity." "The worth and dignity and creative capacity of the individual." "All for each and each for all." "Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Apparently every genuine democracy attempts to realize the following practices : maximal freedom for each individual, considering all individuals ; free competition of ideas ; essential education for all ; majority control of laws and governors, including, ultimately, majority choice of any constitution, bill of rights, or "law above the laws"; government by law ; individual equality before the law ; recognition of individual differences in capacities ; individual responsibility according to capacity ; reward, in satisfaction at least, according to use of capacity ; fellow feeling ; advancement of truth, beauty, and goodness ; and achievement of harmonious happiness.

From the individual point of view, democracy is the way for every person to live as fully and richly, to have as much individual power, perfection, and happiness, to be as well-developed a person, as possible. Thus democracy is *the way for every person to be his best.*

The immature person tries to be his best through satisfying, by his own efforts, his selfish interests. He learns, however, that to be one's best requires help both from and to others. Accordingly, from the social point of view, democracy is *co-operative self-realization.*

Co-operative self-realization means sharing in constructive enterprise. Such enterprise may be primarily religious, as in the early Congregational churches ; political, as in the early United States ; economic, as in the mutual insurance companies and the co-operative societies ; educational, as in certain adult study groups ; recreational, as in various sports organizations ; or a combination of interests, as in the later democratic nations. Whatever the enterprise or the combination of enterprises, in so far as it is constructive, it is a part, and a most creative part, of evolution. Accordingly, from the cosmic point of view, democracy is *sharing in creative evolution.*

These three definitions of democracy are really synonymous : broadly considered, the way for every person to be his best is through co-operative self-realization, which means sharing in creative evolution ; and sharing in creative evolution means co-operative self-realization, the way for every person to be his best. Moreover, each of the definitions formulates living most abundantly. It follows that the three definitions can be reduced to one, namely : *Democracy is the most progressive living.*

Democracy makes for survival because it makes individuals and groups most fit to survive. More than any other system, democracy makes self-directing men. men who develop and defend themselves, their groups and their larger interests, steadfastly and intelligently. Also, more than any other system, democracy makes an enlightened group, a group in which each individual enjoys a place, understands the group needs, and works together with his fellows in common interests.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

FOUNDER :

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXIX. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1946

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8 Foreign Rs. 14-8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

INDEX OF ARTICLES

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Page
All-India Writers' Conference, The K. S. Venkataramani	32
(An) American Artist (*illust.*) USIS	194
(An) Analysis of the 'Religious-mindedness' among the Hindus Jatindra Mohan Datta	365
Anglo-U.S. Financial Agreement J. G. Narang	135
Art and the Artist D. P. Roy Chowdhury	449
Australian Literary Background, The George Mulgrue	196
Battle of Panipat : The Victor's Despatches Jadunath Sarkar	337
B. Bissoondoyal Goes to Jail (*illust.*) S. Balgobin	275
Beethoven and His Music J. N. Guha	209
Book-Reviews	57, 138, 217, 296, 381, 465
(A) Brief Sketch of the Background for Agricultural Planning K. M. Gururaja Rao	203
Burjore Treasurywalla (*illust.*) Kaundinya	192
Communism and Indian Communists B. K.	292
Current Ideologies in Politics D. V. Rama Rao	372
Delusion of Pakistanism Nagendra Nath Chanda	48
District Administration in Bengal, The Upendranath Ball	198
Drink Control in Great Britain H. C. Mookerjee	21
Egyptian Problem, The Prakash Chandra	433
Fall of Hitler and Churchill, The S. V. Puntambekar	177
Famed U.S. Architect Conducts an Experiment in Living and Teaching (*illust.*) USIS	33
Fateful Choice, The U' S. Navani	127
Food Shortage in India and Government's Duty Kali Charan Ghosh	214
Foreign Periodicals	71, 151, 232, 312, 395, 479
Forgotten Capitals of Mewar G. N. Sharma	379
From Different Angles Kali Charan Ghosh	118
Gandhi and A. E. Manoj Kumar Chatterji	255
Gita and War, The S. N. L. Shrivastava	41
Grow Better Cattle P. J. Kayande	117
Health in a U.S. City (*illust.*) USIS	280
History of Bengal's Shifting Boundary and Population (*illust.*) Debajyoti Burman	264
I Meet Louis Bromfield S. Chandrasekhar	343
Impending Famine in Bengal, The Bimalchandra Sinha	457
Imperial Britain Essenjee	53
Indian Periodicals	63, 143, 223, 303, 387, 479
(An) Indian Scientist in America (*illust.*) Taraknath Das	116
Indian Shipping—Past and Present Shri Narayan Agarwal	30
Indian Womanhood (*illust.*)	40, 364, 444
Indonesia P. Madhavan Nair	
Industrial Protection During the Transition Period P. C. Malhotra	
International Contemporary Art Exhibition at Delhi (*illust.*) Agastya	
Iran in Our Times Sudhansubimal Mookerji	
Jashn at Kabul Parshotam L. Mehra	
Journalism—Book-Reviewing C. L. R. Sastri	
Journalism—The Free-Lance Variety C. L. R. Sastri	
Landscape Painting in the Santiniketan School (*illust.*) Kaundinya	
Law, Literature and Philosophy K. R. R. Sastry	
Little India in Mauritius S. A. Waiz	
Lonar (*illust.*) K. G. Kavimandan	
Marvels of Mohen-jo-Daro, The (*illust.*) K. N. Vaswani	
Menace of Foreign Capital, The Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya	
Motion Picture Industry, The Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	
Nabinchandra's Religion of Humanity Roma Chaudhuri	
1945—It Ended Better than It Began P. R. Srinivas	
Notes	1, 77, 157, 237, 317,
(An) Open Letter to the Government of India Taraknath Das	
Our Food Problem S. Venkatramiah	
Poetry of Ezra Pound, The B. Miranda	
Post-War Economic Depression in India P. C. Jain	
Post-War Reconstruction in the Indian States K. V. Rao	
Pragjyotishapura Jogeshchandra Ray	
Pre-Historic Archaeology of Kerala, The (*illust.*) L. A. Krishna Iyer	
Pre-Mauryan Art and Architecture Avinash K. Srivastava	
Problems Before the Bengal Administration A. K. Ghosal	
Problems of Modern Artists in India and China O. C. Gangoly	
(Sri) Ramakrishna and the World Dilemma A Westerner	
Relative Heroism of the Hindus and Muhammadans of India Jatindra Mohan Datta	
Revealing the Past H. N. Balvir	
Royal Moghul Poetesses Rattan Lal Khanna	
Samkara and Islam Roma Chaudhuri	
Sarojini Naidu Om Prakash Mohan	
Sapru Committee and Leading Principles of a New Constitution for India, The D. N. Banerjee	
Shrines of the United States (*illust.*) USIS	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Page
Some Observations on the Recent Statement of British Government on India A. K. Ghosal	107
South-East Asia in World Politics and the Future Taraknath Das	425
South Indian, The Gurdial Mallik	40
Spirit of Hindu Civilization, The Budha Prakash	377, 454
Squaring the Circle in Palestine St. Nihal Singh	420
States in Indian Constitution Nagendra Nath Chanda	375
Story and Chronology of Plastics, The M. A. Azam	287
Study of Phonetics Pannalal Chakravarti	295
Swiss System of Government and Its Applicability to India, The D. N. Banerjee	97
(A) Tale of the Gamma-Men Rajshekhar Bose	349
Technique of Dance in South India (*illust.*) V. R. Chitra	358
Third Partition of Bengal ? Debajyoti Burman	369
This Fate-Forged Bond (*poem*) Rabindranath Tagore	39
This Freedom A. C.	344
Transition Budget of India, The Nikhil Ranjan Banerjee	346
Trial of Democracy, The Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay	93
Unusual Animals and Birds of the United States (*illust.*) USIS	445
(Sir) Upendranath Brahmachari (*illust.*) X	278
U.S. Museum Teaches Use and Working of Modern Mechanisms (*illust.*) USIS	37
Vassar—A Famous American College for Women (*illust.*) USIS	447
Vitolias, The D. P. Khanapurkar	56
Wanted—A Foreign Policy for Nationalist India (*illust.*) Taraknath Das	253
War, Pre-War and Post-War Priyadaranjan Ray	259
Working of a Small-Town Government in USA (*illust.*) USIS	355
Yellowstone National Park (*illust.*) USIS	114
(A) Young Indian Sculptor—Sunil Kumar Paul (*illust.*) Suniti Kumar Chatterji	109

INDIAN PERIODICALS

	Page
All-India Economic Conference, The	229
All-India Writers' Conference	68
Ancient Hindu Polity	68
(The) Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man	64
Basis for a World Religion	471
Calcutta University and Its Critics, The	474
C. F. Andrews	473
Education in Ancient India	309
Education of Indians in Foreign Countries	67
End of a Chapter, The	473
Geophysical Prospecting in India	476
I. N. A. Trials	65
India and Britain	144
India's Unity in Diversity	387
Nai Talim	229, 307
Need for Development of University Schools of Geography in India	387
Pakistan	65
Place of Small and "Backward" Nations in the New World, The	223
(The) Poet Iqbal—Indian	392
Race Prejudice : A Two-Edged Sword	143
Role of Women in the Domain of Science	310
Second Para of the Second Chapter, The	474
(A) Short History of the Geological Survey of India	145
Small Nations and Big Powers	63
Tagore's Message of Freedom	303
Teachers on Strike	391
Thwarting Nature	390
Travancore Government's Educational Policy, The	231
Wanted a Sociological Institute	149
(Sir) William Jones (1746-1794)	224

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

	Page
(An) American Estimate of Nehru	479
Appointment of Dr. Minobe to the Japanese Imperial Council, The	232
Chemicals of Petroleum	233
Development of Education in Turkey, The	480
(Sir) Francis Younghusband	484
Indian Textile Industry, The	71
Iran	154
Kaethe Kollwitz	397
Problem of Great Cities in the Atomic Age, The	151
Progress Toward an International Language	75
(Premier) Stalin's Election Speech	312
Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow and Charles Norris	235
U.S. Population Increases by Eight Million in Five Years	232
War of Ideas in Iran	482
Wells and Shaw : Two Independent Socialists	395
Where Stands the World ?	151
Who Shall Lead the World ?	151

NOTES

	Page
Abuse of Telegraph Act Provisions	248
Aligarh and Muslim League Politics	319
America and the Indian Food Problem	240
Anti-Indian Bill in South Africa	323
(Sir) Ardeshir Dalal's Resignation	86
Assam Eviction Policy	408
Attachment Scheme, The	165
(Dr.) B. C. Roy on Bhore Committee's Report	327
Bengal Government and Imperial Officers	248
Bertrand Russell Visualises Third World War	15
Bhonsla Military Schools, The	243
Bhulabhai Desai	414
Big Powers' Fight Over Iran	2
Brailsford on British Responsibility	247
Brailsford on Jinnah's Pakistan	330
British Cabinet Delegation, The	158
British Goods Advertised at Indian Tax-Payers' Cost	11
British Imperialism in East Asia	252
British Imperialism in the Western and Middle Asia	251
British in India, The	249
Building of a New Egypt	412
Can Burma Govern Herself ?	334
Caste and Pakistan	330
Changes in Congress Constitution	324
China's Advance Towards Democracy	241

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Page
Cloth Shortage, The	403
Coming Famine, The	160
Coming Negotiations, The	237
Complete Cure for Cholera	246
Conference on Planning	411
Congress Food Policy	238
Deaf-Mutes in Bengal, The	85
Demonetisation Ordinance	84
Deposition of the Maharaja of Rewa	165
(Dr.) Deshmukh's Bill	326
Economic Sanctions against the South Africa 'Herrenvolk'	250
Egypt and the Treaty Revision	328
Employment of Negroes in America	15
Expansion of the Calcutta University Controller's Office	13
Failure and Success	157
Famine in Bankura	249
Famine in Bengal	407
Faridkot and Kashmir	408
Fascism in the Colonies	82
Features of the Declaration	401
Fisher's Doctrine of Double Rejection	172
Flagrant Misuse of Public Money	170
Food and Famine Exposition	408
Food and Politics	161
Food Controversy, The	321
Food Exports	239
Food in 1947	320
Food for India	405
Food Politics of the Powers	326
Food Situation in Malaya	168
Food Wastage in Storage	238
Four Urgent Reasons Why India Must Have Freedom	325
Future Ports of India	412
Hilton-Young Commission and After	90
(A) Historian Honoured in His Own Land	91
Housing Plan for Workers	331
How the Combined Food Board Works	327
Impossibility of Two Constituent Assemblies	169
I. N. A. Trials, The	6
India and Indonesia	82
India and Malaya	251
India in the International Field	320
Indian Agricultural Economy	170
Indian Example for Indonesia	82
Indian Famine a Blessing to White Men ?	167
Indian Food Plan	404
Indian Girls in the W.A.C. (I)	87
Indianisation of the Army	325
Indians in Burma Stranded	169
Indians in Ceylon	87
Indians in Ceylon Under Donoughmore Constitution	88
Indians in East Africa	89
Indians in South Africa	167
India's Food Problem	86
Indonesia Looks up to India	83
Indonesian Rice for India	406
International Bill of Rights	402
International Trade Organisation	243
Intolerance of Criticism Thin End of Dictatorship	171
Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilisation	92
Jahangir Bomanji Petit	172
(Mr.) Jinnah Replies	8
Kalinath Ray	16
Labour Government's Choice : Free India or the World's Biggest Blood-Bath ?	3
Labour Problems in Bombay	410
Land Settlement in Kenya and Its Effect on Indians	13
League Ministry in Bengal and Boat Contracts, The	8
ague Stabbing Islam at the Back	10
Lift for Firoz Khan Noon's Stooge	160
Louis Fischer on Pakistan	237
Mahatma Gandhi in Bengal	246
Malayan Union, The	411
(Mr.) Mavlankar Elected President of Central Assembly	238
Military Raj, The	85
Mineral Resources of India	84
M. P. Delegation, The	165
Mullas and Money Mobilised against Congress	326
Multi-National State	250
Mutiny and Hunger in India	328
National Merchant Marine	15
Need for a New World	13
Need of an Effective National Defence Force for Independent India	157
Negotiations, The	249
New Central Legislature, The	407
1946	408
Nutrition in India and Abroad	82
Official Partisanship in Elections	401
Oil Interests in the Middle East	172
On the Threshold	170
Origin of the Pakistan Idea	408
Pakistan—A Negation	161
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Youth of Bengal	321
Parallel Government in Midnapore	239
Parliamentary Delegation, The	320
Phillips on Separate Electorates	405
Plight of Indians in Malaya	326
Plight of Primary Teachers	168
Police and Military Unrest	238
Post-War Educational Reconstruction in Russia	325
Post-War Railway Rates	412
Price Control and Indian Industries	90
Problem of Indian India, The	91
Provincial Elections	331
Railway Budget	327
Railway Strike	169
Reactions to the Cabinet Mission Proposals	6
Reclamation of Waste Lands in U.P.	82
Restless India	251
R. I. N. Ratings' Revolt	320
Sales Tax Agitation in Bengal	170
Sapru Committee Report, The	82
Scientific Efficiency of the Japanese	167
Showdown in Middle East	404
Sind Leader Criticises League Election Policy	87
Soulbury Commission Report	325
Soviet Fourth Five-Year Plan, The	169
Srinivasa Sastri	87
(Dr.) Sudhindra Bose	88
Surplus U.S. Property Turned Over to Government of India	89
Technical Terminology in Indian Languages	167
Text of the Statement Issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy	86
Thoughts on Pakistan	83
Treatment of Negroes in America	406
Trends in Turkish Literature	402
23rd January	243
Unconditional Ministry for Sind	171
University Courses on Journalism	92
U.S. Aims at Exporting 10,700,000 Tons of Wheat from its 1945 Crop	172
US-India Lend-Lease and Surplus Property Agreement	8
U.S. and Fight for Freedom of Press	16
U.S.-Soviet Amity Essential to World Peace	3
Verdict on the Hallett Administration	410
Verdict on the League	13
Warning of the Economists	8
War-Time Controls	10
(Lord) Wavell on India's Political Future	
(Lord) Wavell's Speech	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A. C.
This Freedom — 344

Agarwal, Shri Narayan
Indian Shipping—Past and Present — 30

Agasya
International Contemporary Art at Delhi (*illust.*) — 442

Akram, M. A.
The Story and Chronology of Plastics — 287

Balgobin, S.
B. Bissoondoyal Goes to Jail (*illust.*) — 275

Bali, Upendranath
The District Administration in Bengal — 198

Bihari, H. N.
Revealing the Past — 362

Banerjee, D. N.
The Sapru Committee and Leading Principles of a New Constitution for India — 173
The Swiss System of Government and Its Applicability to India — 97

Banerjee, Nikhil Ranjan
The Transition Budget of India — 346

B. K.
Communism and Indian Communists — 292

Bose, Rajshekhar
A Tale of the Gamma-Men — 349

Brij Prakash
The Spirit of Hindu Civilization — 377, 454

Burman, Debajyoti
History of Bengal's Shifting Boundary and Population (*illust.*) — 264
Third Partition of Bengal ? — 369

Chakravarti, Pannalal
Study of Phonetics — 295

Chanda, Nagendra Nath
Delusion of Pakistanism — 48
States in Indian Constitution — 375

Chandrasekhar, S.
I Meet Louis Bromsfield — 343

Chatterji, Manoj Kumar
Gandhi and A.E. — 255

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar
A Young Indian Sculptor (*illust.*) — 109

Chattopadhyay, Kamaladevi
The Motion Picture Industry — 340
The Trial of Democracy — 93

Chattopadhyaya, Siddheswar
The Menace of Foreign Capital — 76

Chaudhuri, Roma
Nabinchandra's Religion of Humanity — 461
Samkara and Islam — 129

Chitra, V. R.
Technique of Dance in South India (*illust.*) — 358

Das, Taraknath
An Indian Scientist in America (*illust.*) — 116
An Open Letter to the Government of India — 19
South-East Asia in World Politics and the Future — 425
Wanted—A Foreign Policy for Nationalist India — 253

Datta, Jatindra Mohan
An Analysis of the Religious-mindedness among the Hindus — 365
Relative Heroism of the Hindus and Muhammadans of India — 463

Essenjee
Imperial Britain — 53

Gangoly, O. C.
Problems of Modern Artists in India and China — 101

Ghosh, Kali Charan
Food Shortage in India and Government's Duty From Different Angles — 214, 118

Ghosal, A. K.
Problems Before the Bengal Administration — 211
Some Observations on the Recent Statement of British Government on India — 107

Guha, J. N.
Beethoven and His Music — 209

Iyer, L. A. Krishna
The Pre-Historic Archaeology of Kerala (*illust.*) — 182

Jain, P. C.
Post-War Economic Depression in India — 17

Kaundinya
Burjore Treasurywalla (*illust.*) — 192
Landscape Painting in the Santiniketan School (*illust.*) — 353

Kavimandan, V. G.
Lonar (*illust.*) — 112

Kayande, P. J.
Grow Better Cattle — 117

Khanapurkar, D. P.
The Vitolias — 56

Khanna, Rattan Lal
Royal Moghul Poetesses — 285

Malhotra, P. C.
Industrial Protection During the Transition Period — 201

Mallik, Gurdial
The South Indian — 40

Mehra, Parshotam L.
Jashn at Kabul — 104

Miranda, B.
The Poetry of Ezra Pound — 367

Mohan, Om Prakash
Sarojini Naidu — 54

Mookerjee, H. C.
Drink Control in Great Britain — 21

Mookerji, Sudhansubimal
Iran in Our Times — 436

Mulgrue, George
The Australian Literary Background — 196

Nair, P. Madhavan
Indonesia — 289

Narang, J. G.
Anglo-U.S' Financial Agreement — 135

Navani, U. S.
The Fateful Choice — 127

Prakash Chandra
The Egyptian Problem — 433

Puntambekar, S. V.
The Fall of Hitler and Churchill — 177

Rao, D. V. Rama
Current Ideologies in Politics — 372

Rao, K. M. Gururaja
A Brief Sketch of the Background for Agricultural Planning — 203

Rao, K. V.
Post-War Reconstruction in the Indian States — 44

Ray, Jogeshchandra
Pragjyotishapura — 207

Ray, Priyadaranjan
War, Pre-War and Post-War — 259

Roy Chowdhury, D. P.
Art and the Artist — 449

Sarkar, Jadunath
Battle of Panipat : The Victor's Despatches — 337

Sastri, C. L. R.
Journalism—Book-Reviewing — 451
Journalism—The Free-Lance Variety — 124

Sastry, K. R. R.
Law, Literature and Philosophy — 205

Sharma, G. N.
Forgotten Capitals of Mewar — 379

Shrivastava, S. N. L.
The Gita and War — 41

Singh, St. Nihal
Squaring the Circle in Palestine — 420

Sinha, Bimalchandra
The Impending Famine in Bengal — 457

Srinivas, P. R.
1945—It Ended Better than It Began — 50

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Srivastava, Avinash K.
Pre-Mauryan Art and Architecture 215
Tagore, Rabindranath
This Fate-Forged Bond (*poem*) 39
USIS
An American Artist (*illust.*) 194
A Famed U.S. Architect (*illust.*) 33
Health in a U.S. City (*illust.*) 280
Shrines of the United States (*illust.*) 190
Unusual Animals and Birds in the United States (*illust.*) 445
U.S. Museum Teaches Use and Working of Modern Mechanisms (*illust.*) 37
Vassar—A Famous American College for Women (*illust.*) 447

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Working of a Small-Town Government (*illust.*)
Yellowstone National Park (*illust.*)
Vaswani, K. N.
The Marvels of Mohen-jo-Daro (*illust.*)
Venkataramani, K. S.
The All-India Writers' Conference
Venkatramiah, S.
Our Food Problem
Waiz, S. A.
Little India in Mauritius
(A) Westerner
Sri Ramakrishna and the World Dilemma
X
Sir Upendranath Brahmachari (*illust.*)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(*An*) *American Artist Presents a Panorama of Life in the United States* (*6 illustrations*) 194-195
B. Bissoondoyal Goes to Jail (*6 illustrations*) 275-278
(The) British Cabinet Mission in the first Press Conference at Delhi 368
Burjore Treasurywalla 193
Call of the Earth (*in colours*)
Taraprasad Biswas 1
(The) County court-house in a small town of the United States 48
Debabrata Das, The dead body of 157
Durham Cathedral 237
(*A*) *Famed U. S. Architect—Frank Lloyd Wright* (*7 illustrations*) 33-34
(The) family home of President Truman in Independence, Missouri 292
Frank Lloyd Wright stands beside a scale model of museum 33
Gaurisankar, The
Sunil Paul 1
(The) giant electric power generators of Boulder Dam 457
Health in a U.S. City (*15 illustrations*) 280-285
History of Bengal's Shifting Boundary and Population
Bengal (Ancient Political Divisions) 265
Magni Mogolis Imperium 267
Number of Muslims and Hindus per 100 of population 274
Rennell's map of Bengal and Bahar 268
Huen Tsang (*in colours*) 77
I.N.A. Heroes (*8 photographs*) 124-125
(The) Independence Missouri, High School 293
India (*map*) 241
Indian Womanhood
Miss Kamala
Lt-Col. Lakshi (*2 photos*) 40
Miss Trina Roy 364
International Contemporary Art Exhibition at Delhi (*3 illustrations*) 444
(The) Jackson County Court House in Independence, Missouri 442-443
(The) Jupiter Terrace of Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park 292
Kathmandu, the picturesque capital of Nepal
Sunil Paul 77
Lake Mead, 120-mile long Boulder Dam Reservoir 108
Landscape Painting in the Santiniketan School
(*3 landscape paintings*) 457
(*3 landscape paintings*) 317
(The) legislative building at Manila 353-354
Lonar 369
Daityasudan Temple
Dhar—the perennial water spout of Lonar 113
Mahatma Gandhi leaving the Viceroy's House 112
Members of the British Parliamentary Delegation addressing the Press Conference at Delhi 368
(The) modern big-city medical centres like this hospital in New York, provides plenty of light, sun and air for patients 293
(A) modern railway station in the U.S.A.
Mohen-jo-Daro, The Marvels of (*7 illustrations*)
Nadira's Death (*in colours*)
Radhacharan Bagchi
(A) parade of women on Fifth Avenue in New York City demanding the right to vote on equal terms with men
Pre-Historic Archaeology of Kerala, The (*5 illustrations*)
Queen Mary carrying 14526 Americans to New York from the European theatre of war
Ragini Patamanjari (*in colours*)
Ramgopal Vijaivargiya
(A) residential street in Independence, Missouri
(The) rugged mountains of the Yellowstone National Park
Sergio Osmena, a candidate for the Presidency of the Philippine Commonwealth
Shrines of the United States (*5 illustrations*) 190-191
(*4 illustrations*) 204-205
Sivapuri, Nepal
Sunil Paul
(The) small medical centre serving an area of farms, villages and small towns in the United States
(Dr.) Sudhindra Bose
(Dr.) Surain Singh Sidhu
Technique of Dance in South India (*8 illustrations*) 353-356
(The) two models of the famous electron microscope
Unusual Animals and Birds of the United States (*2 illustrations*) 445-446
(*4 illustrations*)
(Dr. Sir) Upendranath Brahmachari
U.S. Museum Teaches Use and Working of modern mechanisms (*7 illustrations*) 447-448
Vassar—A Famous American College for Women (*7 illustrations*)
(*The*) *Working of a Small-Town Government in U.S.A.* (*4 illustrations*)
Wright discusses plans with one of his apprentices
Yellowstone National Park
(*5 illustrations*)
(*2 illustrations*)
Yeomen of the Guard carrying the King's Maundy Money, distributed at a special service held in Westminster Abbey
Yeomen of the Guard distributing canes to boys for "beating the bounds" of the City of London
York Minister
(*A*) *Young Indian Sculptor* (*5 illustrations*)
Youth (*in colours*)
Deviprosad Roy Choudhury

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NETAJI

A COMMEMORATION VOLUME

CONTAINING

biographical and laudatory articles on the life, ideals and activities of Shri SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Mahatma Gandhi
Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiya
Pundit Govind Ballav Pant
Shri Purushottamdas Tandan
Dr. Kailash Nath Katju
Shri Jai Prakash Narain
St. Nihal Singh
Prof. Humayun Kabir
Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee
Shri Joachim Alva
Shri H. V. Kamath
Maj. Gen. A. C. Chatterjee
Shri Satyaranjan Bakshi
Acharya J. B. Kripalani
Mr. P. R. Das
Shri Mukundalal Sarkar
Sadhu T. L. Vaswani
Dr. Khan Sahib
Mr. Fazlul Huq
Acharya Kshiti Mohan Sen
Mr. R. Sorensen
Shri Kali Charan Ghosh
Shri Tushar Kanti Ghosh
Shri Uttam Chand
Shri Kedarnath Chatterji
Shri Ravi Shankar Rawal
Shri Amal Home
Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

Editor : PUNDIT SHRI RAM SHARMA

Asst. Editor : SOMENDRAMOHAN MOOKERJEE

Fully illustrated and sumptuous Binding.

Pre-publication Subscription price: Rs. 17/-

Publishers : Shivlal Agarwal & Co., Ltd.,
Hospital Road, Agra (U. P.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BIG LINE UP

STORIES ABOUT LENIN—KONONOV

(A Gift for the Children—Profusely illustrated—Printed on art paper)

First Authorised Indian Edition—

Price Rupees Two.

FAMINE OR PLENTY

—'A VILLAGER'

A study of famine and the way to prevent it. The problem is examined on a world basis. (Illustrated) Price Rupees Five

LENIN A BIOGRAPHY

(*IN PRESS*)

Merx-Engels, Lenin Institute, Moscow.

First Authorised Indian Edition—

Price Rupees Four.

NETAJI BOSE

SUBHEND-GHOSE

Life sketch with 23 Line Drawings in wood-cut technique (Printed on art paper) Album size—Price Rupees Three

CONTACT WITH

SAHITYIKA

123, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA

The Modern Review

(*Founded by R. Chatterjee in January 1907*)

SUBSCRIPTION

PAYABLE IN ADVANCE—*Annual :* inland Rs. 8-8 ; foreign Rs. 14-8 or foreign equivalent. *Half-yearly* : inland Rs. 4-8, foreign Rs. 7-8 or foreign equivalent.

The price of a single current or available back number or specimen copy is As. 13, by V. P. P. Re. 1 each post free. The price of a copy outside India Re. 1-4 or foreign equivalent. Terms strictly Cash.

Outstationed-Cheques must include exchange Charges. Old subscribers should renew subscriptions quoting respective 'subscribing number' or every possibility of being enlisted afresh and issued V. P. P. under undetected old number.

If old subscribers do not renew subscriptions or give notice of discontinuation in due time, the next issue is sent by V. P. P. on the presumption that, that is their desire.

The Modern Review regularly appears on the 1st of every month. Complaints of non-receipt of any month's issue should reach this office at least by the 15th of that month quoting the "Subscribing Number", or no complaint may be entertained. Many a packet be lost in postal transit regularly every month hence all possible remedial measures should be taken by all.

THE "MODERN REVIEW" OFFICE,

SCALE OF CHARGES FOR ADVERTISEMENTS

OF ORDINARY POSITION

SINGLE INSERTION.

	Rs.	As.
Per ordinary page (8″×6″)	80	0
„ Half-page or one column	42	0
„ Quarter page or Half column	22	0
„ Quarter column (2″×3″)	12	0
„ One-eighth column (1″×3″)	7	0

Rates for special spaces on enquiry.

Advertisers desirous of effecting stoppage or change in standing advertisements, in any issue, should send stop orders or revised copies within 15th of the preceding month.

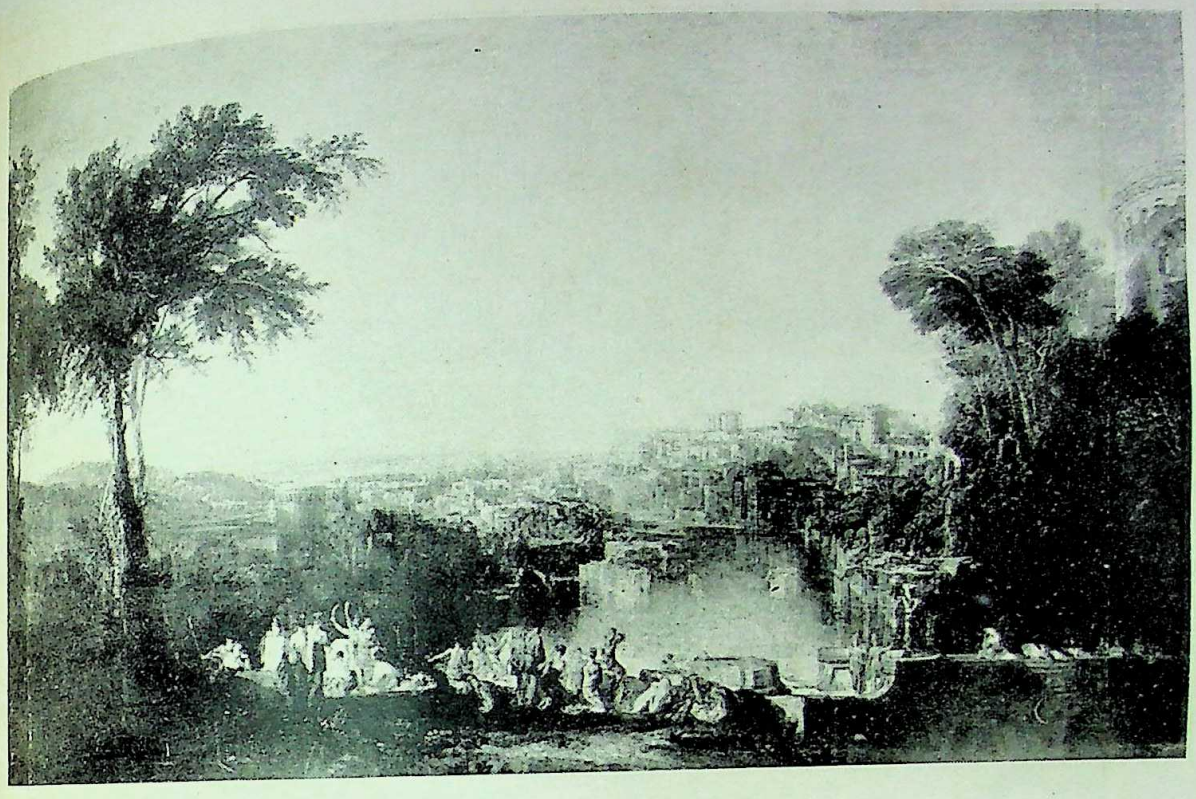
The Modern Review reserves the right to discontinue any advertisement or to delete or alter words or phrases which in the editor's opinion are objectionable.

We cannot undertake any responsibility for the blocks being broken or mutilated while printing, though every possible care is taken. We do not undertake responsibility of blocks if delivery is not taken within 15 days after stop order.

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"Dido and Aeneas leaving Carthage on the Morning of the Chase"
The large oil-painting in the Tate Gallery by J. W. Turner (1775-1851)



The massive Ionic portico of the entrance to the British museum with its great classical colonnaded structure

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE CAPTIVE BIRD
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1946

VOL. LXXX, No. 2 WHOLE No. 476

NOTES

The Task Ahead

It is not desirable from the point of view of the Western Nations that India should ever develop into a first-class Power. The idea itself seems Utopian at the first glance, judging from the pass this country has been brought to after two centuries of foreign intrigue and rule, but there is no reason on earth why it should not be so within the next twenty years, if we could but overcome the three main handicaps imposed on us by foreign vested interests. These handicaps are, in order of their importance, ignorance, indiscipline and inefficiency. And chapter and verse can be given in support of the statement that all these have been imposed on us by the foreign interests whose imperial aims and objectives are best furthered so long as these disqualifications hang round our necks as our badges of inferiority. But merely blaming the British will not get us anywhere. For, indeed, the longer we are content with merely blaming them—or their henchmen—the longer would this foreign dominance continue. We have to set about in getting up a fighting programme, to fight political intrigues and opposition and to get rid of our main disabilities.

Our geographical position is eminently suited for the leadership of all Asia. Our resources of strategic materials are superior to that of any other nation on earth, specially if we take into account our means of easy access to that of our neighbours. In man-power, hydro-electric potential, communications and economic possibilities we are second to none. And what is more, forty years of sustained struggle has brought us on the threshold of self-determination. Once that is firmly in our hands it is only the lack of leadership and initiative that can prevent us marching forward to the place in the comity of Nations that is our birthright.

Are the handicaps too heavy? Are the barriers erected through the intrigues of foreign vested interests, as for example, the intransigence of the Muslim League insurmountable? Are we in reality a third-class race, ignorant and inefficient to the core as the propaganda of our enemies would make out?

We are of the same race that led the world for a millennium in arts, sciences and in the philosophy of living. Indian Industry of the present-day shows clearly that in spite of all handicaps we can hold our own against the European. And the anti-Indian campaign in Africa is, in fact, an admission that the European settler is no match for the Indian in any sphere even though he has unlimited aid from his motherland and the Indian has every possible obstruction raised in his path. As for the opposition from the Minority groups—or rather the Muslim League—it is but a new shape of the opposition of British vested interests. India is filled with the monuments to the success of the intrigues of the East India Company, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the form of certain Native States ruled by the descendants of those who furthered the interests of John Company through traitorous and mercenary action against the nationals of the Fatherland. If, the Muslim League chooses that path, knowingly or in blind ignorance, it will have to be fought with all weapons, stratagem with stratagem, force with force. It must be remembered that the ultimate gain will go to the British, the Muslim League is but a pawn in their hands. Even the latest sign, received at the time of writing, of the rescinding of their acceptance of the Long-term and Interim plans, only clearly indicates another move by the British vested interests. We have not the slightest doubt that the League has taken this sudden turn after being assured, by the reactionary British officialdom in India and their supporters in the ranks of Mr. Churchill's group, that they would receive all possible aid from them. The giving of jobs galore, regardless of qualification or fitness, by British bureaucrats and of contracts and agencies with all possible loopholes for profiteering and black-marketing has provided the reactionary with the sinews of war and enabled him to entrench himself in all walks of public life. British-owned newspapers and the British-controlled radio has been his most powerful means of publicity and the Tory Last-Ditcher in Britain his last hope. And conversely Mr. Jinnah is the blue-eyed boy of Winston Churchill and his gang! So, the British Die-hard with his ill-gotten interests in India, every farthing of which has been filched from us, is our enemy and whoever is in league with him must be treated as an enemy as well.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British vested interests are counting on the Congress either listening to counsels of despair or else being outmanoeuvred into handing the balance of power—that is the control of reins—to British officialdom. The Police in most places are rotten to the core and largely officered by reactionaries, *the Congress in its folly has not made any intimate contact with the army, despite all historical precedents and all opportunities presented by the circumstances of two great World Wars,* and the executive is dominated by that autocratic remnant of medievalism, the "Indian Civil Service" which, in parallel with the Holy Roman Empire, is neither "Indian" in structure, nor "Civil" in its attitude and nor yet has it any concept of "Service." The Congress has, indeed, a formidable task ahead of it, and it is on that that our opponents, at home and abroad, are banking. But the country is, in the vast majority, solidly behind the National movement for Liberty and given the correct lead will march forward unflichingly, overcoming all handicaps and surmounting all barriers.

Let us then get rid of our complexes and go on with the making of a definite plan of campaign, cutting ut any further metaphysical discussions and dissertations and avoiding all minor issues that tend to side-track the main objective. False values in nationalism must be at once dropped. They constitute, with their attendant shibboleths, the greatest obstacles to the formation of new projects and the reform of old ones. We cannot look for aid from any quarter at this juncture for, as we said at the beginning, it is to nobody's interest, excepting our own, that the nationals of this country should attain self-sufficiency, efficiency and mastery over their own destiny. But once we definitely march forward we shall find allies, and so let us maintain the closest of contracts with our friends and get on with the job.

A.-I. C. C. Ratifies Delhi Resolution

The All-India Congress Committee, at its Bombay session held on July 6 and 7, passed by an overwhelming majority Maulana Azad's resolution of the Working Committee, deciding to enter the Constituent Assembly, 204 members voting in favour and 51 against. Maulana Azad moved the resolution and Sardar Patel supported it. Nineteen speakers spoke on the resolution, of whom nine supported and ten opposed it. The most outstanding event was Gandhiji's address on the second day. In his concluding remarks Pandit Nehru emphasised that it was wrong to think that the Congress had accepted this plan or that plan. Nothing had been accepted. The Congress had only decided to enter the Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for a free and independent India. He made it quite clear that there was no other commitment of any kind. If the Congress found after going to the Constituent Assembly that it could not be worked, there was nothing to prevent the Congress from walking out of it.

Moving the resolution, Maulana Azad said that for many years the Congress had been pressing for India's right to decide her own future and to frame her own constitution. In accepting the long-term proposals there had been no compromise whatsoever on the fundamental ideals of the Congress—complete independence and unity of the country. In the negotiations carried on with the Cabinet Mission he had been given the assurance that the independence of India was no longer in dispute. Explaining the position that the Cabinet Mission's proposals gave us the right to summon a Constituent Assembly to frame our own constitution Maulana Azad said :

This is what we have been demanding all these years. What will be our position if we refuse the offer ? If we refused the offer, then there would be no meaning to our demands. The things that we have been asking for years has been accepted and we have now to work our own way. Therefore, the Committee had no choice. It had to accept the offer so long as the Committee felt convinced that it would lead the country to the end the Congress had before it.

The plan envisaged by the Cabinet Mission in their White Paper of May 16, consists of two aspects, political and communal. As far as the political implications of the proposals are concerned, the proposals make it clear that the Constituent Assembly will have the fullest rights to frame a constitution for a free and independent India and such a constitution will be accepted by the British Government. We have been given the freedom to decide whether we wish to remain within the British Empire or be completely independent. It is for us to decide this vital question and the British Government does not wish to dictate to us in this respect as they have hitherto been doing.

In my first interview with the Cabinet Mission I made it absolutely clear to the delegation that the Constituent Assembly we wished to summon should have unfettered freedom to frame a constitution for a free and independent India. The British Government has accepted this demand and has made it clear that the freedom of India is not under question and it has been granted without any question. Why then should we raise doubts in the face of such unequivocal declarations by the British Government?

The Cabinet Mission's proposals also have once and for all time cleared all doubts about the question of the division of India. These proposals have made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that India shall remain an undivided single unit with a strong Central Government composed of the federating units.

Our main demands having thus been accepted by the Cabinet Mission, you will agree the Working Committee had to accept the proposals after pointing out the defects in them. This is what the Working Committee has done by its resolution of June 26. My answer to those critics who say that we should not have accepted this proposal is that if we rejected this proposal now, it may not be possible at a later date in the future to secure a proposal acceptable to us.

For some time now the Congress had been convinced that a completely unitary form of Central Government was unsuited for India as it is impracticable. The Congress had also felt convinced that a division of India as demanded by the Muslim League would prove disastrous to the country. The Congress had, therefore, decided to pursue a middle course. That is the reason the Congress recommended a federal form at the Centre, with maximum autonomy to the federating units including residuary powers. This helps to keep India undivided, at the same time ensuring utmost autonomy to the units to develop themselves individually and freely to the maximum extent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Maulana Sahab said that up to this point, the Mission's plan corresponded with the Congress proposal. The only new feature of the Mission's plan, "to which the Congress had not agreed fully, was the one relating to grouping. The Working Committee has, therefore, made it clear that there should be no compulsion in the matter of grouping. The provinces should be free to decide whether they wish to join a particular group or not." Maulana Azad was confident that the interpretation Congress had put on the grouping clause was the correct interpretation.

Seconding the resolution, Sardar Patel dealt with the question of Provisional Government and said that the Congress had made it clear to the Cabinet Mission that the proposed Constituent Assembly would not prove a success if a responsible representative Provisional Government at the Centre was not established soon. Regarding grouping and the unity of India, the Sardar said:

> Consistent with the existing circumstances we have secured the widest franchise possible for the election to the Constituent Assembly. The most dangerous proposal in the Constituent Assembly scheme is the one relating to grouping. Our interpretation of the relevant paragraph in the State Paper is that the provinces are free to decide at the initial stage whether they wish to join a particular group in which they have been placed. No province can be compelled to join any group against its own wishes.
>
> The difficulty about Europeans participating in the voting to the Constituent Assembly election has been practically overcome. We have thus secured a Constituent Assembly almost on the lines we have demanded all these years. Furthermore, under the proposed scheme, the transfer of power from British to Indian hands will be smooth and peaceful. It is, therefore, our conviction that we should take advantage of the scheme and not plunge the country in a struggle.
>
> At the very commencement of our negotiations with the Cabinet Mission we made it clear to them that we could talk to them only on the basis of a free and independent India. The British Mission accepted this and made it clear that their acceptance of our demand was without any reservation. In the face of such assurance it is difficult for us not to believe them.
>
> We have also made sure that there shall be one undivided India with one Central Government. What the shape of that Central Government will be, is a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide. The Muslim League sees the germ of Pakistan in the scheme. We see a United India. It is for the Constituent Assembly to decide who is right.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain was the principal opposition speaker. On the second day Gandhiji addressed the A.I.C.C. for an hour. In an impassioned speech he called upon Congressmen to give a full and fair trial to the Constituent Assembly scheme and make the best out of it. He had no doubt that if the task was properly approached, they could produce a Swadeshi constitution for India. Some people talked of the British deceiving the people of India and the Congress. He, as a true Satyagrahi did not believe that any one, not even the British, could deceive true Satyagrahis. He said:

> The proposed Constituent Assembly, I know, is not a free Assembly. There are many defects in the scheme, but since we have been fighting for the last so many years, why should we be afraid of the defects in the Constituent Assembly scheme. We can fight the Constituent Assembly itself if we find the defects are unremediable.
>
> As true Satyagrahis and fighters we have no right to be afraid of any hardships or difficulties in our way. I was, therefore, surprised when I heard Mr. Jaiprakash Narain saying yesterday that it is dangerous and useless to go into the Constituent Assembly. Supposing we go into the Constituent Assembly and lose, why should we be afraid? A true Satyagrahi never thinks in terms of losing. No one can defeat him. He can never be deceived or cheated by anyone.
>
> As Satyagrahis we have no right to say that the British are dishonest. How can we say that? There are good and bad people in all countries. We quarrelled among ourselves in the past and, therefore, the British who came as traders to this country established themselves as our rulers. We have been fighting them as our rulers, not because the British people are dishonest or bad, but because they have no right to rule over us. They have now told us that they are ready to quit. Our task now is to see how their quitting can be smooth and peaceful.

Summing up his speech, Gandhiji finally said, "I am sure we are still capable of going through difficulties, and, therefore, I do not see any reason why we should be afraid of going into the Constituent Assembly. I know there are many defects in the Constituent Assembly scheme, but then it is in your power to improve it or to bury it. The Constituent Assembly scheme looks like iron ore. We can convert it into pure gold by our own efforts. Whatever loopholes there are can be remedied. My advice to you is to accept the scheme even in spite of its defects, for as Satyagrahis, we have no reason to be afraid of anything. I feel that the scheme is capable of improvement and therefore my urge is in favour of its acceptance. We have asked the British to quit India. This does not mean that we wish to ill-treat them. We want the British to quit honourably and smoothly. The Constituent Assembly proposal is to enable us to make the British quit India. I, therefore, feel that we should accept the Constituent Assembly scheme in spite of its defects, as we are competent to remedy the defects. I know it is a British sponsored scheme, but have not the British openly stated that they have done this with an open mind and without any reservation to enable Indians to frame their own constitution for a free and independent India?"

The speeches of the members who opposed the resolution betrayed their deep suspicion of the British motives. The burden of their contention was that the State Paper was nothing but a trap, it would weaken the Congress organisation if the proposals were accepted. Replying to these criticisms, Maulana Azad said, "I am unable to agree with those who say that by going to the Constituent Assembly we shall be weakening the Congress organisation. Whatever difficulties may stand in our way, we will overcome them as we are determined to reach our final goal. We will not in any event sacrifice any of our fundamental principles. If unfortunately any insuperable difficulties crop up in direct conflict with our fundamental principles, we shall not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hesitate to kill the Constituent Assembly, We have won our struggle for freedom through sheer sacrifices and suffering and I will ask you now not to falter and fritter away the fruits of victory by adopting a gloomy outlook and fear complex. Statesmanship demands that we should be practical in our approach to problems. We must utilise opportunities as they present themselves to further our own ends. I want to emphasise that by accepting the Constituent Assembly proposal we shall lay at rest one of the longest standing communal problems. The Muslim League has been demanding all these years the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan and two separate Constituent Assemblies to draw up separate constitutions. Both these things have been abandoned by the Muslim League through its acceptance of the Cabinet Missions proposals of May 16. The result of this proposal is that there shall be one United India and one Constituent Assembly with one Central Government. The door to the Constituent Assembly is open to enable us to draw up our own constitution. Victory has come into our hands and please do not turn it into a defeat."

Problem of Grouping

Of all provisions in the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the one relating to grouping has come in for the largest amount of criticism. Two diametrically opposed views have been advanced in relation to it. The Congress says that it is optional at the initial stage for the provinces to decide whether they would like to join the group or not. The League holds that joining the groups is compulsory, the provinces have the right to opt out only after elections are held under the new constitution. The provisions in the State Paper and their explanations by the Ministers are vague and open to variable interpretation. Three days after the conclusion of the A.-I. C. C. session, Pandit Nehru, at a press conference, said, "The big probability is that from any approach to the question, there will be no grouping. Obviously Section A will decide against grouping. Speaking in betting language, there is a four-to-one chance of the North-Western Frontier Province deciding against grouping. Then, Group B collapses. It is highly likely that Assam will decide against grouping with Bengal." In fact, a resolution passed in the Assam Legislature has made it mandatory for the Assam M.C.A.'s to vote against grouping.

Referring to grouping, Mr. Jinnah said in the League council meeting, "Pandit Nehru has stated that the Congress was not bound by paragraph 19 of the State Paper which regulates grouping and which also regulates the functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the scheme, from the Muslim League point of view, is grouping in B and C and it is that part of the scheme which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress which asserts that provinces in Groups B and C are free to opt out from the very beginning and not as is provided until the Group constitution and provincial constitutions are framed and elections are held under the new provincial constitutions." Sir Ghulam Hosain Hidayetullah revealed in his speech how grouping plan in Section B was also foundering. He said, "The Congress had already begun to work against the proposed grouping of provinces. In Assam, the members elected to the Constituent Assembly had been given a mandate to vote against grouping. A similar resolution would probably be moved in Sind where there were some quislings amongst Muslims. Frontier is also against grouping. Frontier Province and Sind fear that their separate cultures would be killed once they agreed to grouping in which the Punjab would naturally dominate. Frontier Pathans and the Sindhis have developed separate cultures of their own and they do not want to be submerged into the Punjabi culture once again.

In paragraph 15 of the State Paper where the Mission recommends the basic forms that the constitution should take, it has been provided in sub-paragraph 5 :

> Provinces should be free to *form* Groups with Executives and Legislatures and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

This clause may certainly be interpreted as providing that entry into the groups at the initial stage is voluntary and that the provinces as provinces will decide whether to enter into the Groups or not. In paragaph 19(5), it is provided that

> These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause 8 below.
>
> (8) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution.

The main points of difference between paragraphs 15 and 19 are that while the former enables the provinces to decide whether to join the group or not, the second one bestows this important power on the members forming a section. In his press conference of May 17, Lord Pethick Lawrence gave the following opinion on Grouping : "The provinces automatically come into the Sections A, B and C which are set out in the statement. Initially they are in the particular sections to which they are allocated in the statement and that particular section will decide whether a group shall be formed and what should be the constitution. The right to opt out of the group formed by that section arises after the constitution has been framed and the first election to the legislature has taken place under that constitution. It does not arise before that."

It will be seen that the meaning of the two paragraphs have not been made sufficiently clear. In the light of the Secretary of State's clarification they can be construed so as to mean that entry into the Group is voluntary but once the decision to join the Group has been taken no province can opt out before the first general elections, and that the right to decide whether to join the Group or not rests on the members of the Sections and not on the provinces separately. The position has been made still more vague in the Parliamentary speech of the Secretary of State on July 18, where he said, "The three-tier basis is nothing more than our recommendation to the Indian peoples, but on the basis of these proposals we were asking the parties to join in the formation of a Constituent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Assembly. It was necessary, however, to stipulate that the provisions should not be altered without a majority of the two major communities."

India in the Houses of Parliament

Now that the Muslim League has rescinded its acceptance of the Long-term and Interim proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, there seems to be little point in reviewing the speeches made in the Houses of Parliament on the 18th of July. Everything now seems to proceed according to well-laid plans to torpedo the British Labour Cabinet's endeavours to honour the pledges given to India during the War and previously. Breaking pledges is nothing new to British Tory-dilchers nor is that dishonourable act of any consequence to reactionary British officialdom and their colleagues, the *Pucca Sahibs* of India, and so there is nothing far-fetched in the idea that the whole thing might be engineered from behind. Of course, there is nothing new in this move, for the Muslim League has always shifted its position whenever it thought some more advantages might be gained thereby. Mr. Churchill in his speech on July 18th gave ample indications that his party would back the League if they rescinded their acceptance of the proposals. He said, with his usual disregard for truth :

> Then there are the Moslems who number about 90,000,000, and who make up *so large a majority* of the martial races of India. There is no doubt that there is complete lack of agreement at the present time between the two principal communities.
>
> The Mission have laboured hard and they have dealt particularly with those two communities allowing many other valuable and gallant forces who have a right to live also to fall back into the background.
>
> The gulf between these two communities was never more wide than it is at the present moment. The outlook is very grave.
>
> Acceptance by the martial races of the final settlement which we make before we leave India is indispensable to future peace.
>
> If all minorities are added together they constitute among them much more than half of the inhabitants of India. I am glad to say that so far as I understand the position, the British Government have not renounced the principle of their discharge of their responsibility towards the minorities in India which aggregate at least 225,000,000 out of 400,000,000.
>
> All arrangements which are being made by the Constituent Assembly and any treaties which may subsequently be brought into existence between the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain and a new sovereign, independent Government of India, must be subject to the fulfilment of our honourable discharge of our obligations.
>
> I hope that we all agree with that. A bill or perhaps several bills will have to be presented to Parliament and they will have to pass through all their stages and that is the time when the final decision will have to be taken. *Nothing must be agreed to by us at the moment on the transference of sovereignty which will be any abrogation of our solemn undertakings.*
>
> A great part of the Mission's work in India was devoted to a vain attempt to form a Coalition Cabinet acceptable alike to Moslems and Caste Hindus. The failure of the Mission in this respect had led to temporary reversion to the Government of well-tried and experienced officials. For the moment, Indian affairs have turned the full circle and we are back again at the start.

Mr. Churchill quoted the terms of paragraph 8 and continued,

> The Moslem League agreed to enter this (Coalition Government) and when the Hindu Congress members refused and it broke down on a point of procedure, I understand the Moslem League made a violent complaint.

Sir Stafford Cripps interjecting said :

> As to the timing, Mr. Churchill had said that the Moslem League had accepted and that the Congress had refused. The Congress had refused before the Moslems arrived at any decisions, and they knew that before they arrived at a decision that it was useless arriving at a decision because already the scheme had gone.

Mr. Churchill continuing said :

> I am not making accusations against the Government. The General Secretary of the Moslem League has gone so far as to say that unless the situation is clarified, it would be suicidal for the League to enter the Constituent Assembly.
>
> All this raises the most formidable issue. Those who have been to India know well that agreement of the Moslems to the new system will affect the whole foundation of the problem.
>
> One cannot contemplate British troops being used to crush the Moslems in the interests of the Caste Hindus. Whatever our responsibilities may be and whatever may be the appointed day when we will quit India, we must not make ourselves the agents of a Caste Government or a particular sectional Government in order to crush by armed force and modern weapons another community which, although not so numerous, is numbered at 90 millions.

It is to be noted that 90 millions become 99 millions easily when Mr. Churchill deals with Indian Moslems and 36 per cent (the percentage given by Sir Jogendra Singh as that of Moslems in the Indian army) becomes "so large a majority." Similarly the minorities *add up to 225 millions,* the Indian States account for 95 millions, leaving only 80 millions as the following of the Congress in India !

Leaving this great friend of India, and of human rights and liberties, to shed his crocodile tears, let us turn to other friends nearer at home. We find the reaction of the *Statesman* of Calcutta (*with which the Friend of India is incorporated*) is a veiled expression of joy at the League's latest move. The main editorial of its issue of 31st July—there was no issue on the 30th —contains an open attack on the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. This mouth-piece of British vested interests has all along championed the League and, boosted up all reactionaries. But this last editorial is a marvel even for the *Statesman* and goes far to show which way lie the interests of Imperialism. The Muslim League, according to the *Statesman,* "hitherto this year has been commendably accommodating, positive, statesmanlike." Further, according to the same authority, it is not surprising that it "should have chosen this lamentable new path." For, "during the last five weeks there has been provocation." "Many besides Leaguers—*including this newspaper*—were shocked by the Mission's and the Viceroy's interpretation on June 26, of under-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

takings publicly given only ten days before." The aforesaid interpretation was "a deliberate lawyerist lowering of the Mission's previously very high ethical standards in negotiation." Mr. Jinnah's allegations before the League Council on the 20th of July "need answer." Regarding provocation it remarks that "Provocation came soon afterwards—worse provocation, because reiterated and *manifestly deliberate*—on behalf of the Congress Party, from the *impetuous Pandit* who on July 6 became its President."

After justifying the League's action and some further verbiage the editorial proceeds to say that it attached *greater importance to the short-term aspect of the Mission's work*. And therein lies the key to the whole situation! For, if the Mission had not laid its cards on the table in an honourable and straightforward manner by formulating the long-term plans, but had proceeded in the time-honoured "Perfidious Albion" fashion by placing progressively difficult hurdles in the path of India's problems through the working of the short-term plans galore, then the "Pucca Sahib's" interests would have been assured for ever—at least till the next World War. The Congress would have been driven into jails again and the helm of the ship of state would have been given to the League, the Captain being, of course, the aforesaid *Pucca Sahib*.

The League's action has many implications, however, which the Congress would do well to consider very carefully. It must not commit itself by word or by action, without sufficient deliberation. It must weigh all possible consequences and deliberate over its own course of action. It is plain that the League's action is part of a concerted move and as such the Congress must not rush into any traps.

The Jail Qualification

Mahatma Gandhi has brought forward in his article, "The Real Danger" in the *Harijan* of July 14, the question of imprisonment as qualification for office-seeking Congressmen. Of all false values now obtaining in the Congress this is perhaps the most vicious and degrading. Mahatmaji's pointer comes rather late in the day, if we might say so, and the condemnation does not go far enough. All the same it is of immense value in disabusing the public mind, which has been confused deliberately in the respect of elections and appointments, of incorrect and dangerous assumptions. Gandhiji writes:

> My purpose here is merely to point out the danger from within. The first in importance is laziness of mind and body. *This comes out of the smug satisfaction that Congressmen having suffered imprisonment have nothing more to do to win freedom and that a grateful organization should reward their service by giving them first preference in the matter of elections and offices. And so, there is an unseemly and vulgar competition for gaining what are described as prize posts.* Here there is a double fallacy. Nothing should be considered a prize in the Congress dictionary and imprisonment is its own reward. It is the preliminary examination of a Satyagrahi. Its goal is the slaughter house even as that of the spotless lamb. Jail going is, instead, being used as a passport to every office accessible to the Congress. *Hence there is every prospect of Satyagrahi imprisonment becoming a degrading occupation like that of professional thieves and robbers.* No wonder my friends of the underground variety avoid imprisonment as being comparatively a bed of roses. This is a pointer to the pass the Congress is coming to. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*)

We have deliberately said Mahatmaji's pointer does not go far enough. "Satyagraha and Sacrifice" has already been converted into a business proposition by some groups of careerist Congressmen in certain provinces, notably in Bengal. Needless to say the careerist, like the mosquito in Chanakya's *sloka*, is more adept at flattery and more pushing, where the leaders are concerned. And he is the most vociferous in howling down any constructive or critical move. "Leaders" in certain provinces are in danger of degenerating into being "Led by the Nose" through the action of such persons. The greatest danger, however, lies in the fact that this "Bachelor of Jail" qualification is acting as a barrier preventing any new ideas or new blood from coming into the field of nationalism.

The Leaders have to make up their minds. Is the initiative, in all matters of public interest or weal, going to be taken by them or are they here merely to follow up any movement initiated by others and to accelerate, applaud or orientate the same as time and opportunity might indicate? Leadership cannot be totally divorced from opportunism we know, but leaders without any plan, without any sense of values and *without any idea about the comparative importance of realities*, cannot but bring disaster and chaos to the national life. The country is being torn up by factions, strikes, labour movements, student disturbances and the like. They are all needed for the betterment of a nation in the long run, no doubt. But is it not a fact that most undesirable elements are jockeying for power through all these just now? The public is confused and confounded and distress is mounting up all round. Who should take the initiative and guide all these movements into the nation-building channels?

The Congress has the titanic weight of public sanctions behind it. It has vast dormant powers, of which the August '42 movements were but a mere fraction. Given correct leadership, nothing on earth can prevent us from attaining our goal.

Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has entered the Constituent Assembly from Bengal. He has very little connection with the depressed classes in Bengal, as barring a few educated people nobody knows him in this province. His entry augurs ill for Section C of the Constituent Assembly.

Dr. Ambedkar's scheduled caste movement may be boiled down to two demands,—the claim for the recognition that the depressed classes are not Hindus and the demand for a separate electorate for them. During the last general elections, Dr. Ambedkar's party had been swept out and he could not get a foot-hold even in his home province. Taking advantage of the small quota of general seats in Bengal in the Constituent Assembly elections, he has succeeded in squeezing himself in.

The worthlessness of his claim to represent the depressed classes of India has now been admitted even by the spokesmen of the British Government. In the India debate, the Secretary of State declared that the interests of the scheduled castes are safe in Congress hands and it is the Congress that really represents them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The scheduled castes have now rallied under the banner of the All-India Depressed Classes League. Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, President of this League, in a recent press conference said, the problem of the Scheduled Castes, contrary to Dr. Ambedkar's views, was not religious but economic. He held that the proposition that the scheduled castes were not Hindus, and were entitled to special minority rights, was not correct. The Depressed Classes League had always regarded the depressed classes as part of the Hindu community and it wanted only special protection. He visualised a future when untouchability would completely vanish and the gulf between Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes bridged. Asked about the demand for the abrogation of the Poona Pact, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram said that he favoured the scrapping of it not for the introduction of separate electorates, but for joint electorates. He added, "We will have to hit on some formula which will give protection to scheduled castes along with joint electorates."

The Postal Strike

The Postal Strike is passing through its third week. In the meantime the Adjudicator's Award has been published and accepted by the Government. About two months ago, when the Postal Federation gave the first strike notice, Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha was appointed Adjudicator and the notice was called off. The Federation accepted Mr. Rajadhyaksha as adjudicator. In addition to the employment of the Adjudicator to go into grievances and suggest interim as well as long-term remedies, a Pay Commission was also appointed to revise the scales of pay of all employees under the Government of India .The Lower Grade Postal Employees became impatient and without waiting for either the Adjudicator's Award or the report of the Pay Commission, they called a strike. When the Adjudicator's Award was known, it failed to satisfy them.

The strike has been received with mixed feelings. Among the labourers it found enthusiastic support. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta had one day's sympathetic strike each. The Congress leaders were approached but not for mediation. Pandit Nehru, in a statement on July 24, stated, "The demands of the strikers have an important effect, for inevitably they produce their reactions on other services and on the national budget. The burden must fall on the community. So it is essential that the problem be viewed in its entirety and not isolated from this wider context. Most of us sympathise with the desires of the lower paid members of the essential public services to raise their standards of living. They are hard worked and deserve well of the community. Indeed, higher standards of pay and living will mean greater efficiency also. At the same time, it has always to be remembered that one essential service should not hold up the nation's work or profit by virtue of its strategic position at the cost of other services or the people at large. If this happens, there will be a reaction against that service and the sympathy that exists today will vanish."

Even after this outspoken statement no improvement is visible in the strike situation. The Government and the strikers both seem to be equally adamant. Sir Eric Conran-Smith has announced Government of India's firm decision to give P and T employees no more relief than that recommended by the Adjudicator. He said "Government consider that they have done the right and proper thing in accepting as it stood the award of the Adjudicator. A halt must be called somewhere to the expenditure of the tax-payers' money on what is intended to be interim relief pending the report of the Pay Commission."

A Postal or a Railway strike must be viewed from a totally different angle of vision. Such strikes cannot be classed with ordinary industrial strikes. In their case, the employer is the State and the tax-payer must find money for them. They have a forum at the Legislature to ventilate their grievances. In this, they have a great advantage over the industrial labour of the country. We believe that where tax-payers' money is concerned and a national question is involved, the proper step for the Postal Employees would have been to ventilate their grievances before the budget session of the Central Legislature opened and not *after* it. We are afraid that the strikers have been ill-advised and in case the consequences of the strike are not up to their expectation, it would be their leaders, responsible for precipitating the crisis, on whom the blame should rest.

The latest strike situation has revealed an increasing rivalry between the Federation of Posts and Telegraph Unions and the All-India Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union. The Federation is continuing negotiations with the Government. An *A. P.* and *U. P.* message states that all postal, telegraph, telephone, and R.M.S. employees who are members of the Unions affiliated to the Federation but went on strike, have joined their duties in all stations. On the other hand, the President of the Council of Action of the Striking Unions has warned the Government that the negotiations that Dewan Chamanlal is carrying on with the Government as President of the P. and T. Federation are "unauthorised and the Council of Action will not be bound by the terms of any settlement he may conclude with the Government" This rivalry between the two organisations has been an unhappy feature in this struggle and there is no doubt that it has harmed the cause which led the men to stop work. Names of Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru have been raised in connection with mediation and a report was circulated that Maulana Azad had offered to mediate and that he was calling a conference in Delhi for the purpose. Maulana Saheb in a statement has stated that he has made no such offer. The only thing that he told certain representatives of the Federation was that if he or any of his colleagues could do anything to ease the situation, they would not deny to do so. Regarding Delhi Conference, Maulana Saheb says, "A conference would not be of much help in the present circumstances."

Labour in India

In all democratic countries, Labour has the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing and is free (or at least has the right to be free) from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labour, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives. It is equally free, in democratic countries, from all hindrance in self-organisation or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection. In all such countries the maximum hours of labour, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment are settled between the Chief Executive of the State, or his nominee, and the accredited representatives of Labour. In Totalitarian States, Labour has no such right, it has either to carry out the orders

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the Dictator, on whatever terms he might approve or else it has to face dire consequences—even death or "liquidation."

We have had enough of slave-driving in India and so no right-thinking person can think of depriving a worker of his rights. And there can be no denial of the fact that labour in this country is badly in need of amelioration of the conditions of living and all-round raising of standards. When we say labour, we mean labour in every sphere, agricultural, industrial and that in Public Utility services. But at the same time it must be admitted that this amelioration should be attained uniformly all over the field, so that there be a steady rise in the standard of living all round. There must be no attempt by any individual group to gain advantages for itself at the cost of others. Labour should at the same time keep a keen eye on the rise in efficiency with each step in the rise of wages and the conditions of living as otherwise there can be no progress. Leaving aside all controversial topics, in these days of mass-hysteria, we think it will be admitted that a rise in the standard of living *has to be worked for and that this rise can be maintained in a steady upward curve only if the production or output increases steadily with it.* Nowhere in this world has labour thrived merely by refusing to work. We are not trying to justify low wages, we are only asking that Labour in India should learn the lessons that British Labour has to give. Mass-unemployment will be the only result if that lesson be not learnt, and the Labour movement be not guided by cool, hard-headed and hard-working executives instead of irresponsible mob-orators jockeying for power.

British Labour is the most experienced body of workers in the democratic world and it has attained its present dominant position in the State through having learnt its lessons the hard way, through the collapse of British industries and the consequent mass-unemployment of millions. Let us see how it is planning for the Post-War period. We append extracts from an American's report on the labour conditions in Post-War Britain :*

> To get British industry going again full blast, new wage and hour settlements have been voluntarily negotiated in coal, agriculture, cotton, the building trades and in many smaller industries. Cherished trade union practices have been modified.
>
> The consequence that means most—more than Marx on the Left or Capitalism on the Right—is a higher British standard of living. There is one way to get that, says British trade unionism. Shake the backwardness and inefficiencies out of British industry ; by the best and shortest route, put it into maximum peacetime production.
>
> A leader in the Trades Union Congress recently said : "A considerable amount of satisfaction can be derived from 'beating the bosses.' But it is very bad for industry and it is very bad for production. In meeting post-war demands we shall all require a united pull. I suggest that an honorable partnership is the best way of securing it."
>
> The end of the war did not blow off the lid. Instead, from January 1 to October 1, 1945, the total of man-hours lost by strikes was only one-third as high as between January 1 and October 1, 1944.
>
> This does not mean that labor has ceased seeking better wages and working conditions. It means that labor is accepting its share of responsibility for the productive well-being of the industrial goose from which it expects to get many golden eggs.
>
> In Great Britain, organized labor has now reached a more powerful position than in any other industrial nation.
>
> No law compels British trade unions to make annual reports to the government of receipts and expenditures. But virtually all of them do.
>
> In a plant I visited near Manchester, the chief shop steward, co-chairman with the plant manager of the JPC, pointed to certain machines. "Formerly," he said, "it was a man to each machine in this department. In the old days, we, on the labor side, would have insisted on keeping it that way. But here the men worked out their own labor-saving methods. Now, instead of operating only one machine each worker operates three."
>
> The organized workers in this plant lodged complaints against three supervisors—union members—on the ground that they were inefficient and slowed up production. They got the men fired.

Labour in India must agitate for its rights. It must agitate and work and work and agitate, all according to a definite plan. And, it must learn to choose leaders who know that in the cutting of the cloth allowance has to be made for the cloth to go all round, else there would be no coats, only scraps.

Anti-Corruption Move in Bengal

The Congress Ministries in different provinces have begun to take drastic steps for eradicating corruption and black-marketing. In Bengal, a Committee was set up to enquire, amongst others, into the causes of corruption and suggest remedies. It is a long time since this Committee, the Rowlands Committee, has submitted its report but no action has yet been taken. The findings of the Committee are no doubt damaging for the Administration, but it has failed to suggest remedies which would be effective for the eradication of bribery, jobbery and corruption which have sent roots deep down the social, economic and administrative spheres in Bengal. A shrewd suggestion in this respect has been made by Mr. T. S. Pillai in the *India* monthly. Urging the appointment of District Corruption Enquiry Committees, he suggests that such a Committee should be given plenary powers to investigate and prepare a statement of income of every man within a district suspected of having made a sudden accretion of wealth. An account of his landed properties, houses, bank deposits, jewelleries and stocks and shares held by him should be prepared. It will find out the total assets of each individual in 1938-39 and 1944-45. The difference between the value of his properties between these years would give the net addition to his wealth. If this difference shows an abnormal increase than is natural under the circumstances for the person to accumulate, the onus of proving that the money was not ill-gotten should lie on him. This method of detecting corruption has been suggested by the Rowlands Committee in respect of Government servants. Such drastic action specially against highly placed Government servants is certainly called for. If they fail to give satisfactory explanation for the accrued wealth, the whole of it should at once be forfeited and the person criminally prosecuted.

* Stanley High in the *Reader's Digest* for February, 1946.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Second Phase" of Indo-British Relations

Discussion of the future Indo-British relations at a meeting of the East India Association, London, gave many members an opportunity to express the hope that India will forget unhappy memories of the past and choose to remain within the Empire. Confidence was also voiced that "British ideas" and "British way of life" would continue to influence India long after the severence of political links with Britain.

The discussion was opened by Dr. Percival Spear, late of the Delhi University, who read a paper, in which he argued that the "present crisis should not mark the end of British connection with India, but the completion of one phase and the opening of another in the history of Indo-British relations."

In order to preserve and develop this connection, Dr. Spear suggested that a "British Institute" on the model of the Rhodes Trust and Leverhulme Fellowships should be set up with centres at Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, in order to arrange cultural contacts and exchange between the two countries. In this connection, Dr. Spear said that Oxford and Cambridge could make a most valuable contribution for giving research fellowships to Indian scholars. "Many Indians know college life from the under-graduate angle but practically none from the high table, and such experience carried back to India could not but be productive of good. Without planned effort along such lines, British culture would not be cast aside indeed but would likely, like other cultures before it, slowly fossilise and in 50 years' time 'English-knowing' man would be as remote from current realities as 'Persian-knowing' or 'Sanskrit-knowing' man of today." Britain's mission in the present-day world is a moral mission, concluded Dr. Spear and she must by methods of persuasion seek other peoples to adopt the British way of life.

Dr. Spear also said that two types of English businessmen are likely to go to India in future—the individual adventurer, hoping to make a fortune in the service of Indian firms as in the days of John Company, and the employees of big British Corporations. "For the sake of British name—remembering their eighteenth century prototypes—I hope that representatives of the first type will be few," said Dr. Spear.

Sir Henry Sharp, however, took exception to this view, saying he hoped "adventurers" would play a useful part not only in business but in the administrative services, Army and other fields. "There will be a period of rough and tumble," Sir Henry added, "I hope the rough won't be too rough and the tumble too severe. We have plenty of fine young people here—let them loose. British tough guys will do better than any other tough guys from any other country."

Declaring that English ideas and ways would persist in India for generations, Lord Erskine said, "I have no personal knowledge of the north but in the south we have been there far too long and our language has persuaded far too widely for anything else to happen."

"We have a great future in India," he added, "Independence and Dominion Status—it is a distinction without a difference. I hope India will decide to remain within the Empire and carry on the system of law and justice which is so famous and which we have introduced into India."

Sir Lancelot Graham, contributing to the discussion, deplored the continued habit of talking of British India and Indian States. "I hope the distinction will pass altogether and there will be no British India at all." "We of all people," continued Sir Lancelot, "must not blame Indians for being suspicious of the gifts we bring. When they realise the extent of those gifts the old feeling of dislike and distrust will die out. I only hope that we shall not have to say of Indians that their memories are as long as those of the Irish."

Dr. Ruth Young expressed anxiety about the position of Indian women in the future. Indian women in professions have had "scarcity value," he said. "Would this privileged position continue? I wonder if they would have to come back to us to learn how to struggle for their rights and privileges." Referring to the value of the services rendered by the missionaries, she said that they must in future "go as friends and if necessary subordinates without trying to boss the show."

Sir Frederick Whyte, who presided, deprecated the use of the word "abdication" to describe the present phase of Indo-British relations. "Fulfilment" is the right word, he said. "Some of us may regret the disappearance of the steel frame," he continued, "but we cannot but rejoice if Indians win their freedom—although it may be premature to rejoice." Referring to the strength of Indian admiration for British ideas and institutions, Sir Frederick said that the late Pandit Motilal Nehru was so impressed with the judicial wisdom and impartiality of the Privy Council that he once expressed the hope that at least the judicial link between Britain and India would continue when all others had gone.

Anti-Indian Bill in East Africa

After South Africa comes disquieting news from East Africa. For ages past Indians have been established on the coast of East Africa. Indian settlers played a very important part in establishing peaceful outposts in the farthest corners of East African territories. The opening up of the vital lines of communications between the Eastern and Southern parts of Africa was achieved primarily through the efforts of the Indian emigrants. Indians played a conspicuous part in the gradual and progressive development of the trade relations of Africa with the external world. Indian blood and Indian money flowed freely there when the defence, conquest and consolidation of the African continent was needed. Once this purpose is achieved, the South and East African whites have come out in their true colours with anti-Indian Bills which aim at a total extinction of the Indian settlers. Time has proved that the European settlers are no match for the Indians in intelligence, education and enterprise. Political power is, therefore, utilised for ousting the Indians from the African soil.

Mr. P. D. Master, Honorary General Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress, has given a vivid account of the position of Indian settlers in East Africa. In an article contributed to the *Leader*, he writes:

> As long back as 1875, Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, advocated the emigration and settlement of Indians, accompanied by sufficient assurance of profitable employment and fair treatment, on grounds of humanity and also from an imperial point of view. One of the chief reasons advanced for granting a Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company was that it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who would otherwise be compelled to reside and trade under the government or protection of alien powers.'

Even Mr. Winston Churchill was in favour of encouraging Indian immigration into East Africa, but the presence of the Boers from South Africa and the World War I altered the situation. While Indian soldiers were shedding their blood on the battlefields, the European settlers in East Africa were manoeuvring to eliminate Indians from East African territories. South Africa had successfully closed the door to Indian immigration. The South African agitation spread to East Africa and European settlers in Kenya (formerly British East Africa Protectorate) demanded, 'South Africa has shut the back door to Indians in Durban, we must shut the front door in Mombasa.' Then there arose a struggle between the European and Indian communities in Kenya which resulted in the notorious settlement contained in that preposterous document known as the White Paper of July, 1923, which Indians in Kenya never accepted. The Government of India reserved its right to reopen the whole question on some further occasion.

It is now an open secret that the settlement was concluded by the European settlers in Kenya under the threat of a rebellion. The relevant paragraph on the question of Indian immigration reads : "It may be stated definitely that only in extreme circumstances could His Majesty's Government contemplate legislation designed to exclude from a British colony immigrants from any other part of the British Empire. *Such racial discrimination in immigration regulations, whether specific or implied, would not be in accord with the general policy of His Majesty's Government and they cannot countenance the introduction of any such legislation in Kenya.*"

Furthtr it went on to say : "The existing Immigration Regulations of the colony are of quite general application. It is clearly as important in the general interests of Kenya to prohibit the entry of undesirable persons from Europe or America as from Asia. The primary duty of the Colonial Government is the advancement of the African, and it is incumbent upon them to protect him from an influx of immigrants from any country that might tend to retard his economic development."

As to the course to be followed thereafter the White Paper stated : "In course of time as the natives progress intellectually, they will no doubt take the place which Africans hold in other parts of British tropical Africa in mechanical and subordinate clerical work and in small trade, and it must be the aim of the British administration to further this development by all possible means. With this object the Colonial Government must weigh, so far as may be practicable, the effect on native interests of the admission to the colony of would-be immigrants of any race. Further, some arrangement must be devised for securing a strictly impartial examination of applications for entry into Kenya, possibly by a board on which the various communities, including the natives, would be represented. It will, therefore, be an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to explore the matter further on his return to the colony and in concert with the Governor of Uganda, to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the natives of both dependencies require."

Soon after the publication of the White Paper of 1923 and in accordance with the instructions to the Governor of Kenya referred to in the last paragraph, the Government of Kenya with the consent of the Colonial Office published a bill entitled 'An Ordinance to Consolidate and Regulate Immigration and Employment.' The provisions of that bill made no specific reference to Indians but if it had become law, Indian immigration to East Africa would have ceased in 1923. But fortunately the Government and the people of India went to the rescue of their countrymen in Kenya and the bill was dropped altogether.

Features of the East African Anti-Indian Bill

Explaining the main features and purpose of the Bill, which clearly shows up the malicious intent of its protagonists Mr. Master writes :

> But the efforts of the European settlers in Kenya to oust Indians from East Africa did not cease. During the World War II, they continued to agitate and manoeuvred in order to induce the three Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda to introduce the Defence (Admission of Male Persons) Regulations, 1944. Though ostensibly non-racial, these Regulations were and are calculated and intended to prevent Indian immigration only. The way in which these Regulations have been administered supports that contention.
>
> The Governments of the three East African territories had assured both Indians in East Africa and the Government of India that these Regulations were introduced in view of the food shortage and would be withdrawn after the conclusion of the War. Therefore, the East African Indian National Congress at its session held at Mombassa on 6th October, 1945, passed a resolution requesting the Government to repeal them in fulfilment of the undertaking given by them to the Government of India and to the Indian community and at the same time urged the Government of India to do everything possible to have the Regulations repealed by the Governments concerned in the implementation of their promises. The Executive of the East African Indian National Congress made the necessary representations to the Government of Kenya and the Government of India in their behalf. His Excellency Sir P. Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, informed the Hon. Mr. A. B. Patil, President of the Congress, that the Defence Regulations would be withdrawn after the bill now published had become law.
>
> The bill is to be simultaneously introduced in the legislatures of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda in their sessions to be held in the first week of July this year. Hence, it is necessary that urgent action be taken.
>
> The main features of the bill, of which Indians entertain great fear, are that if it became law in its present form, it would arm the Governor-in-Council of the different territories of East Africa to administer the law on a racial basis. The composition of 'the Board' and 'the Authority' provided for in the bill is not stated. It is necessary that, there should be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

equal representation of Indians. The provisions of clause No. 5 are such that even persons like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad are not eligible to enter East Africa even for a temporary cultural visit. The deposit of £75 or Rs. 1,000 is excessive when compared with £5 provided for in the law at present in force. Clause No. 7 makes it virtually impossible to get a residential certificate if an old resident has left East Africa prior to 31st August, 1939, or has not stayed for five years in the aggregate within the last eight years from the date of application. Those who left under voluntary evacuation during the war, including the students who left for higher studies, will be prevented from re-entering the country.

In short, though the bill is non-racial in character, it has been designed to oust Indians from all walks of economic life in the East African territories. Ordinarily there should have been no permits for inter-territorial movement when attempts are being made to bring the three territories together under the inter-territorial organisation. But it is in keeping with the design of European settlers that Indians should not move from Kenya to Uganda or Tanganyika. When it is remembered that Indian immigration into East African territories is governed by and follows economic factors obtaining there, the present bill would appear to be redundant and uncalled for.

But, as stated in the memorandum of objects and reasons of the bill, it has been designed to carry out 'main matters of policy.' European settlers who demanded prohibition of Indian immigration in the first place stated that it should be done in the interests of Africans. Later on, they stated that it should be done not in the interests of the Africans but in the interests of the Europeans. The policy is, therefore, to serve the interests of European settlers and to help them to exploit the Africans more by removing the Indian settler who has proved a thorn in their side.

As regards the interests and progress of the Africans, there have been innumerable testimonials from high authorities to the effect that Indian settlers have played a useful part. Sir Harry Johnston in his report for 1901, wrote, 'Indian trade, enterprise and emigration require a suitable outlet. East Africa is and should be from every point of view the America of the Hindus (of course, he meant 'Indians' generally). We do not naturally desire to see all the Indian enterprise in Eastern Africa sheltered by a flag that is not British.'

Indians as a Factor in Civilising the African

The Hilton-Young Commission, appointed in 1927, also known as the Closer Union Commission, made recommendations for more effective co-operation between the different East African territories. They admitted in their Report that the Indian had been a potent factor in the process of civilising the African. He at the same time helped the British merchant by carrying this ware into the remote native areas. The Report stated :

> There can be no doubt that the Indian community has played a useful, and in fact an indispensable part in the development of these territories. *The Indian has been a potent factor* in the process of civilising the African. *The Dukanwala or petty shopkeeper has carried his wares far and wide into remote native areas and introduced the products of European industry among the most primitive tribes.* By increasng their wants he has created an incentive to effort and thus sown the first seeds of economic progress. The Indian dealer has performed another useful function in marketing the products of native agriculture. For instance, the greater part of the valuable cotton crop in Uganda is handled by Indian buyers, and their activities have undoubtedly stimulated the spread of cotton cultivation. The middleman generally survives as a necessary link in the chain of distribution and it must be recognised that the Indian middlemen are doing useful work for which no other agency is at present available. The European cannot afford to trade on the small scale and with the small margin on which the Indian subsists, and the African generally is not yet sufficiently advanced to do so.
>
> It may be pointed out that Tanganyika is a quarter of a century behind Kenya and there is no other agency in that territory which can perform the task the Indian has been doing.

The European Settler in East Africa

The case of the European settlers has been explained in the following passage of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report on the Closer Union Commission of East Africa :

> In the course of the evidence an interesting analysis of the economic basis on which White settlement has hitherto rested was submitted to the committee, the general conclusion of which was that White settlement had not been really self-supporting but only made possible by a very considerable measure of direct and indirect financial assistance, and that the tendency of the future would be to eliminate the farmer settler in favour of the plantation manager. This view and its implications were opposed by a considerable body of evidence. When allowance is made for the severe set-back which the young settler community suffered owing to the war, and for the difficult economic conditions of the post-war period, the progress made so far certainly compares not unfavourably with that of other countries at the same stage in their history. On the other hand, even when the initial stage of taking root has been overcome, the possibilities of any large expansion would seem to be precluded by the limited area of the temperate highlands as well as by the narrowly restricted sphere of occupations which the White man is prepared to take up. *In the meantime the Committee consider that the figures and arguments submitted to them merit serious consideration before any policy of further intensive White settlement is adopted.*

In spite of this, efforts have continued to increase European settlement. Even during World War II, the Kenya Government approved proposals for settling two hundred Europeans in Kenya, while no such scheme has been devised for the settlement of Indians who have played and still continue to play a very important role in the development of Africa.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The present Bill is clearly designed to hit the Indian community. The measure does not only affect the vested interests and self-respect of the Indians in the four East African territories alone, it is an affront to India.

1942 Revolution in Tanganyika

The extension of the Quit India movement to the African continent has recently been revealed. It is, however, a strange paradox that it was left to young Indians in the Government service to hold the Flag salutations and distribute bulletins in 1942 in Tanganyika, East Africa, while Indian leaders there were anxious not to lose Government contracts or incur official displeasure.

The following is the full account of the struggle, written by Sri Oza and published in the *Bharat Jyoti* :

That the "August Resolution failed to stir the Indian leaders in Tanganyika and exposed the apathy of the Indians in general towards the problems of the Mother land" is a very far-reaching statement. I agree, but nevertheless it sums up general reactions to the movement. Not that Tanganyika Indians could have done anything in a practical way to demonstrate their oneness with India as the Government of the country is entirely different and is in no way connected with India Office nor can the Indians launch a movement against it simultaneously as in India. What they could and should have done was to have rendered financial help to the Congress, held protest meetings, distributed correct literature and above all sent up volunteers to India. That is exactly what they did not do—"they" means the leaders and the mercantile community. Whatever little that was done was by the smaller fry—the official and the clerical section of young Indians inspired by a burning fire of patriotism which prompted them to incur the wrath of the Government on one hand and the Indian leaders on the other. Almost all who were involved were either Government servants or employed by business firms.

The attitude adopted by the Indian Association —the paramount body of the Indians—was that of active co-operation in war efforts and severe exclusion of any action on Indian question which, according to them, was likely to prove detrimental to the Indian settlement and followed this policy even where they should have warned the Government against flooding the country with anti-Indian literature likely to poison the minds of those who showed any sympathy towards Indian aspirations. Not only that, but the Government went on inserting libelous propaganda in African language papers for the consumption of the natives and yet, afraid of losing their seats on Councils and Committees, the so-called leaders raised not so much as a protest against this flagrant violation of the policy. When the Editor of the *Tanganyika Opinion* raised this issue and counteracted the false statements by vigorous and biting articles he was informed that he was *persona-non-grata*. With his departure for India, Tanganyika had nobody worth his name who could raise a protest against this. And so at the time of the movement it was left to us to try to do something to show that no matter where we reside we carry a sense of patriotism and feeling for country with us.

It had been evident ever since the failure of the Cripps Mission that a flare up in India was certain and a move was already afoot to found an Indian Youth League with a view to cultivate public opinion, enrol members who would go to India and to collect funds for helping those who suffered in the Movement. Preparations were not yet complete when on that memorable day I heard a Jap station announce at 6 a.m. in the morning that, "the reputed leaders of the Indian National Movement were arrested in the early hours and are now being removed to an unknown destination." The news came somewhat in the nature of a shock to me as I had not expected so swift an action. At that early hour on Sunday I rushed out and saw the President of the Hindu Volunteer Corps which was Hindu in social work and essentially Indian where political and national questions were involved and which worked in co-operation with other Muslim and Hindu sectional bodies. It was a powerful body of youths and had the courage of celebrating a national occasion like Gandhi Jayanti which the Indian Association was afraid to do.

An emergency meeting of the Working Committee was called at nine in the morning. I put up a resolution condemning the action of the Government of India and requesting the Indian Association to forward it to the Government of India after passing it in a mass meeting, which was to be held the same afternoon to mourn the death of the Hon. Mr. J. R. Pandya of Kenya Legislative Council. The resolution was squashed by the President of the Association who appealed to the people not to be swayed away by events in India and to live as Tanganyikans and not Indians.

Infuriated, we sent up the resolution ourselves. News about atrocities began pouring in through Jap and German stations. Censorship was tightened and all newspapers from India were thoroughly examined before being sent to Tanganyika. I, however, managed to circularise provincial youth leaders and decided to try to smuggle out volunteers. The Indian Assistant Director of Manpower got wind of the move and he stopped granting exit permits to any youth Indian. We managed to send out a couple of chaps on medical grounds. By that time Congress Bulletins and copies of the *Quit India* resolution arrived packed in bales of piecegoods. These were typed and distributed. However, after a few numbers were sent out, the Government was obligingly informed by an Indian Member of the Legislative Council about it. Then it was child's play for the C.I.D. to trace the culprits. They could establish that the bulletins were distributed through a Government Department. The distribution was stopped.

Ceylon Saved Through Indian Help

A long statement setting out in detail the various occasions on which India had helped Ceylon with supplies of foodstuffs has been issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, Government of India's Representative in Ceylon. The statement has been issued in view of the recent Ceylon press reports, as well as allegations by certain speakers from public platforms. Recently Mr. Ananda Tissa De Alwis, Publicity Officer of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee, Board of Ministers, Ceylon, in a broadcast over the Colombo Radio, purporting to refute "mis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

representations" about Ceylon was reported to have stated that not a grain of rice had been coming into the island from India in renent years. It is also reported that at the Kalutar co-operative conference, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council, told the audience that India had not sent a grain of rice to Ceylon and Ceylon obtained all her foodstuffs through the good offices of England.

Mr. Aney has done well in flinging this refutal at these false propagandists who evidently wanted to aggravate the anti-Indian temper prevailing in Ceylon at the present moment.

Giving details of supplies of foodstuffs from India, Mr. Aney says that after the fall of Burma, Ceylon turned to India for foodstuffs, particularly rice, to bridge the gap in her import requirements. This was a time when a large deficit in the supply of foodstuffs in India also became apparent. The famine in Bengal which took its toll in loss of life evoked as much sympathy in Ceylon as in India.

Yet during the first six months of 1943, India exported to Ceylon 57,000 tons of rice and a total of about 79,000 tons of foodgrains. After the famine in Bengal began and between July and October 1943, 1242 tons of rice, 20,490 tons of wheat and wheat flour and a total of 31,000 tons of pulses were exported.

On November 1, 1943, the Government of India were compelled to place an embargo on the export of all foodgrains from India but as a result of representations made by the Government of Ceylon 2,000 tons of rice per month were allotted for export to Ceylon from December, 1943.

During 1944, the food position in India was extremely serious. Only pulses were allowed to be exported to Ceylon and that too in smaller quantities than were originally allotted. During that year 9851 tons of pulses were exported to Ceylon. During 1945, in response to the urgent demand from Ceylon, the Government of India loaned to Ceylon Government 25,000 tons of rice during February and March which His Majesty's Government agreed to replace by equal quantity of rice from Egypt. In response to another request in May 1945, a further loan of 25,000 tons of rice was made, export being completed by the middle of September. In December 1945 arrangements were made to ship at short notice a further loan of 6,500 tons of rice from Travancore. All these loans were made owing to non-fulfilments in the programme of arranged shipments to Ceylon and in order to avert breakdown of the food rationing system in Ceylon. It was admitted in the State Council on February 12, 1946, that during 1945, Ceylon took from India a loan of 55,000 tons of rice on the guarantee of replacement by the Food Ministry in London. Export of pulses were resumed in 1945. Eighteen thousand tons were allotted for the second half of 1945 and greater part hereof had been exported to Ceylon before the present serious situation intervened and compelled the Government of India to prohibit further exports.

In June 1946 on representations made by Ceylon, the Government of India agreed to the diversion of shipment of cereals intended for Bombay to Colombo. In reply to an appeal by the Ceylon Indian Congress President in this behalf, the Government of India replied, they had already agreed to the diversion of one ship on the promise of replacement and could not do more, in view of the present crisis in India.

Mr. Aney says that India remained and remains practically the main supplier to Ceylon from abroad of sheep and goats, curry stuffs, eggs, dried fish, etc. Mr. Aney points out that it is necessary to view all these exports against the background of the situation in India during 1943, 1944 and 1945 and the beginning of 1946.

Mr. Aney says, "Today the people of India would be more than glad for a mere loan of two million tons of foodstuffs to be replaced in 1948 when our granaries are full. The effect of an import of food is to be judged not by considering whether it is loan, gift or sale but from the benefits derived from its immediate arrival. All requests for such loans or sales of food have to pass through Washington and in cases of empire countries through London also. *In June 1946, the Ceylon Commissioner for Food Supplies in Delhi was reported in Ceylon as having stated that the Government of India had always come to Ceylon's assistance in times of extreme necessity and would help again.*

On April 25, 1946, the Ceylon press reported Sir Oliver Gonnetilleke as having acknowledged the support by Indian and South African delegations at the London Food Council for Ceylon's claim for special treatment with regard to rice and flour supplies. He has also acknowledged gratefully the support received by him in presenting his claim at Washington from the Indian delegation.

Independence for the Philippines

The Philippine Republic has been formally inaugurated on July 4. This day is auspicious for America because it was on July 4 that the thirteen colonies had started their own career of independence.

The Philippines were discovered and conquered about four hundred years ago by the Spaniards and named after Philip II. Contact with the outside world soon lifted the natives from the rudimentary phase of civilisation. The islands changed hands, and for two centuries remained under the British but again came back to Spanish hands. Towards the close of the last century, at the conclusion of a war between Spain and America, the islands were ceded to the U.S.A.

The Philippines, no doubt, have come to enjoy formal independence, but is that independence absolute? Pandit Nehru's message to her brings that point into relief. He said :

> We hope that this really signifies independence, for this word has rather become hackneyed and outworn and has been made to mean many things. Some countries, that are called independent, are far from free and are under economic and military domination of some great power. Some so-called independent countries carry on with what might be termed *puppet regime* and are in a way client countries of some great power.

With India in the past, the people of the Philippines, as of all other countries of South-East Asia, have had contact. India would, therefore, be all the more happy if she could feel that this independence were real. The declaration of Manuel Roxas, the first President of the Philippines Republic, made on this occasion, tends to show that the islands will remain a client state of the great Power which has formally made her independent. She remains committed to support the U. S. International programme. American military bases will be there. The economic interests of the islands will also continue to be dominated by American capital. These vital facts will tend to indicate that the *indepen-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dence that has been granted is a qualified article. The connections between the U.S.A. and Philippines that will obtain from July 4 will be clear from the following portions of President Roxas' statement :

> As President of the Philippines, I will so arrange the defence of these islands that it may be intimately co-ordinated with the plans of the United States for the maintenance of defensive bases in the Philippines. We will maintain as large an army as our resources permit and it will co-operate very closely with the armed forces of the United States based in the Philippines.
>
> Also I am committed with reservations in favour of stimulating the influx of American capital into the Philippines. After the destruction we have suffered, due to war, it can be truthfully said that the Philippines constitute an almost complete economic vacuum.
>
> We do not have enough of our own capital to develop the country and, therefore, unless American capital comes to our aid we will have to depend on other foreign capital.
>
> I wish to safeguard against this in order to avoid any future political complications which might prove most dangerous to the independence of the Philippines.
>
> Most of the people in the Philippines, without exception, profess the most profound affection and gratitude to the people of the United States. It is not merely because America has shown us the ways of real democracy and thus inspired us with an even greater love for freedom and equality. It is also because of America's liberation of our country from the hands of a cruel and inhuman enemy.
>
> We have drunk very deeply at the fountain source of America's great history and traditions.
>
> After we receive our independence we will continue to seek and to maintain as close a relationship with the United States as possible. Perhaps not always shall we be able to maintain a close political relationship, but intimate co-operation with American institution will remain and endure.

Madras Government's Cloth Distribution Scheme

Mr. T. Prakasam, Prime Minister of Madras, has submitted a draft proposal for the equitable distribution of mill-cloth through village committees. He does not seem to favour the introduction of a rationing scheme for cloth. The Muslim League members of the Madras Council opposed the Premier's proposals and characterised his scheme as "impracticable and unwarrantable." The League members demanded immediate introduction of mill-cloth rationing and urged that the "ration be fixed according to the requirements of the various classes of consumers in regard to the quality, quantity and variety." One of the League members said that there was nothing in the Premier's proposals to eliminate the possibility of abuse of power by the committees or the autocracy of subordinate special officers. He urged that the representatives of the major political parties should be chosen for the committees. One other objection to the village committees functioning, as distributors of cloth was that it would encourage factions.

The Prime Minister gave a fitting reply to the objections. In his statement made to the House in Gujrati mentioned that there was a widespread complaint that mill-cloth was not reaching the poor class of consumers and that the Government had a scheme for the equitable distribution of the available supplies under which it was proposed to utilise the services of the Village, Taluk and District Committees proposed to be formed for the procurement of foodgrains. The proposals are as follows :

In consultation with the District Committee, the district quota of mill-cloth will be apportioned equitably among the Taluks in the district.

In consultation with the Taluk Committee, quotas will be fixed for each village.

Monthly quotas of mill-cloth will thus be fixed for every village and taluk.

The Textile Control Department will specify the dealers carrying on business in the village, and if necessary, outside it and as near as possible to the village, who should supply mill-cloth to the village under the instructions of the Village Committee.

With reference to the monthly quota of the village, the village committee will draw up a basic scheme of distribution indicating the yardage of mill-cloth which will be supplied to each family in the village during the year. It is recognised that there can be no guarantee of supplies in terms of varieties.

Having due regard to this basic scheme, the village committee will settle as to how each consignment of cloth received by the dealers allotted to the village should be distributed, that is, it will issue in writing distribution instructions to the dealers concerned specifying the families to whom the consignment should be distributed and the quantity in each of the available varieties to be sold to each such family. All purchasers of cloth will be asked to produce their food ration cards at the time of the purchase, to enable the dealer to satisfy himself that the cloth is being given to the authorised persons.

The full District Committee may, whenever it considers it necessary, meet and discuss matters relating to cloth control in the district. But in order that the Collector may be free to concentrate on this work relating to food control, it is considered desirable that the District Committee should appoint a sub-committee, consisting of all the non-official members elected from the Taluk Committees, two members of the Legislature selected from among the representatives of the Legislature on the District Committee, the three dealer members referred to above, with the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioner as Chairman, and that the sub-committee should be made responsible for performing the District Committee's functions in regard to cloth.

Each Village Committee will be asked to appoint a sub-committee from amongst its members consisting of the Chairman, one of the dealer members and one of the other members of the committee who is not engaged in any trade himself. The sub-committee so appointed will be entitled to visit any cloth shop in the village and ask for information regarding the distribution of cloth made by the dealer. It shall be entitled to look into the cash receipts or credit notes, as the case may be, evidencing the sales made by the dealer. These inquiries and the intimations, which will be given to the Committee in advance furnishing full particulars of every consignment of cloth received by every dealer who has been asked to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

supply mill-cloth to the village, will enable the sub-committee to see how far the dealer's distribution has been in accordance with the committee's distribution lists.

Proceeding to deal with the Opposition's criticism, Mr. Prakasam said that one main point urged was that the Village Committees could not be trusted and that reliance could not be placed on their competence. It was not for them to say that villagers were incompetent simply because they were uneducated. As for factions and stray assaults, that occurred owing to ignorance, it was their duty to see that those things were stopped. A foreigner might be pardoned for saying that people of this country did not know how to govern themselves : but not their own countrymen. A democratic system of Government was known in this country long before Britain could evolve a democracy of its own. As for factions, were there not factions among educated men ? Were not educated men standing in the way of effecting a settlement of the political problem of the country ? The Indian villager was intelligent. He could understand things if they were properly presented to him. The existing machinery had failed and he had to trust the whole matter into the hands of the people themselves. Let them not think in terms of Hindus and Muslims. Let his Muslim friends come with him and he would show them that in certain villages, *where the Congress had organised spinning, nearly eighty per cent who benefited were Muslims.*

Continuing Mr. Prakasam suggested that under the stress of the present crisis, they might give this opportunity to the people of the villages to restart on their old system of administering their own affairs. He was sure, that it would be an effective means of dealing with the present crisis and in the long run help to re-invigorate village life and restore it to its ancient greatness. He was sure, given full opportunity, the villages would become the basis of an economy of self-sufficiency of the whole country.

Chemical Laboratory for India

A plan for the establishment of a National Chemical Laboratory for India upon a 430-acre tract of land at Poona has been submitted by the Planning Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Under the proposal, the laboratory would have available Rs. 38,90,000 in the form of cash and equipment. The Government would grant Rs. 25,00,000, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust Rs. 8,30,000 and the existing chemical laboratory of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research—which would be absorbed in the National Chemical Laboratory—Rs. 5,60,000 in equipment, chemicals, apparatus and library.

The object of the Laboratory would be "to promote research in industrial chemistry and the chemical utilisation of the raw material resources so as to help the development of the country and its resources."

New processes evolved would be developed up to the pilot plant stage to enable chemical and other industries in need of research in general to derive benefit from the investigations. The main divisions projected are : Inorganic chemistry including analytical chemistry, physical chemistry including electro-chemistry, chemical engineering, survey and intelligence, and organic chemistry.

Among the immediate problems of national importance which the laboratory would study are surveys of raw materials and their industrial potentialities, utilisation of by-products from existing industry and the development of key industries. An Advisory Committee composed of leading chemists, scientists and industrialists would serve to help chalk out the programme and to help co-ordinate the laboratory's work with that of the Universities and other research institutions of the country.

Starvation or Murder ?

Philip Bolsover of the *Daily Worker* makes scathing comments on the Food administration of the United Nations. He says that millions are facing death in Asia. Millions more are on starvation rations in Europe. Japan and Germany are pushed to the head of the world's dinner table for reactionary political reasons. Britain's agriculture is being allowed to slip back to pre-war standards. But none of these things need have happened.

Bolsover says : "People are already dying from starvation in India ; people will die in Europe, and they are not only dying. They are being murdered ; just as surely as though they had each been poisoned or shot. Atom bombs would not slaughter them on such a scale.

"In a world ruled by a sane economic system they would not die. The world has had six years of war, it has had droughts, it is maintaining men under arms instead of in agriculture, it is short of transport. These are some of the reasons why men and women are starving, but a Socialist economic system would have dealt with these causes of food shortage. People are dying, *because it is more profitable for the North American farming interests, under the control of the banks, to hoard their wheat until prices rise, instead of selling it now to save starving people. (North Dakota, for instance, has millions of tons of wheat stored.) Because it is more profitable to give grain to cattle than to send it to hungry human beings. (Grain fed to animals in the United States has jumped by 32½ million tons over the pre-war figure—enough to save millions of lives). Thanks to lifting up of meat rationing by President Truman it is more profitable to feed animals with grains than to export grain to needy countries. Because it was more profitable to burn wheat in Argentina than to store it to meet the needs of other countries. (In the last four years Argentina has burnt 1,280,899 tons of wheat and 7,28,462 tons of maize as fuel.)*

"These are the distortions of a vicious and immoral economic system. They are certainly not the wish of the mass of American people, who have never refused to allow food cuts nor of the British people, now tightening their belts.

Equally malevolent are the political distortions.

In Asia, food supplies are being diverted to Japan to bolster the power of reactionary forces installed under American protection. For food, or lack of food, is a profound factor in a political situation.

In Europe, attention is focussed by Britain and America on Germany, though urgent claims come pressingly from other quarters. Why ? Because reactionary British and U.S. politicians fear the contrast between the rations in their sectors of Germany and those in the Soviet zone.

While these policies are followed, while supplies are diverted, India's hungry millions, whose need of food is the greatest in the world, see their hopes of life fade.

These things—the profit-hunting, the political gang-ster-ism—are the factors that are slowly killing thousands of simple, ordinary folk all over the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And the reverse side of the picture ?

The distribution of tractors, stock and agricultural implements to peasants in Eastern Europe and the Soviet zone of Germany is part of the reverse side.

The division of the big landlords' estates, giving East Europe's peasants a new incentive to produce, is another part of the reverse. In Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria—all over Eastern Europe—peasants are being rescued from an incredibly low standard of living by their new governments. They have help and organisation—above all they have hope.

And a third part of the reverse side is the fact that the Soviet Union plans to increase its agricultural production so rapidly that it will be harvesting 127,000,000 tons of wheat in 1950—seven per cent more than in 1939. This in spite of the fact that 40 per cent of the cultivated area in the Soviet Union was occupied by the Nazis, with the accompaniment of unequalled ruin and repopulation. War or no war, drought or no drought, Socialist harvests will not fail.

Bolsover then criticises Hoover, President Truman's Food Emissary to Europe and Asia. He writes :

> Can we trust him ? Can he be trusted not to use food as a weapon of political blackmail against the democratic Governments of Europe ? asks I. Starobin in the *Daily Worker*.
>
> President Roosevelt didn't trust him. There was considerable pressure on Roosevelt to give Hoover public office, but the President refused to yield—he saw in such action a betrayal of progressive policies.
>
> On the other hand, the Nazis trusted Hoover. When he visited Berlin in 1938 he was acclaimed by Hitler's associates. He went to a meeting in Basle that was intended to be secret, and was there toasted by the Nazis with the remark : "We expect much from Mr. Hoover."
>
> As relief administrator in 1919, Hoover boasted publicly that with food as a weapon he had saved Europe from Communism. What he meant was that he had installed Fascist regimes in Hungary, Poland, Finland and the Balkans.
>
> In 1921, Hoover wrote to a friend : "The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Balshevik or being overrun by their armies."

Altogether, there seem to be quite a lot of reasons why one really should not trust Mr. Hoover.

Indian Buyers' Activity in London Share Market

Buying from India is becoming an increasingly important feature of the industrial share market in London. Large Indian investors with ample funds are buying shares of companies operating in India though controlled from London. The ultimate result, assuming continuity, will be a change in control from Britain to India.

India has long been active in buying shares of lesser known tea companies. During recent months many thousands of British shares have been occupied by Indian investors. Jute shares have also attracted Indian buyers and about 60 per cent of these shares have passed into Indian hands. Rises in the prices of the shares of the Calcutta Trams, Calcutta Electric Supply, Indian Iron and Jute on the London share market, are due to buying orders from India. The sudden rise of Madras Electric Company early in J... last has resulted in the transfer of roughly ten thou... shares to India.

These transfers of shares to Indian hands ... necessarily raised the question of management. It ... believed that in some cases the shares held by M... ing Agents have fallen short of the safe margin. ... consequence, complete transfer of management of ... British firms to Indian hands have taken place. In ... first flush these transfers were in a way advantageo... to British businessmen who generally control their ... in this country through the Agency Houses. Wi... fraction of the shares in their hands, these Agents ... in a position to arrogate the lion's share of the profi... It was not a very bad proposition for them to reap ... harvest while the Indians supplied the capital.

The domination of industries in India through ... Agency Houses is not now considered fully safe. Anxie... is felt as to how far this domination can be maintained with the bulk of capital in Indian hands. The *Evening Standard* of London gives an indication that this question is engaging the attention of the London heads of Indian firms. The city editor of the *Evening Standard* writes that the directors of some of the large Indian tea companies are seriously considering altering the articles of association of their companies in order to prevent control passing from England to India. He states that during the past twelve months Indian investors and speculators have obtained control of a number of smaller private tea estates and have paid anything between £175 to £225 an acre for them, or more than double the actual capitalisation of the estates concerned. Now they are buying the shares of better known public companies in the London market. The buying movement has increased steadily during the past few months and a recent analysis of share transactions by one management company showed that seven out of ten transfers were on Indian account.

British Education Act

Education has had the honour of being the first big measure of British post-war legislative planning. Housing and health programmes are still in the preliminary stage. The Education Act is the most ambitious and comprehensive Education Bill that has ever been passed by the Parliament. The Act is a bold measure. It builds up on what is old, it seeks to fulfil and not to destroy. It is essentially socialist in character because it provides for equality of opportunity for all in the matter of education. The aim is clear, the Government propose "to secure for children a happier childhood and better start in life, to provide a fuller measure of educational opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so to enrich the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are." The basic aim is to improve the content of education. The Act is based on the principle of retaining diversity of choice for the individual child within a co-ordinated system of education in progressive stages from the Nursery to the Advanced Adult stage.

The main features and the significance of the Bill have been summarised by Mr. G. Sundaram in the *Hindu* :

> *Pre-School Education* : The value of Pre-School Education is recognised and provision is made for a generous supply of Nursery Schools. It is pointed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out that these schools are specially needed by children of poorer classes who require a suitable environment. These will be provided by local authorities.

Compulsory School Age : The most striking feature is to take the first step in the programme of raising the school-leaving age. The Fisher Act had brought it to 14 but now it has been raised to 16. Education is regarded as a continuous process—Primary, Secondary and Further—from 5 up to the age of 18.

Primary Stage : Primary schools will give instruction to pupils from the age of 5 to 11. At 11 + they will be diverted to different types of schools. There will be no public examination at this stage as its effect on the child and the curriculum will be cramping. But the diversion will be guided by a study of individual aptitudes as reveals from school records and intelligence tests as well as by parents' wishes regarding the future careers of their children.

Secondary Stage : At 11 + the pupils will have to turn to Grammar Schools, Technical Schools or Modern Schools and they will stay there till 15 or 16. At 16, there will be an internal examination. Those who desire to take to University Education will have to pass the Entrance Tests.

Higher Education : Another remarkable feature is the establishment of Young Peoples' Colleges. Therein the students will have to continue their education till 18. These will give instruction for one day a week.

Health of Children : Government regard the care of children's health as a basic factor in the scheme of education. Medical Inspection followed by medical treatment will be absolutely free. Provision of nourishing meals and milk for all is part of the Health programme.

Free Education : The Act abolishes fees in all schools wholly maintained by educational authorities, whether primary or secondary. Thus equality of opportunity has been provided for all. In aided private schools a number of free places will be available.

Inspection : There will be compulsory inspection of all private schools, which will be guided by the advice of inspecting officers.

Religious Instruction : Religious instruction is regarded as an essential element of education. It is laid down that the school day should begin with a corporate act of worship. Instruction on agreed syllabus will be given though parents have the liberty to withdraw their children from religious classes.

Administrative Charges : The Minister will have full power to control the whole field of education, not merely to guide, supervise and advise as before. He will appoint Advisory Councils which he will consult from time to time. The estimated cost will be £200,000,000 in a normal year and two-third will be met from Central Taxation.

Teacher Supply : The problem of adequate Teacher Supply is visualised. The Training Colleges and Schools will have to double up their output. The ban on employment of married women teachers has been removed. While a separate committee has thoroughly gone into the question, it is realised that conditions of parity with Civil Service will have to be established so that teaching service may attract and keep men and women of talent, ability and ambition.

The British Education Act of 1944 is a pointer to statesmen and publicists in all countries and especially in a country like India, which has been educationally backward owing to political servitude. Mr. Butler calls upon the Indian statesmen to place first things first in the Scheme of Nation-building. The provision of a comprehensive system of Education run by capable teachers whose supply is uninterrupted because of proper conditions of service and prospects of adequate rewards will have to be regarded as the first step in National Reconstruction in free India. The Indian national leaders have yet to learn that education, in the words of the Conservative Party Report, is "a basic activity and that it conditions the future character of the entire community." Will our leaders keep in mind the truth of the statement that introduced Butlers' Bill ?—"Upon the education of a people, the fate of a nation depends."

Conditions in our country stand a lamentable comparison. The Congress Governments have just begun to liberalise education but their powers and resources are too limited to redress the bad effects of the planned denial of education that has been so far the official policy. In non-Congress provinces education is still neglected and in Bengal a measure *for further curtailment of educational facilities is on the legislative anvil.*

Indo-Russian Trade Prospects

Alfred Wagg, Special Representative of the *Chicago Tribune* has thrown light on the possibilities of the development of Indo-Russian trade. He says that Indian business is expecting to bring a minimum number of one thousand translators during the coming year. Wagg claims that this has been revealed to him by a spokesman for one of India's largest textile, sugar, jute concerns who indicated that his firm had already made handsome offers to the students of Russian language, who may be able to translate into English or Hindustani, if they come to India for assisting to secure liason with Russian business, eventually attempting the replacement of the United States as an outside influence in competition with British India. When questioned how the idea of developing trade with Russia was conceived, the spokesman said, "Members of the Russian film industry who came to India four years ago contributed many suggestions concerning the exchange of business knowledge."

The representative stated the reason for the need of Indo-Russian co-operation in commercial spheres, firstly, the need to introduce into India a check against rising British prices; secondly, to hedge against inflation on present business ; thirdly, to develop facilities of Afghanistan-Russia-India border in view of the possibility of building railroads from India to Russia as soon as British political control relaxes and also o improve air, road and other transport facilities for connections with Russia ; fourthly, the need for cheaper products from Czechoslovakia and small European countries where Russian aid is helpful, such as Latvia and Estonia. He also stated : "India needed Russian equipment and machinery" and stated that Russian influence was welcomed by his firm and that already many

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

European engineers, consultants were advising his firm on the prospects of trade.

In view of the third world war, it is but natural that India will begin to think of her trade relations in terms of land routes instead of depending for the supply of essential commodities on vulnerable sea routes. Opening up of land communications between Russia, China and India can easily develop Asia into the strongest economic and military unit of the world.

Foreign Possessions in India

There are a few French and Portuguese possessions in India reminding us of the foreign adventurers who set their foot on our soil three centuries ago. It is time that they should be amalgamated with the whole of India. Their foreign rulers should now be asked to quit. A long step forward has been taken in this direction by the people of French India. In electing for a member to the French Constitutional Assembly, they voted for one who pledged himself to support the move for an amalgamation of French India with the rest of the country. Movement in the Portuguese possessions has also started and Goa has been for some time in the limelight. But this Goanese struggle is still a struggle for civil liberties. Quit Goa struggle has not yet begun.

The foreign possessions may be minor principles but they are pimples that disfigure the face of India and should be cured at the earliest possible opportunity. Their foreign owners would also gain a far greater amount in amity with Indians than they would lose in cash.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

What are things coming to at the Asiatic Society of Bengal? Judging from recent tendencies it is more than apparent that the last decade's history is going to be repeated there. Only in 1939, the Society had set up a Re-organisation Committee to investigate thoroughly into the causes that had led to the decline in its cultural activities under a paid European General Secretary. After a thorough scrutiny the Society, on the recommendation of the Reorganisation Committee resolved to abolish the post of a paid Secretary and it was decided to appoint two Assistant Secretaries, one for administrative and the other for academic purposes. The Assistant Secretaries would be under an elected Honorary General Secretary. For financial reasons, only one Assistant Secretary could be appointed. Since 1943 even this post has remained vacant.

In 1943, with the election of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee as President and Dr. Kalidas Nag, as General Secretary, the academic and cultural activities of the Society were greatly stimulated. Dr. R. C. Majumdar took up the herculean task of reorganising the Library which had been almost in a hopeless mess. Printed books, manuscripts of great rarity and value were lying practically unattended. There was no catalogue worth the name. On enquiry, many of the rare books were found to be untraceable. A suitable Librarian worthy of the Society's Library was badly needed, and such a scholar, a Lecturer of the Calcutta University, was found and appointed. So long both the Library and the publications were managed by the Society's clerks whose academic interests and abilities fell far short of the standard that was required there. On appointment of the Librarian on a contract service for three years, immediate attention was paid to cataloguing of all books on a modern scientific basis and to putting an end to the mysterious disappearance of valuable books. The old clerical system of running the library having been found unsatisfactory, the entire library in all its sections was placed under the new librarian. Since then a very large portion of the printed books has been catalogued. Out of a total of 26,000 manuscripts in the Sanskrit section, 15,000 remained totally unnoticed, uncatalogued and even unlisted. A brief catalogue of this entire lot has been prepared and sent to the press. In the Islamic section also, a considerable number of the unlisted manuscripts have been catalogued. Of the Tibetan Xylography, the entire Tan Gyur section, consisting of nearly 3,500 works, have been catalogued. Under the clerical system there was practically no attempt to add to the stock of the Library with due attention to its high standard and as a result additions consisted mostly of automatic accessions the average for the year being about 150. Under the new Librarian, great care was taken in the selection of books and accessions improved in standard and the number rose to an annual average of 750. With these new arrangements, the library attracted larger number of scholars and members. The publications of the Society were found to have been in an equally hopeless state. The renowned Bibliotheca Indica series was at a standstill, very few books having been published during the last three decades; the Memoirs had stopped and the journal was late in its appearance by years. Some of the books started half a century ago remained unfinished. The standard of the Journal had greatly declined because it failed to attract first class papers due to delay in publication. Dr. Nag paid special attention to the publications and succeeded in a great measure to stimulate it. A new publications officer was brought in to fill a vacant post. He held the M.A. degree in six subjects, had previous experience in press and publication work and was therefore eminently suited for the task. He reorganised the entire publications section, prepared a new catalogue, brought the Journal up-to-date and completed many of the books left unfinished half a century ago in the Bibliotheca Indica series. The whole stock position was ascertained when it was discovered for the first time that almost half of the Society's saleable books were tending to become dead stock. Pages of several books had become brittle to touch. Schemes were then devised to mobilise this stock and a great measure of success was achieved. The annual sales of the Society was sought to be stabilised at Rs. 10,000 where the former annual average was barely Rs. 3,000.

Since the present President began to interest himself in the Society's activities, its dignity as a centre of research began to be ignored. He is responsible for the introduction of a series of weekly lectures for the entertainment of Allied troops, whose standard has now come down to the discussion of "advertisement and quack remedies" and the "history of a thorough-bred race horse." Barring a few talks given by eminent scholars, most of the lectures that were read out were mere school-boy essays. Under the garb of providing amenities to members it is now being attempted to turn the Society into a club room. The Society is known all over through its publications and its library. The present authorities, in complete disregard of this vital fact, have turned their full attention to the recruitment of new members, most of whom are now drawn from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ranks having little connection with academic activities. The consequence of having such a clientele is a natural and inevitable decline in the standard of the Society's activities and neglect of its vital branches.

The present council of the Society is dominated by the President with the help of some merchants and high government officials. Scholars on the council belonging to the University are being quietly eliminated. The latest tendency has been to go back to pre-1939 conditions and appoint a salaried Secretary in clear violation of the Society's verdict delivered in that year after a thorough scrutiny. Applications have been invited for the post of a paid Secretary with a thousand rupee salary. Arrangements for interviewing British applicants in London have already been made and in spite of the fact of having received an application from an eminently suitable Bengali scholar who happens to be a University professor, applications from London are being awaited. The Selection Committee is composed of several gentlemen with little pretensions to scholarship. Persons intimately connected with the Society for a very long time, like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. Hora are not on this Selection Committee which consists of four persons, in addition to the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, who are virtually new-comers to the Society and cannot claim to possess any knowledge of either its needs or its working.

This, in short, is the present position. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. M. N. Saha, who had been mainly responsible for revitalising the Society, have retired. The new publications officer left as he found it difficult to work under conditions that was coming to a head. The Librarian has also left after his contract period was over and to provide for the salary of the Secretary, it has been decided not to fill up either of the posts. In spite of a Secretary being provided for, who will also be the Librarian, the Library for administrative purposes as well as the publications, has been placed under the old clerical regime which was responsible for all the mess.

Arrangements for furnishing the Club Rooms of the Society are being made. It is high time now that the present tendencies of the Society are checked and another attempt made to revitalise it before it sinks to its former position once again. Atmosphere and amenities of the Society ought to be such as invite scholars and not mere members. Its main purpose always was to function as a centre of research, and not merely to attract larger number of men with a promise for the provision of club-like amenities. Scholastic reputation and not popularity had ever been the aim of this august body which has functioned as the torch bearer of Asiatic culture for the past one hundred and sixty years. The Society cannot be allowed to flounder on the rock of cheap popularity.

Grow More Food Campaign in Bengal

During the past few years, the Government of Bengal have sanctioned huge sums of money on the Grow More Food account. The crores of rupees provided for the purpose have literally been wasted. Rice, vegetables, fish and meat—everything is in short supply. New branches were opened under the Agricultural department for research, seed store, manure supply, goat multiplication, and what not, all with easy money destined for a fathomless pit. Attention was devoted solely towards expenditure of all available cash. No attempt was made to increase the area under food. Writing in the *India*, a Calcutta monthly, on "Food and Freedom," Mr. T. M. Pillai drew attention to the vital fact that the Defence of India Rules 80/B and the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order 1944 issued by the Government of Bengal under the said Rule as per notification No. 1384-Agr., published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated May 4, 1944, had been brought into force and two years had elapsed since their promulgation. We are glad to find that this revelation has not been allowed to sink into oblivion. A European member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. T. B. Nimmo, asked, on the very opening day of the new session of the Legislature :

> Will the Minister-in-Charge of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries be pleased to state—
>
> (*a*) in what areas and from what dates, the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order 1944 has been brought into force ;
>
> (*b*) whether lists of waste lands and arable lands not under cultivation have been published in terms of the said Order ; and
>
> (*c*) what area of waste lands and arable lands, not under cultivation, has been brought under food and fodder crops as a result of the said Order ?

The Minister having replied that nothing had been, the following interpellations took place :

> Mr. T. B. Nimmo : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why this Control Order has not been brought into force ?
>
> The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : It is under the examination of Government.
>
> Mr. T. B. Nimmo : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to say if it is a fact that there are large areas of unculturable land in Bengal ? If so, whether Government will take steps to bring all those plots under cultivation ?
>
> The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government will take the matter into consideration.
>
> Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury : What are the terms of this Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order, 1944 ?
>
> The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : It is difficult to say what the Order contains.
>
> Mr. Biren Roy : The Control Order dates as far back as 1944. Two years have already elapsed. How long Government will take to bring it into force ?
>
> The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : The new Ministry has come into office and they are examining the matter.
>
> Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister please state why this Bengal Food Production Control Order, 1944 was at all promulgated if it was not intended to be brought into force ?
>
> Mr. Humayun Kabir : My question was—will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why this particular Order was at all promulgated if the Government have not found it possible to bring it into force even though more than two years have elapsed !
>
> The Hon'vle Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government does not say that it is impossible to bring it into force. The new Government is examining it.
>
> Mr. Humayun Kabir : Are we to take it from the Hon'ble Minister that the examination of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

last two years has so far produced no results at all ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have nothing further to add.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister give us some indications as to how long it will take the present Government to make up their mind one way or the other with regard to this particular Order ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : As a matter of fact, this Control Order is going to cease on the 30th of September. So . .

Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government will bring in legislation incorporating the provisions of this Order ?—(No reply).

Mr. Nagendra Nath Moholanabish : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why after the promulgation of that order it was not so long brought into force and if he has very recently come into power whether he has been able to ascertain from Government records as to the reasons for this inordinate delay ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have already answered and I have nothing further to add.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us any indication as to what proposals, if any, Government have made for the preparation and introduction of any Bill on the lines of the provisions laid down in the said Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order, 1944.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Will the hon'ble member kindly repeat his question ?

Mr. Humayun Kabir : The Hon'ble Minister said some time ago that it was under examination and my question is, will he be pleased to give some indication to this House as to what measures they propose to adopt whether in the form of any Bill or in any other manner in order to carry out the principles which were embodied in this Control Order of 1944 ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government is examining the Control Order and if it is feasible to enforce the provisions of the Control Order, Government will bring in legislation accordingly.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : We have been told that the Government is examining it. Will they give us some indication as to the lines on which the Government want to proceed. The Hon'ble Minister has just now told us that he is examining whether it is feasible at all. Are we to take it that, in his opinion, the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order was not a feasible proposition and the whole thing was a huge joke ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have nothing more to add.

While the food production, procurement and distribution policies of provinces like Bombay, Madras, and U.P. have earned the praise and admiration of all observers both Indian and foreign, disinterested observers had only hard words for the methods followed in Bengal. The un-official Food Mission had opportunities to see for themselves how the food problem was being tackled in the differences. Their admiration for the Congress Governments and their strong criticism in respect of Bengal are already on record. During all the war years, production, procurement and distribution of food have all remained in the same hopeless and muddled condition. The nature and extent of callous disregard to the vital points of food administration will be apparent from the interpellations given above. Only in one respect, the Bengal Ministers and officials have never lacked in enthusiam, and that is in placing crores and crores of tax-payers' hard-earned money in the hands of utterly inefficient—and very often corrupt—men in the administration, in order to enrich a few favoured people.

Village Industry Affected by Railway Priority Rules

"Can stupidity go further ?" asks Prof. J. C. Kumarappa in the current issue of the *Gram Udyog Patrika,* discussing typical cases of abuse of authority in regard to railway priorities. Mr. Kumarappa writes :

> "The Railway Priority Rules have been used to kill village industries. The interpretation of Priority Rules will be amusing were not the results so tragic. For months on end we have not been able to send out equipment for village industries such as paddy husking, flour grinding, oil pressing, bee keeping, paper making, etc. because of the ludicurous ideas Railway servants have. As our implements are made of wood they refuse to classify them as 'machinery and its parts or tools.' According to them, machines, etc., are always of steel or iron. So we cannot be placed under Class VI 'Maintenance of Industrial Production.' Hence the *ghani* is classified as 'civilian furniture ! which is class IV and even the ghani models, about 1-foot in height, are so classified. Stone chakkis are classified as personal luggage.
>
> It is interesting to note that cigarettes, liquors, empty bottles, etc., got a priority over us as they are placed in class V.
>
> The clause provides for the transport of paper from Mills. The Railway refuse to book hand-made paper because we do not call ourselves a 'Mill.' The Chief Traffic Manager writes that 'paper cutting is considered as raw material, only when consigned to paper mills' and that as we are not a 'Mill' it cannot be booked for us as 'raw materials.' Can stupidity go further ? Or is it a wanton attempt to destroy artisans ? Because these are not the whims of an ignorant 'goods clerk' but the obduracy of high-placed officials at headquarters."

Students of the economics of Indian railways will support the learned Professor's second view. Discriminating railway rates and the priority rules have been combined to crush Indian enterprise. The smaller and the more indigenous the industry, the heavier is the blow. We cannot afford to forget that during the crucial war years, a British merchant was planted at the head of the Railway department. Even a British civilian could not be trusted because he was not expected to be fully conversant of the needs and working of the British business machinery. Priority Rules framed for them are still in force and the village industries are feeling the brunt of them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GERMANY AND WORLD POLITICS OF TO-MORROW

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

When the Treaty of Versailles was signed, after the conclusion of the World War I, it was hoped by many statesmen of the victorious Allied Powers that Germany, disarmed, deprived of her navy and merchant-marine, colonies and also the sources of raw materials at Ruhr and partitioned in the East by the establishment of a Polish corridor, would not be able to play any decisive role in world politics in near future. Although it was understood by some far-sighted statesmen that a vigorous nation of more than 60,000,000 most industrious and highly educated and scientifically trained men could never be kept permanently under subjection, unless she was completely isolated in world politics. To carry out this complete isolation of Germany in world politics, the makers of Versailles Treaty virtually secured control over German economy, national defense and foreign affairs. The League of Nations was made a part of the Treaty of Versailles. This League was a league of victors and a kind of grand alliance of the victors—the big Five with their satellites—to maintain *status quo* of the territorial disposition made by the treaty and have a united front of all the members of the league against any possible move by Germany and her former allies to violate the provisions of the treaty.

But this programme did not work, because, the World War I, which ended with the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Russian Empire, the Austrian Empire as well as the German Empire, created a new situation in the world politics, *up-setting the balance of power*; and in this new situation of new international rivalry there could not be created a new balance of power without Germany, a strong Germany as a balance among the three rivals—Britain, France, and later on Soviet Russia. Thus within a few years, with the growth of Anglo-French rivalry or Anglo-Russian rivalry, German support, at least neutrality, was sought after by all the great powers and German statesmen utilised this situation to the maximum to bring about recovery of Germany to the position of the most dominant power in the world.

II

After the signing of the treaty of Versailles, which was at first rejected by all Germans of all parties, the German statesmen began to undo the treaty and to do that, *the first and foremost thing that was necessary was to break Germany's isolation in world politics*. The first step towards gaining the objective was possible because the Allied Powers did not wish to take Soviet Russia within their council and even wanted to overthrow Soviet Russian Government by promoting civil war in Russia. Thus Soviet Russia while fighting a Civil War at home and foreign intervention in every field of her national life also needed at least German neutrality, if not support. It was the common interest of both nations —Germany and Soviet Russia—in the fields of economy, military power and diplomatic support. Hitler worked national defense and international relations that led to *de facto* Soviet Russian-German alliance, which was signed at Rapplo in 1921. This happened when both Russia and Germany were debarred from becoming members of the League of Nations. *In this connection, one thing should not be forgotten by students of world politics that the ideological issue of "Communism" versus "Capitalism" did not prevent Communist Russia from signing a virtual treaty of alliance with capitalist Germany.* In fact Communist Russia agreed to support capitalist German national economy by supplying raw materials and opening Russian markets for German goods, while German scientists and military experts began to extend their services to build up Russian industries and a *military machine* which later on became so formidable.

After securing Russo-German understanding, in line of Bismarckian foreign policy, German nationalist statesmen began to seek support of Britain against France or to do their best to break up the then existing Anglo-French solidarity. This was not a very easy task and it was not accomplished without much manouvering —and lack of space will not permit me to go into details. The attempt to break up Anglo-French solidarity against Germany led to the occupation of the Ruhr by the French ; and the Germans who hoped active British opposition to French policy was disappointed. Then came the German success in securing Anglo-American financial support regarding the solution of German reparation problems. After the Ruhr occupation, German statesmen of the type of Dr. Stresseman, became convinced that revision of the Versailles treaty cannot be secured without some kind of Franco-German understanding. When M. Briand and Dr. Stresseman began to take active steps to cement Franco-German understanding through economic collaboration between the two nations and also mutual political understanding, then Britain, to prevent any possible formation of a Franco-German-Russian bloc took up the side of Germany ; and through various steps Versailles Treaty was revised and the Locarno Pact was signed, and the alien army of occupation left Germany five years before the time set by the Treaty of Versailles.

While Germans were courting both France and Britain to gain their support, they also succeeded to bring about better understanding with Japan and Italy and they began to spread their economic and political activities in China and India. Germany was no more isolated and in actuality Versailles Treaty was broken at many points. The German nation was gaining consciousness of their power and was most anxious to re-assert their old position of dominance in Central Europe, if not in the world. It was under this situation Hitler appeared on the German scene. Hitler was the product of German national aspirations to reassert and to take revenge.

Hitler realised that to recover German territories and to destroy Polish corridor, it was necessary to have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

against partition of Germany and took active steps that all Germanic people—in Austria, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland etc.—must be united and this must be achieved without a war, if that was possible. But at the same time Hitler knew rightly that without strong military backing, Germany will never be able to accomplish the objective. Thus Germany secured British support to introduce conscription and continued secret arming. The British did not object to this; because they were anxious to have a strong Germany as a balance between a strong France and the growing power of Soviet Russia. The British policy for a time was to have an Anglo-German understanding to prevent any possibility of a German-Russian-French understanding or a German-French understanding or a German-Russian understanding which would be injurious to British interests. In short British policy during the governments of Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald and Neville Chamberlain was to follow the policy of Disraeli who used German support to further British interests. Thus Britain signed the Munich agreement and made concessions to Germany so that the latter would reach eastward which would be a menace to Soviet Russia.

When Soviet Russia became convinced that Germany with the support of Britain and her western allies might start eastward expansion even menacing Russian Ukrain and towards the Caucasus, then Stalin to preserve Soviet Russian National interest, signed a virtual alliance with Hitler, divided up the whole of the Central Europe as their spheres of influence, destroying the very existence of Polish state with which Soviet Russia was in alliance. This led to Hitler's attack on Poland and which led to the World War II. Germany within fifteen years after signing the treaty of Versailles, not only overcame all the restrictions that were imposed upon her, but became the most powerful single state in Europe. It was the greatest blunder on the part of German Nazi leaders to plunge their country into wars hoping that they would be able to gain territories by defeating their enemies. *Germany lost the war because she brought about the combination of Great Britain, America, Soviet Russia and other Powers against her and also because the Axis Power did not follow a common Foreign Policy and common Defense Policy.*

III

Because Germany has lost the war, the defeated country is being partitioned. Poland and Soviet Russia have occupied large sections of East Prussia, the heart of Germanism—German industries have been dismantled and machines of all kinds have been taken to Soviet Russia and other countries. Millions of Germans are being used as virtual slave labourers to rebuild Soviet Russian devastated territories. American, Russian, French and British armies of occupation are policing occupied Germany divided into four zones. There are demands that in the West, German Rhur and Rhineland should also be detached from Germany and there should be international control of German industries. But at the same time there are also protests from the British—such men as Churchill and others have raised their voice against deportation of millions of Germans by the Russians. There are also warnings by American military authorities that there must be centralised German government and four separate zones of occupation should be substituted by one and to be policed by combined forces of occupation. We also find in Russian zone, the authorities have divided up great estates among the masses and also are doing their best to bring about consolidation of Socialist and Communist parties into one pro-Russian party. In the recent elections in the American and British zones, Communists have been overwhelmingly defeated by the Christian democrats or all those who are opposed to pro-Russian policies of the German Communists. Today in Germany, there is a tug of war betyeen the Russians on the one hand, the Anglo-American Powers and their allies on the other for getting support of the German people in the growing rivalry among these powers.

German scientists are being sought and hired by these Powers and in the United States a very large number of German scientists are carrying on highly secret researches in the field of perfecting war weapons. In Russia today German scientists are used for Atomic researches and Great Britain is also pursuing the same policy.

IV

During the present session of the Foreign Ministers Conference at Paris, United States Secretary of State, Byrnes has made the proposal that the Four Powers—Anglo-American-France-Russian Powers—should form an alliance for twenty-five years and there should be a Four-Power Commission appointed which will have the full authority to carry out complete disarmament of Germany. It is interesting that Russia is violently opposed to any such proposition and Britain is not anxious to see any such development. This is a very significant development—Russia does not wish to see complete disarmament of Germany nor is Great Britain in favour of any such proposition. But they are in favour of a Germany which will be in their favour in the future alignment of Powers in world politics.

The role of Germany in the World Polities of tomorrow will be as significant as it was during the post-Versailles days. In spite of the existence of the United Nations Organization, all nations are arming feverishly and they are creating political blocs and it is only a question of time when Germany a nation of sixty-five millions (in spite of being partitioned) will be sought as an ally by rival blocs. Germany will use the situation to her advantage. *It is safe to say that Germany will go with that bloc of powers which will wipe out the present existing condition of dismemberment and also afford equal opportunity for economic development in world markets for her recovery.* It seems that Soviet Russia cannot support a movement for a United Germany which will be again dominant in Central Europe; on the other hand, to check Soviet control of the Balkans, the Danubian States and Soviet expansion in various regions undermining the position of Anglo-American powers, the latter powers will be willing to make adequate compensation to a rejuvenated Germany. Thus it is quite probable that within a few years there will be rejuvenation of Germany under the direction of Anglo-American Powers; and the only way Soviet Russia would be able to prevent such a development is to create a strong German communist bloc which will bring about a Civil War in Germany, as it exists today in China. In any case Germany's role in the world politics of to-morrow will be decisive in the coming re-alignment of powers.

New York, May 8, 1946

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE STATES AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By S. M. BOSE, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law

One of the most important questions that will have to be solved under the New Constitution envisaged by the Cabinet Delegation Plan regarding the post-war political status of India is the position of Indian States and their relation with British India (to use an old phrase which needs modification with the withdrawal of the British). No satisfactory solution of the intricacies of the coming New Constitution is possible without dealing with this vital problem—what is to be the position of, the part to be played by, the Indian States, and the relation between them and British India. What part can the great Indian Rulers play in shaping the future of India? What is to be their position in the future Indian polity?

The present position of the States as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935 will first be examined.

There are 109 States, the Rulers of which are entitled to a salute of more than eleven guns and as such, are entitled to be members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right; 127 States, the Rulers of which are represented in groups in the Chamber by 12 members elected by themselves; and 327 petty estates and jagirs, etc., who have no such representation.

These 563 States differ considerably in area, population, internal administration and importance; but they are all alike in that they are under the personal rule of the Prince who has the final voice over legislation and the administration of justice. They are also alike in that they are not part, or governed by the law, of British India.

The States stand in a peculiar relationship to the British Crown as Paramount Power in India. This relationship, which is *sui generis*, is not governed either by international or municipal law. The Paramount Power—the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council—has its relations with the States based upon treaties, engagements and *Sanads*, supplemented by usage and sufferance and political practice. The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States, is not merely a contractual relationship, but a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, as the Butler Committee put it; it is not fixed, rigid or static, but adaptable, mobile or dynamic in character. As Lord Reading bluntly but forcibly expressed it in 1926, the sovereignty of the British Crown in India is supreme in India and no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing and it is the right and privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between the States or between one of the States and itself. Where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously affected by the action of its government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of bringing remedial action, if necessary, must lie. Thus, as explained by Lord Reading, the Crown has, independently of treaties, the right by usage, to take all the steps it thinks fit, to ensure the safety of the British Empire, the interest of India as a whole, or the interest of any particular State.

State Rulers enjoy varying degrees of internal sovereignty. Even this qualified sovereignty may be over-ruled by the Crown in cases of mismanagement by the Ruler. No Ruler of a State can enter directly into relations with any foreign power or even with another State. Thus it follows that a State has no international status, as being fully sovereign neither in its internal nor in its external relations, though no doubt principles of natural justice must be taken to guide such relations. Relations between a State and the Crown further lie outside the sphere of municipal law. Briefly such relationship comes under the prerogative of the Crown—that portion of it which may be called Paramountcy.

The Cabinet Delegation's proposal for the abolition of Paramountcy has greatly improved the position and status of the Indian States. Under the new constitution as envisaged by the Cabinet Delegation, new arrangements will have to be entered into by the States with British India, but what these arrangements are to be, has not been outlined. Solution of the various intricate questions regarding the new relation between the two must be attempted. Suggestions are here put forward to help such a solution.

First, the relation between the State Ruler and the subjects must be determined. Hitherto the State subjects have been at the mercy of the Rulers who refused to recognise that their subjects could have any claim to rights and privileges—such as those enjoyed by their brothers in British India. The Rulers have been naturally, like their British counterpart, very unwilling to part with their autocratic right and privilege, and they have been against the spread of democratic feeling among their subjects. Recently, however, there has been a welcome change in their attitude. But this change must be carried out into practice. Their subjects have greatly lagged behind their brethren across the border and there is, therefore, a considerable leeway to make up. But the difficulty must be frankly faced and immediate steps should be taken to start real representative institutions in the States, where the subjects are given a real voice in matters affecting their interest. The Rulers must fully and cordially co-operate with their subjects and voluntarily relinquish the privileges they so long enjoyed as Autocratic Heads. This is a *sine qua non*, essential to the building up of a United India. So it is suggested that the Rulers should by a Charter of Freedom, given to their subjects, grant political rights as enjoyed by British Indian subjects, and considerably modify their position.

Next, if the States are to get their rights recognised, there must be union among them. Instead of about 600 different entities, there must be a much smaller number, united and strong. So follows the principle of merger and union between various states, which have common ties of race, tradition and culture. This grouping of various small States with larger, will be followed by a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

greater union among the large States, till there arises a kind of Federation or Union of Indian States. So from amalgamation of the smaller States with the larger, there may be grouping together in important blocs, or amalgamations. Sir Sultan Ahmed in his thought-provoking pamphlet on "A Treaty between India and the United Kingdom," has suggested the following blocs: (1) Kashmir and the Punjab States; (2) Kathiawar and Rajputana States; (3) Central India and Eastern States; (4) Mysore, Travancore and Cochin; and (5) Hyderabad. In the interest of the States themselves, such a Union is eminently desirable so that they may enter into the Federation of India, to include both the States and British India. The exact nature of this relationship between the Union of Indian States and the Union of British India will be dealt with later on.

So the suggestion is that all the States should realise that for their security and useful existence, there must be a Union among all of them, to be settled by them by mutual agreement, or if they so prefer, by arbitration by some disinterested authority. The five great State blocs mentioned above may think it desirable to have a form of Federation among themselves, as among the British Provinces now.

Finally, the nature of the future relationship between the Union of Indian States, as advocated above, and the Union of British India, has to be now considered.

This may be of two kinds: (1) a Federation of the States with British India, somewhat on the lines of the Government of India Act, 1935, but more flexible in character; or (2) the creation of a common authority over British India and the States, charged only with the problems of defence and security of India as a whole, on the lines of the scheme of Lionel Curtis.

The first scheme envisages a federated union between the groups of Indian States with the British Indian Provinces, both the Units being represented in the Central Legislature on a joint basis of population and income, the powers of the Central Legislature over each of the two Units being carefully defined by statutory safeguards. Such a Federation will be on lines somewhat similar to those laid down in the Constitution Act, with necessary modifications, one of these being that every one of the States must form part of the Federation, without any so-called right of secession. This is essential; no State should keep out of the Federated Union, not only in the interest of India as a whole but also in its own interest. Separation between a State and British India is impossible; for it is not possible to build an impassable wall between them. Different parts of the Indian Sub-continent cannot get beyond the reach of each other. There is one common unity pervading the whole and a water-tight partition is out of the question.

The other alternative form of Union would be one in which each of the parties, the States on the one hand, and British India on the other, preserves its separate entity on all matters except those of common defence and security; for these specific purposes only, there is to be set up a Common Authority charged with the task of creating such forces by land, sea and air as may be required to secure India as a whole, from attack. This Authority is, by agreement between the Units, to have the power to take all necessary measures for the defence and the security of what may be called the Commonwealth of India, and to levy the cost of such measures from the various members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth will be empowered to make its common security from war, a first charge on all the resources of the component units; it will frame estimates for defence, showing the total sum required for the purpose. These estimates will be submitted to a Commonwealth Legislature elected by the citizens of all the component parts of the Commonwealth,—the British Indian Provinces and the States.

In other words, the second scheme is based on there being two component parts—the States Union and the Union of the British Provinces, with separate existence and separate legislatures; but only for purposes of defence and security of India as a whole, there is to be set up the Commonwealth Authority above them, whose function will be to create and maintain such forces by land, sea and air as may be necessary to secure the various component parts of the Union from attack. This Authority thus, will have two branches—the Commonwealth Executive and the Commonwealth Legislature. The former will frame the necessary Budget for the common purposes of security and defence and lay this Budget before the Commonwealth Legislature. The amount of the estimates, when passed by this Legislature, will be apportioned among the members of the Commonwealth of India, in the ratio of their taxable capacity, as assessed by a commission of financial experts. The Commonwealth Authority will also be empowered to enter into negotiations with other members of the United Nations Organisation, regarding matters of defence and security in which all the members of the U.N.O. are equally interested. For this is *One World,* and anything which affects the security of any part thereof, affects the security of the whole.

A comparison of the two schemes may be useful: the first scheme—which may be called the Federation of India scheme, envisages a union between the British Indian Provinces and the States, with a common legislature—somewhat on the lines of the Government of India Act, 1935; State subjects and British Indian subjects will be more or less on equal footing and enjoy similar privileges. But this Federation would, to a material extent, merge the States with British India.

The second scheme may be called the Commonwealth of India scheme, envisages the separate existence of the Union of States and of the Union of British Indian Provinces; but for certain common purposes only, for defence and security—there will be a supreme Commonwealth Authority above them, to deal with the task of creating and maintaining forces essential for the security of India as a whole. In this scheme, the States preserve their identity, and only unite with British India for the sole purpose of defence and security. This scheme is on the lines of the Dumberton Oaks proposals on a small scale.

Whatever be the scheme adopted, it is evident that very careful investigations will have to be made to settle the actual details of the arrangement between the States and British India.

In the first scheme referred to above and the Federation of Indian Scheme (Scheme A), the following matters will require to be settled in detail:

(*a*) *Defence*: It is advisable that the various State armies should be amalgamated into one and this State Army should be trained and equipped like the British United National Indian Army can fight as one if necessary, against a common foe. Air and naval forces which are very costly should, if

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

possible, be united under one common head. In the matter of security and defence, no doubt the Federation will seek co-operation with other members of the U.N.O.

(*b*) *The vexed question of tributes* : The States at present pay tribute to the Crown, which forms part of the central revenues. The amount varies from Rs. 24½ lakhs payable now by Mysore to Rs. 3 by a small State named Ravasan in Bombay. The tributes are payable in terms of treaties on which territories were at one time exchanged or restored or on adjustment of claims between the Government of India and the State. In many cases, tributes are paid in full discharge of obligations to maintain or supply troops. The total of these tributes amounts to a little over 72 lakhs. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended the gradual remission over a period of years (corresponding to the period during which it is proposed to defer the full assignment to the Provinces of a share of the income tax) of any contributions paid by a State in excess of the value of privileges or immunities enjoyed. For relief should be given to the States because it is anomalous that some units of the proposed Federation alone should be making payments of this description.

(*c*) Some States have ceded territory in return for protection and the Act also recognises the claims of such States to some relief as in the case of States now paying tributes, because the origin of tributes and of ceded territories is the same. Under this head the amount involved is about Rupees one crore.

(*d*) Some States have been enjoying privileges or immunities—(*i*) in respect of levy of their own customs duty by some States and immunity from contribution to the Central Customs revenue ; (*ii*) some States manufacture their own salt and are immune from contribution to the Central Salt revenue (total about Rs. 46 lakhs) ; (*iii*) immunities in respect of posts and telegraphs : some States enjoy the privilege of having their official correspondence carried free by the Indian Postal Department ; some States get free annual grant of service stamps ; some States like Gwalior and Patiala maintain their separate postal system under convention with the Government of India ; some others like Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin have this without any such convention ; (*iv*) Hyderabad has the right to issue its own currency notes.

The Act (Secs. 146-147) contemplates the remission by instalments of tributes or "cash contributions" in excess of the value of privilege or immunity enjoyed by the State.

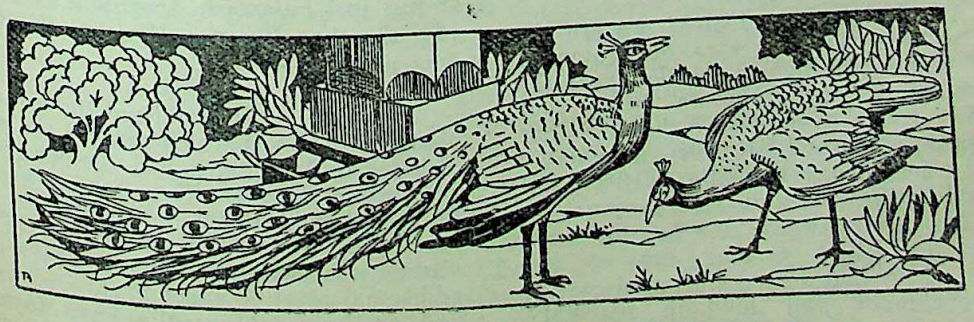
How is this matter to be determined under the new constitution ? The proposed abolition of paramountcy ought not to mean abolition in *toto* of cash contributions for these form part of the Central revenues. The Government of the British Indian Union will be the successor of the present Government of India and as such, should inherit the rights of the latter in this respect until varied by mutual consent.

In the second scheme referred to above as the Commonwealth of India Scheme (Scheme B), where the Union of States join the British India Union only, for the limited purpose of security and defence, similar questions regarding tributes, privileges and immunity will arise. These matters along with other Commonwealth relations must be laid down by treaty between the parties. To settle the terms of the Treaty or Treaties, there must be a Tribunal of Arbitrators composed of representatives from the States and from British India, with an impartial Chairman, preferably from the U.S.A. The findings of this Tribunal will be binding on both the parties and will be embodied in the Treaty or Treaties, the terms whereof might be altered or amended by agreement between the parties at stated intervals.

So, whatever be the scheme adopted—Scheme A or Scheme B—there must be a Treaty or Treaties between the States or group of States on the one hand, and British India on the other hand ; and it is clear that the withdrawal of British power from British India must be contemporaneous with the withdrawal of paramountcy over the States. There can be no hiatus.

The above consideration will show the great need of caution and careful study before the relation between the States and British India under the New Constitution can be settled.

So, whatever be the scheme adopted, there is no doubt that some form of close union and co-operation among all the parts of India is essential. Notwithstanding differences in religion and outlook, there is beyond doubt an underlying unity, both geographical and racial, in India, a cultural heritage that runs like a golden thread uniting all parts of India. Recent events have only stressed more strongly the need for unity. The days of self-sufficiency, of isolationism, are over. The principle of self-determination was in the nineteenth century, an integrating force for bringing unity among various small warring units, making them into a single state. In the twentieth century, this principle has unfortunately become a disintegrating force which leads to anarchy. As Walter Lippmann has truly remarked, to make the principle of self-determination the supreme law of international life now is to invite sheer anarchy. The principle rejects the ideal of a State within which diverse peoples find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination is very different from self-government ; and by sanctioning secession, it encourages majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RACK AND RUIN

A Study of Bengal Finances, 1937-1947

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

In an article written a few years ago, I tried to draw public attention to the fact that the Government, by adopting wrong and perverse methods of war finance, can inflict untold sufferings on the people, specially the lower income-groups. But what is more important is that wrong methods of war finance can permanently alter the economic structure mostly to the disadvantage of the masses and the poorer classes. War finance as an instrument of redistribution of public income has assumed great force. This is so because during present global wars the whole of the nation's resources has to be placed at the command of the Government. But matters become far more serious when, in addition to the ordinary potentiality of mischief, there arises the question of colonial exploitation. During crises in capitalist development—and wars are the actuest form of such crises—colonial exploitation assumes ruthless intensity. Bengal is a case in point. She was compelled to pay tribute to Imperialism in the shape of millions of human lives and the complete disruption of her social and economic equilibrium.

The problem raises a thousand questions, but here we shall confine ourselves only to the financial aspect and try to show how, step by step, Bengal has been led to rack and ruin. In fact, there are reasons to believe that special injustice has been done to Bengal and unless special efforts are made to lift her out of the abysmal depths she is in, it will not be possible for her to begin recovery through ordinary methods. Let us first try to have a rapid resume of events since 1937.

(A) The Picture Since 1937

When the new constitution began to work, Bengal was, on the whole, a surplus province. The actual accounts for the year 1937-38 stood as follows :

Revenue	Rs. 1,300 lakhs	
Expenditure	„ 1,183	„
Surplus	„ 117	„

Commenting on this in his Budget speech for the year 1939-40, Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, the then Finance Minister, said :

"In taking our last look at 1937-38 we are reminded that this was the first year of Provincial Autonomy. We find in the figures for that year the financial position as it was when we began our stewardship. We took over from the previous administration both assets and liabilities. A valuable asset was the absence of any budgetary deficits and the receipt of substantial additions to revenue on account of the Niemeyer Award. Another fortunate circumstance was the lifting at that time of the world depression which had forced our predecessors to resort to retrenchment and hold up necessary expenditure. But an onerous liability was the large accumulation of undischarged obligations to the people of this province which we inherited from the past."

Rhetoric apart, it may be well assumed that at the beginning of the working of the new constitution, Bengal started fairly well and with a good working surplus.

The following table gives the financial position as it developed from year to year :

Table I

Bengal Finances (In lakhs of Rupees) (Actuals)

	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
Revenue	1300	1277	1432	1355	1494
Expenditure	1183	1277	1371	1445	1550
Surplus or Deficit	+117	Nil	+61	—90	—56

Table I—*Contd.*

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46 *Revised*	1946-47 *Estimated*
Revenue	1646	2372	3939	3581	4119
Expenditure	1679	2675	4412	4327	5065
Surplus or Deficit	—33	—303	—472	—745	—946

These years fall into three distinct periods. The first period extends from 1937-38 to 1939-40, the pre-war years. The second period extends from 1940-41 to 1942-43 and the third period covers the rest. During the first period we consumed up our surplus ; during the second period we ran into deficit ; during the third period, matters went beyond all control and in spite of doubling and trebling of revenue (and necessarily of taxes), the deficit went up higher and higher, leading Bengal to absolute ruin and destitution. Let us analyse these periods in greater detail.

1) *The First Period (1937-38 to 1939-40) : Exhaustion of the Surplus*

It will be seen that by 1938-39, the huge surplus of 1937-38 was completely exhausted and the Budget that year was just balanced. According to Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the then Finance Minister, this was due to two factors mainly :

"It will be obvious from the accounts of 1938-39, that the opulence which marked the opening year of Provincial Autonomy had disappeared at the close of the second year. Thus against a revenue surplus of a crore and 18 lakhs in 1937-38, there was no surplus at all on revenue account in 1938-39. This change was partly due to the heavy programme of additional revenue expenditure undertaken in 1938-39 and partly to abnormally large payments of loans to agriculturists on account of damages caused by floods."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is undoubtedly true that the year 1939-40 was a surplus year. But the surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs was not the result of any careful planning, nor did it reflect the long-term trend of events. It was more or less an accident. As a matter of fact, even the Revised Estimate for that year apprehended a deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs on Revenue Account. But in actual working, there was an improvement of Rs. 74 lakhs, with the result that this estimated deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs was turned into an actual surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs. What was this due to? This was brought about by an increase of Rs. 29 lakhs in receipts and a reduction of Rs. 45 lakhs in expenditure. The increase in receipt was recorded mainly under the following heads: (1) Jute Duty (Rs. 22 lakhs); (2) Land Revenue (Rs. 8 lakhs); (3) Excise (Rs. 5 lakhs); (4) Other Taxes & Duties (Rs. 4 lakhs) and (5) Extraordinary Receipts (Rs. 7 lakhs). But this increase was partly set off by a decline of Rs. 8 lakhs under Stamps and Rs. 9 lakhs under Administration of Justice. The decrease in expenditure was due to decrease mainly under the head 'Miscellaneous' (Rs. 21½ lakhs). It will thus be seen that the surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs was more in the nature of a windfall than a real reflection of the true situation in Bengal. In fact, the Finance Member issued a warning that very year:

"To other provinces the war has brought comparative affluence. In Bengal, the effect has been just the opposite; and the reason is not far to seek. The loss of the continental markets has been a serious blow to the Jute trade and the life-blood of this province's economy is jute. It is not only that we expect to receive in a normal year rather more than 2 crores from the export duty on Jute but that all our main revenue heads, Land Revenue, Stamps, Excise, depend in a greater or lesser degree upon Jute and the circumstances of the growers of jute."

It did not take long for the tide to turn; from the next year we began our plunge into the ever-deepening gulf of deficits.

2) *Second Period (1940-41 to 1942-43)*: *Years of Small Deficit*

It will be seen from the table given above that from a surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs in 1939-40, there was a deficit of Rs. 90 lakhs in 1940-41. What was the reason behind this deterioration in the financial position? The main reason was the impact of the War.

Let us try to analyse the situation year by year. The year 1940-41 entailed heavy expenditure on many items but the notable feature was the additional burden due to the War. This was more clearly felt in 1941-42 when, after the declaration of war by Japan, Bengal had to shoulder a heavy financial burden. According to the indications given in 1942 by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Finance Minister, the deterioration was due to the following factors:

"Two out of our main heads of revenue have been effected by the war in opposite directions. Income-tax receipts have improved . . . on the other hand, the yield from the export duty on jute has gone down considerably."

The effects of the war were more marked on the expenditure side.

"By far the most serious effect of the war on the provincial budget however relates to the expenditure on A.R.P. and kindred emergency measures booked under the head 'Extraordinary charges in India.' The expenditure amounted to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1939-40 and Rs. 7 lakhs in 1940-41 and the Central Government agreed to meet these charges in their entirety. Early this year, however, it became evident that expenditure on A.R.P. was likely to reach a very much higher figure and the Centre advised the Provinces that the growing scale of expenditure on A.R.P. measures combined with a deterioration in the financial position of the Centre as compared with that of the Provinces no longer justified the promised measure of liberality and the Centre found itself compelled to call on the Provinces to shoulder the major portion of 'defence measures falling within the provincial field'."

Then began a long wrangling between the Province and the Centre, but the results were not satisfactory, the major portion of the burden falling on the Province. What was called "defence measures falling within the provincial field" was by no stretch of imagination a provincial affair; the war was not the Province's choice, nor was it any fault of Bengal that she lay close to the War Zone. It was really a part of Imperial Defence and the money should have come from the British Exchequer. But not even the Government of India undertook this responsibility. The gross injustice of the arrangement becomes still clearer if we take into consideration the fact that while other provinces more or less profited as a result of the War, the case of Bengal was just the opposite. To make Bengal responsible for financing what was, by no means, her responsibility, was, to say the least, the height of injustice. But that was what actually happened. In the Revised Estimates for 1941-42 expenditure on Famine Relief went as high as Rs. 30 lakhs and that on 'Extraordinary Charges' Rs. 78 lakhs. These are some of the measures of the economic exploitation of Bengal during the War.

The year 1942-43, the year in which the Progressive Coalition Ministry was in office, was the year of smallest deficit in recent years. But this year also was a year of very heavy stress and strain. The war had come inside Bengal's borders and air-raids were taking place. Burma had fallen and all food supplies from Burma cut off. Bengal's economic life was violently disturbed; the Denial Policy was tearing up the agricultural classes from their roots in the soil; military demands dislocated her trade and communications. The Province was in political ferment; the August movement had begun. On the other hand, the shadow of Famine was already deepening; prices were shooting up and there was also a physical shortage. The Cyclone had ravaged the surplus districts of Bengal in the middle of October 1942. And the exploitation of war was going on in an ever-increasing tempo. The small deficit was due mainly to a large Ways and Means Advance from the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 2½ crores. But in spite of this smallness of deficit, Bengal had to face greater devastation this year. The increase in expenditure (which was more than a crore over the previous year) was accounted for by *increase* under the following main heads: Famine Relief (about Rs. 50 lakhs), Extraordinary charges due to War (about Rs. 32 lakhs), Dearness Allowance (about Rs. 20 lakhs) and Police (about Rs. 12 lakhs). As usual, the nation-building Departments were the casualties of the war. To quote from the Budget Speech of the then Finance Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, "the heads which are responsible for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the more substantial reductions (in expenditure) are, Civil Works, Education and Public Health."

Thus ended the second period.

3) *Third Period (1943-44 to 1946-47): The Mad Whirlpool*

Then began an era in which matters went beyond all control and we were caught in a mad financial whirlpool in which we lost everything. We have already described how the stage was set for devastation by war, famine and cyclone and how an impossible burden was placed on Bengal from the year 1942-43. But the combined effect of all these was so devastating that all principles of Budgeting and all canons of taxation were thrown to the wind and Bengal was hurled towards rack and ruin. The Budgets also have fully reflected the mad and fantastic atmosphere that has prevailed since then. Let us begin with the year 1943-44. Revenue receipts stood at Rs. 2,372 lakhs, expenditure at Rs. 2,675 lakhs, the deficit being Rs. 303 lakhs. Two important points deserve notice. First, there was a huge increase in revenue receipts this year. In the previous year, receipts stood at Rs. 1,646 lakhs ; the increase, thus, was to the tune of Rs. 726 lakhs. But the increase in expenditure far outstripped the increase in income. The deficit, thus, became nine times as high, compared to the deficit of Rs. 33 lakhs in the previous year. What does this signify ? It signifies that Bengal did not spare herself and made an extreme effort to bridge the gap, but even the last drops squeezed out of her could not satiate the thirst of war and Imperialism.

It is not necessary to go through every detail of this sorry and sordid tale of exploitation and corruption. But it is interesting to remember that just after the great famine of 1773, Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, did not hesitate to rack-rent the province, so much so that Revenue receipts were higher that year than revenue receipts in any previous year. Commenting on this, Romesh Dutt remarked that this would possibly be cited as an instance of "the recuperative power of India." The sad story again repeated itself. When Bengal needed help to nurse her sores, she was squeezed to yeild more and more money and revenue receipts increased by 50 per cent in a single year. But for what purpose the sum was spent ? We mention only the important items ; the expenditure on Civil Defence, finally debitable to provincial revenues for 1943-44, came up to Rs. 100 lakhs but even this burden coupled with the shrinkage in our share of the Jute Export Duty and increase in Dearness Allowances, looked very small alongside the staggering burdens imposed by the famine. The cost of the Civil Supplies Department during 1943-44 amounted to Rs. 100 lakhs, excluding losses on the Department's trading operations, which accounted for another Rs. 350 lakhs. Relief operations amounted to Rs. 566 lakhs, of which Rs. 350 lakhs were chargeable to gratuitous relief and Rs. 125 lakhs to test works. A further sum of Rs. 135 lakhs was thrown away on the Grow More Food Campaign. But even such huge sums, most of which was misspent if not misappropriated, were small in the context of actual need and the result was the loss of millions of human lives which fell victim to hunger and disease.

What did the Government of India do when conditions were at the worst and the need for help was the greatest ? As usual, they took advantage of the helpless condition of Bengal and made it an occasion for throwing greater financial burden on her. To quote from the Budget speech of Mr. T. C. Goswami, the then Finance Minister :

> "In the early months of the year (1943-44) we relied mainly on the Central Government for the necessary accommodation and between June and October last (in 1943) we received loans and advances totalling 12 crores. Later, however, the Government of India indicated that they desired the Provincial Government to make their own arrangements to raise funds in the open market and through normal trade channels."—(*Budget Speech*, 18.2.44).

It has been stated how in 1941-42, when the impact of the war fell with full blast on Bengal, the Centre asked the Province to shoulder the major portion of defence, which, by no means, was Bengal's task. Again, when two years later, the disastrous war policy of the Government of India as also of the British Government had thrown Bengal into the throes of hunger and death, rack and ruin, the Government of India conveniently stood aside and asked the Bengal Government to get out of the woods as best as they could.

The picture has not changed since then. Two features are noticeable. The over-all figures of receipts and expenditure are becoming bigger and bigger, yet the deficit also is becoming bigger and bigger. Revenue receipts in 1946-47 have been estimated to be Rs. 4,119 lakhs as compared to Rs. 1,300 lakhs in 1937-38. That is to say, revenue receipts have more than trebled in these ten years. But expenditure has increased at a much faster rate. The estimated expenditure in 1946-47 will be Rs. 5,065 lakhs as compared to Rs. 1,183 lakhs in 1937-38. The increase has been more than four and a half times. The deficit, consequently, has become unbelievably high. The deficit in 1946-47 has been estimated in the Governor's Budget to be Rs. 946 lakhs, whereas in ordinary times the Bengal Budget was based on revenue receipts of about Rs. 900 to 1,000 lakhs. The reasons for this deplorable state of affairs are not far to seek : it is the same old story of Imperial exploitation, indigenuous corruption, absolute mismanagement and careless waste of good public money.

(B) Basic Trends and Implications

We have given above a picture of Bengal Finances since 1937. The picture is a sad and dismal one. It shows how, day by day, year by year, Bengal has been squeezed and squeezed dry, yet all the money has flown into this bottomless pit that Bengal is today. We prefaced this essay by drawing attention to the fact that a wrong policy of war finance will not only adversely affect the economic structure for the present but it will leave a permanent stamp on the economic structure, twisting and distorting it beyond repair, and making the country a permanent financial cripple. That is exactly what has happened. Let us try to assess the extent to which Bengal is a financial cripple now.

(1) Comparatively speaking, Bengal has been hit hardest by the war among all the Indian provinces. In fact, other provinces have, generally speaking, profited as a result of the War, but the case of Bengal has been just the reverse. Bengal's Finance Ministers have repeatedly made this complaint and have pleaded for special help for Bengal, but without success. The following table gives a comparative statement of income and expenditure from the year 1938-39 to the year 1945-46 :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE II (*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Province	1938-39 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−	1939-40 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−	1940-41 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−	1941-42 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−	1942-43 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−
Madras	1613	1610	+3	1666	1637	+29	1 08	1755	+53	1955	1867	+88	2192	2067	+125
Bombay	1245	1280	−35	1314	1283	+31	1 48	1361	+87	1686	1525	+161	1970	1779	+191
Bengal	1277	1277	Nil	1432	1371	+61	1 54	1445	−91	1494	1550	−56	1646	1679	−33
U. P.	1280	1280	Nil	1352	1345	+7	1465	1464	+1	1650	1648	+2	2046	2044	+2
Punjab	1117	1161	−44	1169	1206	−37	1 89	1220	+69	1431	1367	+64	1645	1511	+134
Bihar	524	493	+31	548	536	+12	18	588	+30	655	601	+54	752	634	+118
C. P.	427	471	−44	509	476	+33	26	496	+30	531	511	+20	669	647	+22
Assam	258	299	−41	293	292	+1	29	313	+16	328	331	−3	387	355	+32
N.-W. F. P.	181	178	+3	183	187	−4	92	183	+9	220	198	+22	235	233	+2
Orissa	182	181	+1	188	184	+4	99	188	+11	206	191	+15	224	217	+7
Sind	370	346	+24	429	405	+24	20	505	+15	585	559	+26	665	652	+13

TABLE II—*Contd.*

Province	1943-44 Actual Rev.	Exp.	+−	1944-5 (*Revised Estimate*) Rev.	Exp.	+−	1945-46 (*Budget Estimates*) Rev.	Exp.	+−	1946-47 (*Budget Estimates*) Rev.	Exp.	+−
Madras	2984	2984	Nil	4037	4020	+17	4125	4045	+80	4144	4082	+62
Bombay	2521	2150	+371	3212	3123	+89	2909	2909	Nil	3020	3015	+5
Bengal	2372	2675	−303	3566	4701	−1135	2879	3739	−860	4119	5065	−946
U. P.	2426	2424	+2	2753	2738	+15	2752	2737	+15	2707	2703	+4
Punjab	2120	1684	+436	2249	2110	+139	2117	1925	+192	2130	2083	+47
Bihar	1031	1086	−55	1199	1012	+187	1131	897	+234	1389	1339	+50
C. P.	856	855	+1	949	945	+4	948	946	+2	955	844	+111
Assam	516	441	+71	581	613	−32	538	540	−2	516	505	+11
N.-W. F. P.	255	235	+20	276	292	−16	267	279	−12	263	278	−15
Orissa	256	254	+2	313	311	+2	294	303	−9	358	392	−34
Sind	994	593	+401	943	940	+3	857	854	+3	803	800	+3

It will be seen that in the year 1940-41, the year when the impact of the War first burst with full blast, the only province that had a deficit was Bengal, all the other provinces reaping good surpluses. In 1943-44, all the provinces, except Bengal and Bihar had surpluses, some of them very huge surpluses, such as the Punjab getting Rs. 436 lakhs, Bombay Rs. 371 lakhs, and Sind Rs. 401 lakhs. In recent years, the majority of the provinces had surplus budgets and even for those provinces which had to face deficits, the deficit was small. If we add up the surplus and subtract the deficits and thus calculate the net gain or loss during the war for the different provinces we get the following results :

TABLE III

Balance of Surplus or Deficit (1938-39 to 1946-47)
(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Madras	+457
Bombay	+900
Bengal	−4362
U. P.	+47
Punjab	+1000
Bihar	+661
C. P.	+179
Assam	+53
N.-W. F. P.	+9
Orissa	−1
Sind	+512

The only province which had to face real deficit is Bengal. Even the North-West Frontier Province, which is, because of its strategic position, a deficit province normally, reaped a surplus. The only province which had to face real deficit is Bengal—so much so that *all* the surplus gained by *all* the other provinces during *all* these years taken together (Rs. 3817 lakhs) is more than set off by the very heavy deficit (Rs. 4362 lakhs) Bengal had to bear.

This is one measure of the extremely heavy burden put on Bengal.

(2) But this over-all deficit, though it is some indication of the very heavy pressure put on Bengal, does not bring out the real situation. It is much more important to realise that not only the deficit has been high, but it has been high in spite of the increasing height of revenue figures. We have already commented on the fact that revenue receipts now have become more than three times than what it was ten years before. This is a measure of the sacrifice made by Bengal to meet the demands of War. In the explanatory memoranda attached to the Bengal Budget for 1946-47 (see *Calcutta Gazette*, 28.3.46) the following table, indicating the yield from certain taxes at the beginning of the war and at present, has been given. The table reveals the effort made by Bengal to reduce the gap :

TABLE IV

Comparative Yield from Provincial taxes in the first and in the last year of the war
(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

	1939-40 *Actuals*	1945-46 *Revised*
1. Agricultural Income Tax	..	60·00
2. Land Revenue	386·10	395·55
3. Excise	165·28	799·86
4. Stamps	256·44	360·00
5. Registration	27·31	64·00

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

6.	Other Taxes and Duties—		
(*i*)	Entertainment Tax	8·01	55·00
(*ii*)	Betting Tax	11·33	80·00
(*iii*)	Electricity Duty	20·24	55·00
(*iv*)	Taxes on Professions, callings, etc.	7·03	10·34
(*v*)	Sales Tax	..	300·00
(*vi*)	Motor Spirit Sales Tax	..	200·00
(*vii*)	Raw Jute Tax	..	40·00
	Receipts under Motor Vehicles Acts	21·31	23·02
	Total	903·05	2442·77

The Table yields very peculiar results. It shows, first of all, the extent of sacrifice Bengal has made. From 9 crores to 24½ crores is no small a jump. It demonstrates, in the second place, that the increase of income has been possible mainly by taxing the poorer classes. The increase in the yield of those taxes which affect the lower income-group has been most marked. The increased yields from the Sales Tax and from Excise Duties are cases in point. The income from Agricultural Income Tax has not been earmarked, as recommended by the Floud Commission, for agricultural improvement, but has been frittered away. Money anyhow was the sole guide to financial policy and for that purpose the Government did not hesitate even to encourage indirectly Betting if it was a source of income. It was utter bankruptcy not only financially but also in statesmanship and high principles.

(3) But this is not all. As on the income side, we find the Bengal Government acting on the sole principle of getting money and more money, so also on the expenditure side, money was spent without any sobriety or discretion. As we have already indicated, the Nation-building Departments were the first casualties and money was poured in for meeting mainly what has been termed "Extraordinary charges in India due to War." The following figures, collected from the Budget speech of Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Goswami in 1945, are most revealing :

TABLE V

Statement of expenditure necessitated by war conditions and the famine and its aftermath.
(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

		1943-44 *Actuals*	1944-45 *Revised*	1945-46 *Budget*
I.	War	762·50	2115·00	1366·00
II.	Famine	560·00	681·00	367·00
III.	Grow More Food Campaign	100·00	112·00	77·00
		1422·50	2908·00	1810·00

No comment is necessary. Suffice it to say that in 1943-44, the total income on revenue account was Rs. 2372 lakhs and the total expenditure Rs. 2675 lakhs. An expenditure of Rs. 1442·5 lakhs on 'Extraordinary charges due to War' means we had to spend, that year, 59·9 per cent of our income to meet the demands of war and 53·1 per cent of our total expenditure went for that purpose. The corresponding figures for 1944-45 and 1945-46 are, respectively, 81·6 per cent and 61·9 per cent and 62·9 per cent and 48·2 per cent.

Let us now have a look at the total picture as it presents itself. The above study of the Bengal Budget reveals that Bengal ruined herself financially to meet to demands of the war. While the other provinces were benefiting as a result of the war. Bengal's was just the opposite case. Yet she had to make the biggest effort to raise money through increased taxation and spend that away on no constructive programme but purely for war purpose. What outside help she received during this period ? The Reserve Bank *Report on Currency & Finance* for the year 1944-45 gives the information that Bengal received only Rs. 3 crores and Rs. 7 crores in 1943-44 and 1944-45 respectively from the centre as *ex-gratia* grants for famine-relief. One might well say that this parade of generosity does more discredit than credit to the Central Government and gives us an idea of their callousness to our vital problems such as famine, which were more the result of the war policy of the Central Government than of anybody else.

(C) INCOME REDISTRIBUTION THROUGH WAR FINANCE

What will be the long-term effect of this disastrous policy of war finance ? Its first effect will be on the income-groupings and the alteration of income distribution in precisely the wrong way. The proper method of war finance should obviously be to tax the upper grades of income and not to penalise those at the marginal or the sub-marginal level. Such a policy ultimately leads to a redistribution of income in favour of the poor and tends to mitigate, though in a small degree, social inequity. Analysing the effects of the financial policy on Great Britain's social and economic structure during the last war, Professor Bowley wrote in his *Economic Consequences of the War* that

> "In summary we may say that great progress has been made towards the extinction of remediable poverty, considerable inroads have been made on excessive wealth, and generally income is less unequally distributed than it was ten years ago."

The effects of such a policy have been much more marked during this war. The British tax-system, this time, tried to be socially equitable by becoming progressive very rapidly with the increase in income. "War-time taxation," write Shirras and Rostas in their *Burden of British Taxation*, "as has been shown from the data for 1941-42, has eliminated the light treatment of the middle incomes. The distribution of the tax-burden is noticeably progressive from incomes of £250 per annum upwards." What has been the result ? The result has been that though the war has put the severest strain on the financial resources of the country, it has still acted as an engine of social equality and justice to some extent and has effected marked redistribution of wealth from the richer to the poorer income groups.

It is true that in presenting the Bengal Budget for the year 1944-45, Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Goswami, the then Finance Minister, also asserted that "in looking forward to the building-up of a better world for ourselves and for our children we must be fortified by the spirit of the celebrated dictum, that taxation is an engine of social and national reform." But how hollow this claim here is, is proved at once if we examine the highly regressive and extremely reactionary financial policy that has been followed by the Government of India as also by the Government of Bengal in financing the War. An analysis of the Bengal taxes will show that the main

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

increase in income of the Bengal Government during the war has taken place under the heads, Agricultural Income Tax, Stamps and Registration, Entertainment Tax, Betting Tax, Electricity Duty, Sales Tax, Motor Spirit Sales Tax, Raw Jute Tax and to some extent Excise Duties. It is obvious that all these taxes are either taxes on the poor people or taxes undesirable from the social point of view. The Bengal Government, thus, have fought their part of the war by taxing and penalising the poor and not the rich. They have literally frittered away money, but with negative results. Every item of their budget, *e.g.*, Grow More Food Campaign, Famine Relief, etc., has been nothing but a colossal waste of money.

That this has been the fact is proved by the results of her financial policy. We examine the position of two provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, side by side. The Punjab shows how a skilful financial policy of the provincial Government can, even within the imperial framework, benefit the poorer classes and mitigate social inequity. From a study on the *Impact of Rising Prices on Various Social Strata in the Punjab* (Publication No. 82 of the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, 1944) we find that

"The impact of rising prices on various social strata in the Punjab has been to transfer wealth from the fixed-income groups to soldiers, and agriculturists. The only group which has suffered very seriously under rising prices in the Punjab is the fixed income group. Farmers and most entrepreneurs have made modest gains. Some farmers, some entrepreneurs and soldiers have made considerable gains."

Thus it becomes clear that the transference of wealth has been to the peasantry, who forms the bulk of the population. But how has the Bengal peasantry fared during these years? It had to face famine and death, disease and pestilence, economic ruin and social disruption. The impact of rising prices led to their total destruction. The following facts, gathered from *A Sample Survey of After-effects of the Bengal Famine of 1943* by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S., and others, speak for themselves:

"During the period of April 1943 to April 1944, 9·2 lakhs of families sold their paddy land in full or in part out of whom 2·6 lakhs had sold their land in full and had lost their only or chief means of livelihood; 6·7 lakhs of families mortgaged their paddy land. In other words, nearly 15 lakhs of families (about one-fourth of the number who had owned paddy land before the famine) had either sold in full or in part or mortgaged their paddy land during the famine period. The most important point to note is that, during the famine, 2·6 lakhs of families (out of 65 lakhs owning paddy land) had totally lost their holdings and were thus reduced to the rank of landless labour. Another fact is worth noting. Out of the total of 7·1 lakhs of acres of paddy land sold during the famine, only 2·9 lakhs of acres had been purchased back in the villages. Roughly 4·2 lakhs of acres of paddy land had thus passed to outsiders, possibly 'non-cultivating owners' residing in urban areas. The net loss of plough cattle was about 10 or 11 lakhs (about 13 per cent) during the famine period which must seriously affect agricultural operations in future. Only about one-fourth of the loss (3·5 lakhs) were replaced by purchase. About 3 lakhs or 8·5 per cent of families of rural Bengal had probably lost all the cattle they had before the famine making it difficult or practically impossible for them to carry on normal agricultural operations. Adopting 5·4 as the average size of the family the total number of persons whose economic position had deteriorated was about 38 lakhs. About destitution, the sample estimate shows that 4·8 lakhs of persons had been rendered destitutes under war and famine conditions in Bengal."

This is a picture of complete destitution and ruin. This is how Bengal has been led, step by step, into this disaster through a wrong and perverse policy of war finance.

Wealth and Taxable Capacity

But it is not merely a question of redistribution of wealth and its transference in Bengal from the lower income groups to higher income groups. It is also a question of absolute financial exhaustion. Two things are clear. Bengal would require, in the first place, huge sums for her programme of post-war reconstuction and expansion and whatever help she receives from the Centre it is certain that the major portion of the necessary amount will have to be raised from Bengal. That will mean fresh loans and taxes. But, on the other hand, almost all the sections of Bengal have been, as a result of this ruthless taxation, financially exhausted and no further taxation will be possible without absolutely ruining them. Fresh sources of finance are, therefore, extremely limited; except the war-profiteers and black-marketeers who have made piles of money, as also a few richer sections of the society, there cannot be imposed any more tax-burden, specially on the common people of Bengal. In fact, it seems almost fantastic how the Bengal Government managed to squander away so huge sums of money in such a short period. For instance, the Agricultural Income-tax has been yielding Rs. 60 lakhs annually, but instead of earmarking it for the improvement of agriculture, as was suggested by the Floud Commission, this sum of Rs. 60 lakhs per year has been frittered away. Even no hesitation has been felt to dope the Province for getting higher returns from Excise and during these years the yield has more than quadrupled itself. Sales Tax has now been yielding Rs. 3 crores annually, yet not only has this sum gone to the bottomless pit that Bengal today is but there was actually an effort to increase the rate still more in spite of the fact that the poorer consumers are groaning under its load. Nothing is unfair or unjust in the eyes of the Bengal Government if it begets money and even such immoral taxes as the Betting Tax have been allowed to exist on the plea of more money. The situation is terrible; Bengal is being squeezed to the last drop of her blood only to feed more officers and a few parasitic sections of our society while the vast majority is facing absolute ruin and destruction.

Remedies

It is not possible here to draw up a complete blueprint for Bengal's post-war financial reconstruction. But the main lines of reform become clear from the analysis of Bengal finances during the war. It is essential that any post-war financial reform in Bengal must be based on at least three cardinal principles. They are: (1) There must be a system of taxation and borrowing that will benefit the masses by penalising the richer sections who have grown fat on their blood and it would be necessary for this purpose to reverse completely the present tendencies of the tax- and loan-system. (2) Adequate financial help from outside must be obtained to launch upon a programme of post-war reconstruction. The Government of India had, during the war, no justi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fication whatsoever of throwing the major burden on Bengal while they themselves stood aside whenever there arose any crisis that was, by no stretch of imagination, Bengal's creation. That was sheer exploitation on any showing. Now it is high time for the Central Government to make amends, though very belated amends; they cannot escape their obligation of rebuilding Bengal that has been devastated by conditions of their creation. (3) There must be a truly national policy of financial reconstruction and a truly national executive to carry out that policy. All corruption must cease; and with that, all red-tapism and the old-world ideas of official callousness and snobbery and the obsolete methods of slow and ineffective work.

———:O:———

THE MOVEMENT OF PROFITS AND WAGES IN INDIA DURING THE WAR

By Prof. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL

War brings about considerable changes in the economic positions of different classes of the society in relation to each other. The extent of such changes, as will be evident afterwards, depends upon how far a controlled economy is in actual operation. Strictly speaking a war does not inflict any money-cost on the society. There is no such thing as money-cost for the society as a whole, though there is an enormous increase in taxation on account of the war. What government expenditure out of taxation often actually means is simply a transfer of purchasing power from one section of people to others.

But the society may have to bear a real cost. This real cost consists in resources or services actually forgone by it for their utilization in the war. Thus "the real cost involved in the maintenance of the army consists in the services of the soldiers themselves who are withdrawn by war from civilian consumption."[1] For the present we are not so much concerned with the real cost as with the transference of money. It is evident even to a superficial observer that war favours particularly those classes who are engaged in war-production or war-services and causes a transference of money to them from those classes who are not engaged in war production or war services.

But in a totalitarian war like that of the present age every productive activity is an activity for the war; because there is nothing which it does not demand. Such a huge demand tends to create a general scarcity leading to a general rise in the Price-level and money-incomes. But there are differences in the degree of scarcity of different goods and services. Some goods or services are much more scarce than others, in relation to their respective demands; hence the prices of the former rise much more than those of the latter. But by a system of control and rationing the tendency of prices to rise can be checked. Rationing is a twofold affair. First, it means a direct transference of a portion of the national resources from the civilian to the military sector; and secondly, it means an equitable distribution among the people of what remains for their consumption at reasonably controlled prices. Under a system of rationing the quota of goods going to a person is fixed not by the amount of purchasing power which he possesses but by his requirement. Actually what happens is a restriction of civilian consumption in a planned way. Obviously greater the degree of control and rationing the less is the extent of rise in prices. The condition of scarcity often impels a government to resort to inflation. And once it is started, it goes on working cumulatively. It is difficult to bring it under restraint. Inflation is the process of issuing money more than in proportion to the increase in productive activity. In the case of Absolute Inflation conceived by Keynes the productivity does not increase at all, but the prices and money-incomes go on increasing in the same proportion as the volume of money.[2] In India the controlled economy was introduced very late. Actually the Control came when inflation had already started and the situation had gone beyond control. A characteristic feature of inflation is that the volume of newly created money is not evenly distributed among different classes of producers or among different factors engaged in a particular productive activity. Exactly this has been the result of inflation in India during the recent war.

Speaking in a general way the industrial and trading concerns made enormous profits. Even many petty merchants, through contract-business, were able to promote themselves to the position of big capitalists. The land-owners who receive large amounts of rent in kind and big farmers could increase their incomes manifold by selling their crops at abnormally high prices. But the landless agricultural workers having little bargaining power could not raise their incomes appreciably, rather their position deteriorated. It is mostly they who were the victims of the famine of 1943. The technicians, engineers and skilled labourers, because of their relative scarcity, could earn a great deal. Men in the legal and teaching professions could increase their incomes only slightly. Many of them came down nearly to the position of ordinary workers. The ordinary mill-workers' wages lagged much behind the profits of their employers. In short the class-differentiation during the recent war has been intensified. First, there has been a considerable gap between those who directly or indirectly could link up their services with the war and those who could not do so. Secondly, there has been an enormous gap between those who could not earn anything except by selling their labour-power and those who could earn mainly by virtue of ownership.

Statistics relating to incomes of different classes, *e.g.*, wages, salaries, rents, profits and interest in India are not available to any satisfactory extent. A few that have been collected can be furnished here to give a quantitative estimate of the changing relation between the industrial profits and the earnings of workers. The following table is given to show the average increase in profits of some of the big industries:[3]

1. Pigou, *A Study in Public Finance* (1928), p. 19.

2. Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.*

3. Report on the Trade of India in 1941-42 (published January, 1945).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Index Numbers of Profits, 1928=100

Industry	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Iron & Steel	316·7	289·3	300·7	387·3	403·3
Cotton mill	208·3	154·6	220·1	489·1	760·7
Tea	73·9	96·2	95·4	141·3	219·5
Paper	172·1	151·8	358·7	432·2	488·4
Sugar	157·7	179·4	180·0	247·3	219·8

No. of Companies Considered

Industry	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Iron & Steel	3	4	4	4	3
Cotton mill	57	61	63	60	75
Tea	127	127	127	127	128
Paper	4	4	8	8	8
Sugar	—	26	27	28	28

It is to be noted that the level of profits for the iron and steel industry was already very high ; it was in 1938 more than thrice as much as it was in 1928. Then in 1942 there was nearly 27 per cent increase over the level of 1938. The profits of the tea industry increased from 73·9 in 1938 to 219·5 in 1942 by 197 per cent approximately. The profits of the cotton mill industry rose from 208·3 in 1938 to 760·7 in 1942 by nearly 265 per cent. The profits of the paper industry rose from 172·1 in 1938 to 488·4 in 1942, the increase being nearly 183 per cent. The rise in profits of the sugar industry was approximately 39 per cent.

Another table is given below setting out index numbers of production in the industries of iron and steel, cotton manufacture, paper and sugar during the years from 1938 to 1944.[4]

Index Numbers of Production, 1938-39=100

Industry	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44
Iron & Steel	100	110	125	150	200	200
Cotton-manufacture	100	94	100	153	92	113
Paper	100	118	149	159	112	126
Sugar	100	191	168	120	163	184

Reading the index numbers of profits and production together we can easily realise that the increase in profits was much more than proportionate to the increase in production except in the case of iron and steel. Thus while in 1941-42 there was 20 per cent increase in the production of sugar over 1938, profits during the same period increased by 39 per cent. While in 1941-42 the production of paper increased by 59 per cent over 1938, profits rose by 183 per cent. During this period while the production of cotton manufacture rose by 53 per cent, profits rose by 265 per cent. So there is no ground for believing that larger profits were caused by larger production. In fact it was a monetary inflation and a condition of scarcity which led to an inflation of profits. Of course, against this must be set the war-time increase in taxation of incomes. But it should not be forgotten at the same time that there has been evasion of taxation on a large scale, though it is impossible to give a quantitative estimate of such evasion. The swelling of bank-deposits on private account may be taken as an evidence of evasion.

Now let us compare profits with the earnings of the industrial workers. The following table gives out average annual earnings of workers in different industries in British India.[5]

Industry	Average annual earnings in rupees			Percentage increase in 1943 over 1939
	1944	1943	1939	
Textiles	633·6	571·5	293·5	95·0
Engineering	589·8	529·0	263·5	100·0
Minerals and metals	573·5	502·1	457·2	10·0
Chemicals and dyes	484·6	398·0	244·8	62·0
Paper and printing	474·1	414·0	332·7	24·0
Wood, stone and glass	368·4	303·1	194·2	56·0
Skins and hides	532·1	411·0	285·8	44·0
Ordnance	546·8	527·4	361·9	46·0
Mints	695·2	574·4	397·4	44·0
Miscellaneous	513·8	392·0	281·2	39·0

Actually the increase in earnings of labourers was much less than the increase in profits. Thus before a 265 per cent increase in profits of the cotton mill industry the 95 per cent increase in incomes of the textile workers in 1943 over the level of 1939 is insignificant.[6] While there was a 183 per cent increase in profits of the paper industry, the earnings of the workers engaged in the paper and printing industry rose in 1943 over 1939 by 24 per cent only. The average increase in earnings of the industrial workers in British India was only 45 per cent. Again even this increase in the incomes of the workers will turn out to be completely fictitious, if they are measured in terms of real goods and comforts. This is obvious from a comparison between the increase in earnings and the increase in cost of living of the workers as shown by the following table.[7]

Cost of Living Indices

	Bombay	Madras	Cawnpore	Jamshedpore
	1934=100	1936=100	1939=100	1914=100
1939	106	100	100	107
1940	112	107	111	117
1941	124	112	122	134
1942	157	133	180	191
1943 March	208	170	248	265

While the money-incomes of the workers increased on the average by 45·0 per cent, the cost of living increased in 1943 over 1939 by 96·0 per cent or 70·0 per cent, or 148·0 per cent approximately. Thus in fact there was considerable diminution in the real wages of the workers in India. But the real wages in countries like the U.S.A., Great Britain, Canada, etc., actually increased in sharp contrast with those in India. This is shown by the following table :[8]

4. L. C. Jain, *Indian Economy during the War* (1946), p. 31.
5. *Indian Labour Gazette*, New Delhi, May, 1946.
6. Index numbers of profits are available now only up to 1942. Hence for comparison the increase in labour-earnings in 1943 is considered here instead of 1944.
7. *Review of the Trade of India in* 1941-42.
8. *International Labour Review*, January-February, 1946.

CC-0.In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Index Numbers of Real Wages in Industries

Year	*U.S.A. Weekly (Industries) 1929=100*	*Canada Weekly (Mining, transport, commerce and services)*	*Great Britain Weekly (Mining, industries, transport and commerce)*
1938	108	—	100
1939	118	—	—
1940	123	—	108
1941	138	100	113
1942	154	104	125
1943	171	110	138
1944	180	113	139

The increase in real wages in these countries is explained by the fact that there was slight inflation and considerable expansion of consumable goods, while in India there was an enormous inflation accompanied by a slight increase in the production of those goods.

In respect of capital-accumulation also the small co-operative institutions made much less progress than the big commercial ones. Thus while the demand and time liabilities of the Scheduled Banks taken together increased from Rs. 306 crores in 1941-42 to Rs. 410 crores in 1942-43, the total working capital of the Agricultural Societies decreased from Rs. 26,55,61,496 to Rs. 25,39,88,574 during the same period.[9] This also indicates that small incomes out of which savings are generally deposited with small local institutions were not increasing at all or so much as the big incomes. Thus the differentiation between small and big business institutions has been sharpened.

In India there was already a very high degree of inequality in the distribution of incomes among her people. "If we take the urban classes, nearly one half of their total income belongs to less than one-tenth of their total number."[10] From the statistics given here it appears that this already existing inequality has been increased at least three-fold during the war.

Therefore no plan of post-war reconstruction in India can be complete, if it does not aim at removing at least the war-time increase in inequality of incomes. Industrialization for India is not so much a post-war programme as a programme for all times. This was overdue even long before this war and must not be further delayed. But apart from this the removal of the war-time inequality in incomes must be one of the main tasks of reconstruction in India.

9. *Statistical Statement relating to the Co-operative Movement in India*, 1941-42 & 1942-43.

10. K. V. R. V. Rao, *The National Income of India* (1931-32), p. 189.

—:o:—

THE TEMPLE OF VARGABHIMA AT TAMLUK

By Swami JAGADISWARANANDA

The Temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk, a subdivisional town in the district of Midnapur, is a very ancient monument of Bengal, nay of whole India. Though it is situated about forty miles away from Calcutta and is reachable in a few hours by train or steamer, it has not yet attracted as much attention of the historians as it deserves.

Tamluk known in ancient records as Tamralipta was once an important port on the Bay of Bengal, and the capital of a kingdom bearing the same name. Trade of Tamluk spread throughout the then civilised world. Hunter in his *Orissa* (Vol. I, p. 313) observes that indigo, mulberry, the costly products of Bengal and Orissa form the traditional articles of export from ancient Tamluk. Prince Vijay Singh, son of King Singhabahu of Bengal, occupied Ceylon in the very year in which Lord Buddha passed away. At that time ships were built at Tamluk and Singhabahu went to Ceylon with the ships made there. According to Mahavamsa, a Buddhist scripture[1], the coastal city of Tamralipta was well-known in 307 B.C. as a famous sea-port from where the Bodhidruma, the Tree sacred to the Buddhists, was sent to Ceylon. An unknown Greek merchant writes in the first century A.D. in *Periplus of the Erithrian* that Tamralipta was in those days a world-known trading centre of India. In the first century the Greeks sailed from this port to the Archipelago in the Indian Ocean and colonised in them. In the Buddhist age, the central Buddhist monastery of the Tamralipta kingdom was established at Tamluk. In the eighties and nineties of the fifth century B.C. Tamralipta was a very important place of the Buddhists as evident from the Buddhist records in which Tamralipta is mentioned a number of times. An Asoka Pillar was planted at Tamralipta and the same was seen by the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang in the seventh century A.D. Prince Mahendra, son of Emperor Asoka, went to Ceylon in 243 A.D. at the request of King Tissa of that island from Tamralipta with a multitude of Buddhist monks. It is learnt from *Pilgrimage* of Fa-Hian (Chap. XXVIII, p. 53) that Tamralipta was then the only harbour of India wherefrom sea-voyages were undertaken to Ceylon, China, Japan and other foreign countries. Some of the ancient coins discovered in the ancient site of Tamluk are preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Epigraphists aver that some of them were current in the fourth or fifth century B.C. One of them is a copper coin of Kaniska I, on one side of which is engraven the royal figure and on the other are the name and designations of the King.[2] Another is a gold coin of the Gupta Emperor, Kumargupta I, on whose obverse and reverse are the figures of the goddess Lakshmi, seated on a lotus and the emperor on horse-

1. *Vide* 11th & 19th chapters. And see *Mukherjee's Magazine*, June, 1873, p. 260.

2. See Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882, p. 112.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

back respectively. One gold coin of the Gupta emperor Skanda Gupta unearthed at Tamluk contains both the figures of Lakshmi and the emperor on the same side.[3]

During the reign of the Gupta Kings several Chinese travellers visited India. From their records very many things are known about the ancient city of Tamralipta which was still the chief sea-port of ancient India. During the reign of Chandragupta II, Fa-Hian was engaged in a tour of Aryavarta and spent the last two years of his travel—from 411 to 412 A.D.—at Tamralipta in the preparation of copies of Buddhist Sacred Books and paintings. Fa-Hian saw there 24 Buddhist monasteries wherein learned Buddhist monks lived and taught. And the Chinese traveller sailed for Ceylon from there. In 526 A.D. Acharya Bodhidharma went to Canton in China by sea-route from this port. Bodhidharma was a renowned Bengali Buddhist monk and was invited to the court of the Chinese emperor. His ochred robe and begging bowl were preserved for a pretty long time in the Ikrun monastery of Japan. He took from Bengal two Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures named *Pragnaparamita Hridayasutra* and *Usnishvijaya-dharini* written in the old Bengali script which have been discovered from the famous Horiyuji monastery of Japan. According to Samuel Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Vol. II, pp. 200-201), Yuan Chwang who visited India in 629 A.D. writes in his Chinese work that the kingdom of Tamralipta had then spread to a circumference of 1400 li and its capital city up to 10 li. The internal and external trade of the kingdom was carried on through both land and water routes. He was surprised at its flourishing and extensive trade. The famous Chinese traveller saw at Tamralipta ten Buddhist monasteries and more than a thousand Buddhist monks, as well as fifty Hindu temples. It is a thousand pities that no record of the Hindu temples, of which the temple of Vargabhima is certainly one, have ever been traced in the accounts of the travellers or historians. It is Yuan Chwang who saw in a suburb of the city an Asoka pillar 200 feet high with a stair-case on one side of it. Yuan Chwang[4] says that the city was severely flooded by the overflowing sea-water in 635. After Yuan Chwang who had arrived in 673 came It-Sing from the Chinese town of Kang Chow and reached Tamralipta by the sea-route. From Tamralipta he went to Nalanda where he passed several years in the study of Sanskrit and returned to Tamralipta and went to the South from here.[5] It-Sing saw at Tamralipta a Varaha Temple wherein an image of the goddess Hariti was worshipped. Samuel Beal thinks that this ancient temple was built sometime between 635 to 673 A.D. by one of the Chalukya kings who like some other dynasties of the Deccan prided in calling themselves the children of the goddess Hariti and the Varaha figure was the national symbol of the Chalukya kings. Thus came Taolin on his way to Java and Nicobar islands, Tang Chang-terg from Ceylon and lived in the Varaha monastery at Tamralipta, Huilun from Korea, Uching from the island of Lanka and a number of other Chinese travellers.

Tamluk became a subdivision of Midnapur in 1852 and is situated in the east of the district on the western bank of the Rupnarain river. The subdivision has an area of 749 square miles. From Calcutta to Tamluk there is a through steamer service. From Howrah one goes only 44 miles by train (B. N. Railway) to Paskura station and thence 16 miles by bus reaches Tamluk. How the word Tamralipta which is the Sanskrit name of Tamluk has originated is given in *Digvijaya Prakash*, a Sanskrit work on geography. In the Persian work, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tamralipta is mentioned. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri has got a Sanskrit work on geography named *Deshavali Vivriti*, written by Pandit Jagamohan before 1648 A.D., according to which the whole land to the west of Adiganga flowing by Calcutta was called Tamluk. In the view of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes Tamluk in the third century B.C. was well-known as a sea-port lying on the seashore. When Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller visited India in the seventh century, the sea was about eight miles away from Tamluk, but now the sea has receded to a distance of thirty miles. Haraprasad Sastri thinks that ancient Tamluk is the original Home of the Tamils. Kanakasabai Pillai, a Tamil scholar in his learned work *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (pp. 46, 236) remarks as follows :

> "Most of the Mongolian tribes emigrated to South India from Tamalitti (Pali name of Tamralipta) the great emporium of trade at the mouth of the Ganges and this accounts for the name Tamils by which they were collectively known among the most ancient inhabitants of the Deccan. The name 'Tamil' appears to be, therefore, an abbreviation of the word 'Tamalitti'."
>
> "The Tamils are alluded to along with the Kosals and Odras as the inhabitants of Bengal and the adjoining sea-coast in the Vayu Purana and Vishnu Purana. They were known as Tamils most probably because they had emigrated from Tamalitti (Tamralipti) the great sea port at the mouth of the Ganges."

Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee in his celebrated book *Indian Shipping* accepts Kanakasabai Pillai's opinion as authoritative. Durgadas Lahiri also corroborates this view saying that as Ceylon has derived its name from the Bengali discoverer Bijaya Sinha, so it is quite probable that the Tamils have got their name from Tamralipti, once capital of Bengal. Tamralipta is mentioned several times in the Mahabharat. In the Adiparva of the Mahabharata it is said the king of Tamralipta was present in the Sayambar-Sabha to pierce the target. In the Sabhaparva of the great epic we read that the said king was defeated by Bhima, and that the former at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhistir gained admittance into the council of kings by offering one thousand big trained elephants. Tamralipta is also referred to in the Drona Parva and Karna Parva. In the Bhisma Parva we find that Sanjaya while describing the sacred places of India mentions Tamralipta. It is guessed by the scholars that the village of Ek Chakra where the Pandavas lived for some time and which was owned by the demon named Baka was in the Midnapore district of which Tamluk is now a subdivision. In the Aswamedha Parva of Jaimini Bharat it is written that Prince Tamradhwaja, son of the King Mayurdhwaja defeated the Pandavas. There is a tradition prevalent at Tamluk and the surrounding places that King Gurudadhwaja of this dynasty[6] built the temple of Vargabhima. Tamluk was the capital of this King and his kingdom. From this it can be taken for granted

3. See Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 127, No. 7.
4. See *Watters on Yuan Chwang*, Vols. I and II.
5. See *What India Can Teach Us*, by F. Maxmuller, pp. 342-345.
6. *Vide District Gapetteer, Midnapore*, p. 322.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that Tamluk is at least as old as the Mahabharata. But the Mahabharata being about five thousand years old, it may be taken for granted that Tamluk is about fifty centuries old. From Jain Kalpa Sutra, it is learnt that Tirthankar Parsanath came to Tamralipta and preached his religion there in the eighth century before Christ.

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, a notable historian of Bengal, has rightly said that Tamluk is a seat of the ancient glories of Bengal. In olden days Tamluk was a sacred place to the Buddhists and Hindus alike. Even now it is looked upon as a sacred place by the Hindus. In Brahma Purana, Matsya Purana, Padma Purana, Markandeya Purana and other Hindu scriptures, Tamralipta is mentioned many times. The following anecdote about the sacredness of Tamluk is found in the Brahma Purana : In bygone ages Lord Shiva had killed Daksha, Brahma's son, at the sacrifice of the latter. On account of the sin for killing a Brahmin, Daksha's head, separated from the trunk, got fastened with Shiva's hands. But he could not by any means detach his hands from the head and went on a pilgrimage to get rid of it. But having visited almost all *tirthas* of the world he could not wash off his sin. He went for guidance to Lord Vishnu who told him of a holy place where the sinners can be free from their sins easily. So saying he said :

> "There is a very sacred place in the great city named Tamralipta lying in the south of India. Those who take bath in its holy water go to Vaikuntha. So you please go on a pilgrimage to that Tirtharaja (the King of holy places)*

On hearing this, Lord Shiva came to Tamralipta and as soon as he bathed in the holy water there, Daksha's head dropped from his hands. From that day the sacred pond was called 'Kapalamochan' (destroyer of ill luck) and Tamralipta was regarded as a very holy place (*tirtha*). In many Hindu scriptures Kapalamochan Pond is named but unfortunately it no longer exists. In course of time, the currents of the Rupnarain river have destroyed it. But the tradition of the *tirtha* still survives. Every year the devout people remember its holiness and take plunge at the time of Varuni Bath in the river that flows by the foot of the Vargabhima Temple. On the occasion of Makar Sankranti, Maghipurnima, Mahavisuva Sankranti and Akshaya Tritiya, huge fairs are held at Tamluk and a large concourse of people from different parts of Midnapore district and outside congregate there.

The name of Vargabhima Devi of Tamluk is found in many ancient records. But it is now impossible to ascertain how old is this image or who, exactly was its founder. As regards the manifestation of the Goddess Vargabhima, there are three traditions current in this part. One of them is as follows as described in a Bengali book on Tamluk old and new. King Tamradhwaja (or Gurudadhwaja, according to others) appointed a fisherwoman to supply fish daily to his royal family. On the way to the palace, she had to pass through a jungle path and there used to sprinkle water from a natural well on the fish to make them appear fresh. She had to bring living fish daily to the palace. But one day she could not get living fish in spite of her best efforts. So quite helpless she took the necessary quantity of dead fish and as usual sprinkled water over them from the same pond. That day the sprinkling of water proved a miracle ! No sooner she sprinkled water than the dead fish became living ! The wonderful news reached in time the royal ears and the King Tamradhwaja accompanied by the fisher-woman visited the well and found there to his astonishment an altar and on it a stone image of the Vargabhima. Others are of opinion that Kalu Bhuniya, founder of the Mahisya dynasty of Tamralipta, had established the image. Soon after Kalu became the king of Tamralipta, he had this image made and established as a token of his devotion to the Goddess. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal* mentions the following tradition equally strong about the Temple of the Goddess Vargabhima :

> "A merchant named Dhanapati, bound for Ceylon for the purposes of trade, came to Tamralipta. During his short stay there he met a local man carrying a golden pot in hand. On being enquired as to how he got this valuable pot made of gold, he narrated that in a forest nearby there is a strange pond whose water is endowed with the miraculous property of turning into gold utensils of copper and other metals. Dhanapati purchased a huge quantity of metal wares in the market and when he dipped them in the said well, they all turned into gold. Dhanapati took them to Ceylon and selling them there amassed huge wealth. When he returned home, he halted at Tamluk and had built the Temple of Vargabhima on a grand scale at his own expense in gratitude to the goddess."

The story of Dhanapati on a different setting is found in old Bengali books named *Chandimangal*. Discussing all these three traditions about the manifestation of Vargabhima, Hunter in his *Orissa* observes that similar traditions are current about the manifestation of Lord Jagannath of Puri, with nominal differences inevitable on account of different localities. For instance, the image of Jagannath which was also found in a wood is of wood but that of Vargabhima is of stone. Trailokyanath Rakshit in his Bengali history of Tamluk writes :

> "The image of Vargabhima is engraved on a large block of stone. Such figures engraved on stones are not generally found this side. It resembles that of goddess Ugratara. Meditation and ritual worship of this goddess are according to the Yogini Tantra and Nila Tantra."

The temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk is maintained by the income of the landed property donated by the Government. From very old times Vargabhima is adored by thousands as a living goddess. It is said the Muslim vandal, Kalapahar, desirous of conquering Orissa while passing through Tamluk with countless Muslim soldiers was curious enough to see the image and was very pleased with its living aroma. He has left in the Persian a document which is still carefully preserved by the worshippers of the goddess and is called by them *Badshahi Panja* (Imperial almanac). Even the notorious Maharastra looters, the Vargi soldiers exhibited great devotion to this deity. Far from doing any injury to

---

अस्ति भारतवर्षस्य दक्षिणस्यां महापुरी ।
ताम्रलिप्तं समाख्यातं गूढं तीर्थं वरं वसेत् ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा चिरादेव सम्यगेष्यसि मत्पुरीं।
गच्छतु तीर्थराजस्य दर्शनार्थं महामम्य

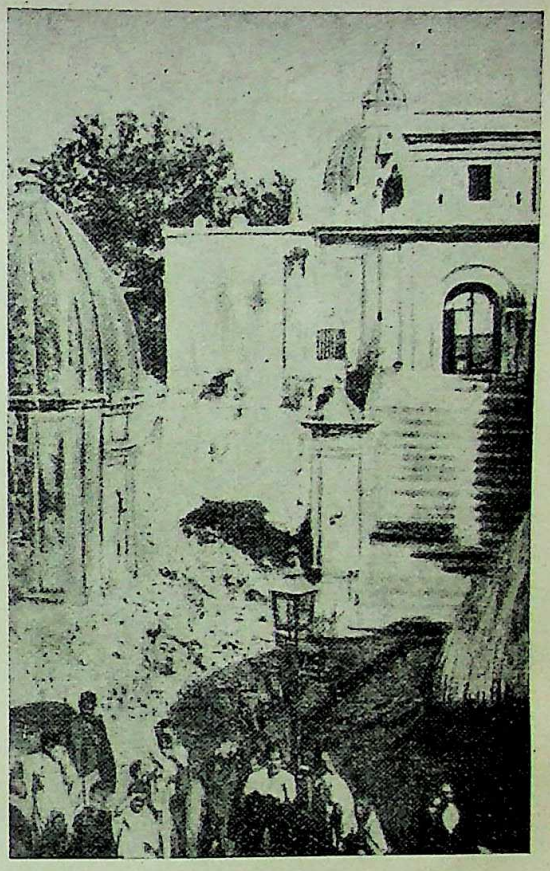
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tamluk they worshipped the goddess with great devotion and sufficient wealth and decorated Her with valuable ornaments.

Though the Vargabhima Temple is not one of the fifty-one Pithasthanas (celebrated seats of mother-cult) it is looked upon as such in a limited area. In the land surrounded by Payaratungi Canal in the north, Rupnarayan river in the east, Sankar Ara Canal in the south and Garh Maricha Canal in the west, the worship of Durga, Kali, Jagadhatri, Basanti, Ratanti and other goddesses are forbidden. All offer their worship to Vargabhima. Those who wish to worship any goddess in an earthen image has got to perform it outside this area. The temple of Vargabhima is an ancient monument of the ancient glories of Bengal. From the wonderful architecture of the temple, people are led to imagine that it was made by the divine architect, Viswakarma. No trustworthy proof about the date or maker of this temple is now available. Though the exterior of the temple is like those of the Orissan temples, yet its interior is like that of a Buddhist Bihar. Trailokyanath Rakshit mentioned above says that it resembles in many points the world-renowned temple at Buddha Gaya. In the front of the entrance door there is a small Bihar in imitation of the central Bihar. From this it is guessed that there were Bihars on other sides now extinct. Possibly in the central Bihar, the High Priest used to live and teach and the surrounding Bihars were occupied by his disciples. Archaeologists remark that when Buddhism disappeared from its birth-place the Bihars deserted by the Buddhists were converted by the Hindus into Hindu temples. This may be the case with the temple of Vargabhima. Jogesh Chandra Basu, learned author of *History of Midnapore* (in Bengali) writes that this temple may have some connection with the temple of Goddess Hariti founded by the Chalukya dynasty in the south.

The temple of Vargabhima stands on a high place. The foundation of the temple has been made thirty feet high by placing first large logs of wood and then bricks and stones. On this foundation runs a high wall nine-feet broad and sixty feet high with a large dome made of stones. When one enters the temple, first of all it strikes one that the temple has been made out of a large marble block of stone and then walled around with bricks. Pointings of the building are so fine and excellent that it appears like one whole block and this has enhanced the beauty of the building immensely. Just in front of the main temple there is a Yajna Mandir (temple of sacrifice) which is smaller than the former and seems to be built much later. They say that an old woman had this temple built with the money she saved with great difficulty by spinning with her own hands by life-long labour. Both the temples are joined by a corridor which is named Jagamohan. Besides, there is in front of the Yajna Mandir, a Nata Mandir (Hall for performances) where Yatras (theatres) are held and animal sacrifices are offered. Before this, is the Nahabat-khana (music tower) and to the north of the temple there is a pond. There is Bhutnath Bhairab (Shiva) figure within the stairs below the altar of the



The Temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk

goddess. There are no hills near Tamluk. In those days there were no such improved system of conveyance by steamer or train as now. How large pieces of stones were brought from a distance in order to build this temple is no doubt an object of astonishment and certainly indicates a high-water mark of engineering. Archaeologists like Hunter and Rajendralal Mitra, historians like Romesh Chandra Dutt have unanimously praised the marvellous architecture of the temple and have called it a very ancient monument of which Bengal may justly be proud.

Thus every ancient temple of our holy land is a mute chapter of our age-old annals written in stones and bricks and should now be deciphered and put in black and white for the enlightenment of the present generation and prosterity.

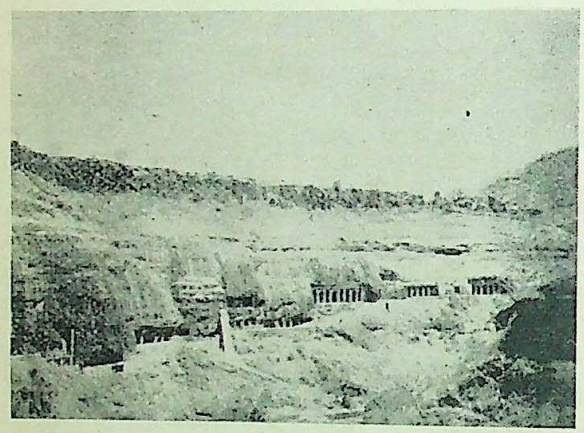
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE ART TREASURES AT AJANTA

By VIJAY KRISHNA

Although much has been said about those magnificently adorned caves at Ajanta by visitors and art-connoisseurs, yet they impress every visitor in some new way, with something original. Thus, every account provides to the reader always some new material.



A panoramic view of some of the Ajanta Caves

These caves, though situated in a beautiful glade far-off from habitation, are now no longer secluded or inaccessible. The Nizam's government has made probably the best arrangement of their conservation, maintenance, protection and for their study. The headquarters of the officer-in-charge is located at Fardapur, a village at about 3 miles distance from the caves. A good metallic road connects the caves with this place and here only bullock-carts are available. It is nearly 60 miles north of Aurangabad and is daily served by motor-buses of the Nizam's State Railway. There is a well-furnished Dak Bungalow and a State Guest House also, at this place.

The caves are in a perpendicular rock, about 250 ft. high and in a single series, presenting horse-shoe appearance but varying much in level. Below them, there flows the tinkling stream of Waghora. The natural scenery is superb. The entire valley with its surroundings, is full of the luxuriant growth of *Parijata*, which when in autumn blooms in profusion all over the valley the place becomes very fragrant and inviting. No ancient remains in India exhibit such an admirable combination of architecture, sculpture and painting surrounded by such an elegant phenomena of nature as these caves, which represent every stage of ancient Indian Art from the first century B.C. to the middle of the seventh century A.C. The frescoes illustrate the development of a great school of painting in India which exercised its influence not only on the culture of the East but also of the West.

There are 29 caves in all, 5 of which are Chaityas (Cathedrals) and the remainder—Viharas (Monasteries), all belonging to the Mahayana school of Buddhism.

Cave III is considerably higher while Cave XVIII is the lowest, and the level gradually rises towards each end. The first five with the last seven caves comprise the largest series. They are the latest and seem to have been finished within the seventh century. Another group comprises caves VI to VIII and XV to XX, ranging in date from fifth to the sixth centuries. Two Chaitya caves—IX and X, and two Viharas—XII and XIII are the earliest and seem to have been excavated before the Christian Era. All these caves have some distinctive features of their own. Among them the most prominent are described below.

Cave I is the most handsomely ornamented Vihara. It is a twenty-pillared hall with numerous cells inside and outside. The sculptures on the capitals of the pillars are remarkable for their variety and spirit.

Cave IV is one of the largest Viharas (about 85 ft. wide by 87 ft. deep with 93 ft. long front). It is unfinished and only a few pillars have some carvings. Yet the large main entrance is more elaborately sculptured than other cave-doors at Ajanta.

Cave VI has two storeys with a large and plain lower hall which contains sixteen plain pillars in groups of four each. Around the image in the shrine is a passage of circumambulation. The walls and sides of the upper storey are full of sculptures and carvings.



The magnificent facade of Cave XIX, Ajanta

Cave X has the simplest facade among the large Chaitya Caves. Inside, the paintings on the two side-walls are of much earlier date than the numerous figures of Buddha on the pillars.

Cave XIII is very plain and primitive, and is regarded as the oldest of them. Its perfectly smooth walls indicate that they were not intended to be plastered

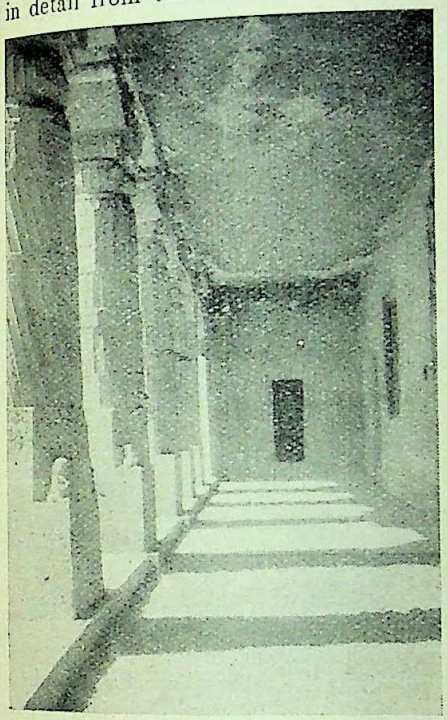
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or even be covered with paintings. Provision of stone-beds in the cells and the absence of pillars in the hall, are other indications of it being the earliest hewn cave at Ajanta.

Cave XV, another earlier cave has the earliest type of Buddha's image—without attendant and with the soles of his feet turned up.

Cave XIX also is very richly sculptured. It is lighted by a great horse-shoe arch, to both sides of which are corpulent figures with regal head-dress. The triforium is occupied by panels of arabasques, each differing in detail from the rest.



The stately verandah of Cave I, Ajanta

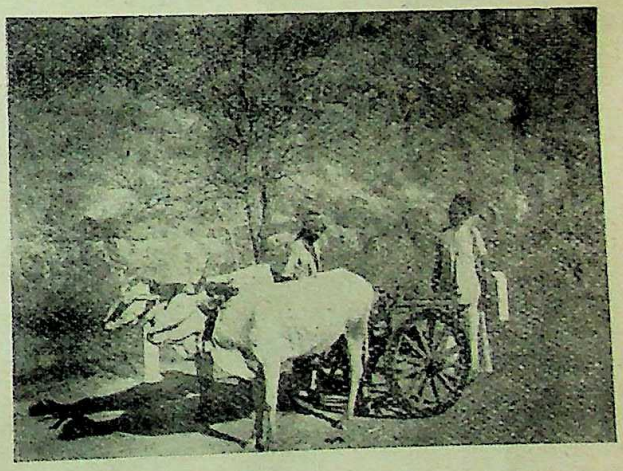
Cave XXVI has an excessive multiplication of figures of Buddha; of every size and in every attitude, almost to the exclusion of every other ornament.

The Ajanta Caves are remarkable for the richness of decoration and very careful and patient execution of that tremendous task. The doorways of the later group of Viharas alone are elegant specimens of doorway decoration in India. The sculptures are life-like and full of action and expression. The frescoes too, which have gained world-wide fame and favour, are visual records of contemporary life in still-pictures, besides they illustrate the life of Buddha. In them the woman has been drawn in clear perspective of her all beautifying capacity and here, perhaps it is her chief function to radiate happiness. The artist-monks have nowhere degraded her from the proud and prominent position she holds. Even, they did not find the necessity of removing her more than a few inches from Buddha. It is probable that because all beauty was one for them just as all life was one, they did not observe a very great distinction between physical and moral beauty. Thus, in these frescoes they have introduced women on every possible occasion and they are always unconventional. Not only that, in fact, these paintings on the whole present a vast drama moving before our eyes—a drama played by princes, sages, and heroes, by men and women of every condition in a setting of a marvellously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on wide plains and in deep jungles, while above—the messengers of heaven move swiftly across the sky.

Though the inside walls, ceiling and pillars of nearly all the later caves appear to have been adorned with paintings, yet remains of them are found only in thirteen caves and of which caves I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII are of special interest. They have adequate arrangement of electric light as well.

For the first time in the history of India, these caves were discovered in 1819 by some British soldiers who were passing through the jungles in connection with the Maratha War. They reported the matter to their headquarters. In 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society published the first account of these caves. Since then several accounts were read before the Society or were published by it. Copies of the frescoes were attempted and the result was displayed in the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1866 but the whole lot was destroyed in the terrible fire.

Again in 1870, Mr. Griffith was appointed to copy the frescoes. In ten years' labour what he prepared was again exhibited at South Kensington in 1885, but that too was destroyed by another fire on the 12th June, 1885. In 1906, Lady Harringham visited the caves and during 1909-10, with the help of a band of Indian artists, she prepared another set of copies which were published in 1915, by the India Society (now, Royal India Society), London, in a magnificent portfolio form under the title *Ajanta Frescoes*.



Perambulator-like tiny bullock-carts convey visitors to the Ajanta Caves

After the first Great War, a number of illustrated articles appeared in various periodicals and magazines which created a sensation in India and abroad. Thereafter H. E. H. the Nizam's Government undertook publicity of these caves. Its memorable move in this direction was the restoration of the frescoes by some Italian experts and then publishing in sumptuous volumes large-sized natural-colour photographs in full colours. For the benefit of the tourists and students various guide-books and card-sets also have been published by the archaeological department of the State.

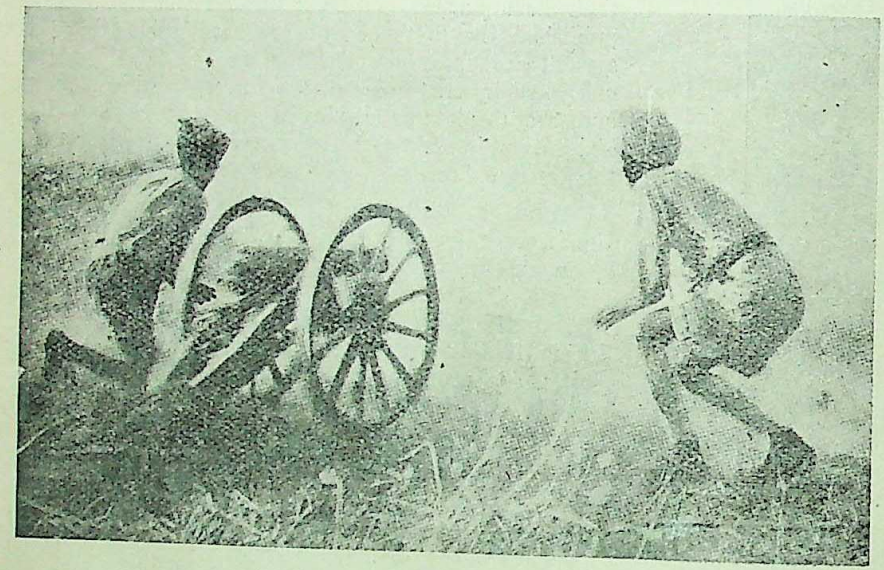
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUNS—THE MAKER OF NATIONS

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

Whatever the United Nations Organization or the World Trusteeship Committee may say about the World Charter of Freedom or the World Peace, guns will always have to engage guns in settling disputes between countries. As it is, guns in modern warfare have established a distinct superiority on one side or the other. Progress in science and the improvement of air arms may give the atomic bomb a temporary or relative advantage, but it appears fair to assume that the use of guns can never be less effective than that of present-day bombs, so long as the human vision and the natural features of modern warfare remain unchanged.



An Indian mountain gun in action

When fortresses are taken a regular siege train or collection of guns and howitzers of varying sizes and weights are attached to an Army. The military operations in the case of a siege have a distinctive character of their own and are carried out in their main features by the artillery and engineer-arms alone, the infantry, cavalry, and the air force being used in the battles or attacks incidental to the peculiar nature of the warfare.



A group of heavy guns ready for action

A gun is a metal tube, closed at one end and open at the other, from which a projectile can be thrown to a considerable distance by the explosive effect of a propellant (gunpowder or cordite) in the bore.

In the construction of a gun certain general principles are observed: (1) It must possess an ample margin of strength. (2) The bore has to be made of a material capable of withstanding the wear and tear of a large number of rounds. (3) The total weight should be as small as possible consistent with strength and the work to be done, also the destructive effect on the carriage due to a light gun must be considered. The material should be arranged so that there is no waste of powder, and that every part may perform its due share in withstanding the pressure from within.

When a gun is fired, the conversion of the propellant into a large volume of gas causes great pressure to take place in every direction at the seat of the charge. As the charge is enclosed on all sides, the effect of the explosion will be to eject the projectile from the muzzle of the gun.

As soon as the projectile begins to move to the bore it leaves more space for the gas, and the pressure is lessened, and continues to decrease as the projectile approaches the muzzle. The powder chamber of a gun has consequently to be made stronger than the muzzle end, and all guns are accordingly more or less, conical in form.

The pressure in the bore will vary with the amount of resistance to be overcome in throwing out the projectile, and with the quantity and quality of the propellant. In a rifled gun (such as all modern field guns) the projectile is elongated, and therefore heavier than a round shot of equal calibre, and moreover, it is forced with increasing rapidity as it travels through the bore. The increased work being done on the pro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

jectile and the higher velocities now in vogue necessitate guns of the modern type to be made exceptionally strong.

The ordinary service guns are made of two kinds : (1) the field guns, (2) the mountain guns. Both guns are made of an inner tube of steel and an outer jacket of steel. The steel used in making these guns is a malleable alloy of iron containing a much smaller pro-



A heavy mortar in action

portion of carbon than exists in cast iron. It is undoubtedly far stronger in every way than wrought iron, and has been for years used in the American and British munition factories as the best metal for guns. The steel made in India was at first found to be too uncertain in quality to be deemed safe to employ by itself. Within the last few years, however, great improvements have been made in its manufacture. The steel at present used in gun construction is manufactured by the 'open-hearth process.' A quantity of pig iron, free from impurities, and malleable scrap is placed on the hearth and melted down by the combustion of 'Producer Gas' and air, both of which are heated previous to burning by passing over heated bricks in chambers called Regenerators, those latter being heated by the waste gases of the furnace. The decarburisation is effected partly by the scrap won, partly by using an oxidising flame, and partly by the addition of pure ore consisting of oxide of iron.

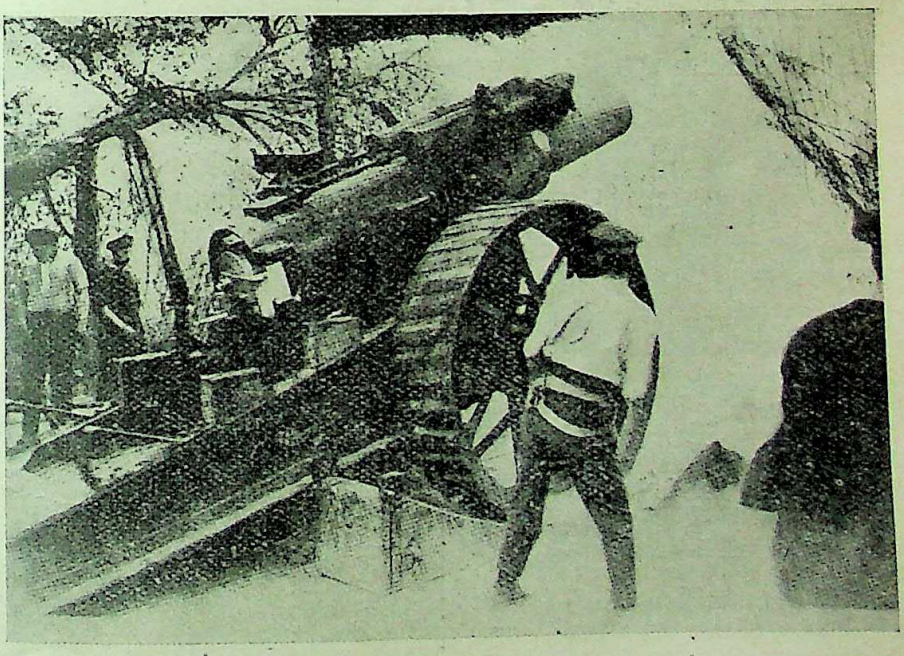
The steel for the wire is made by the crucible process. The ingots thus formed are rolled into rods and then drawn while cold through steel dies of the required shape, the final section of the wire being 0·1 inch thick and ·25 inch wide.

The uncertainties as to the behaviour of the metal are now much reduced, and it can be produced homogeneous in quality, and of the hardness, elasticity, toughness, tenacity, and tensile strength that are required. All guns are now consequently made of steel.

In a rifled gun a definite and very rapid rotation in a known direction is given, which obviates entirely the bad effects of windage and irregularity in weight and form of the projectile. The deviation of a shell from its original direction is constant, and can, therefore, be allowed for, and the accuracy of the gun increased. The rifled-shell, moreover, being gripped, as it were, at the muzzle of the gun, issues from it point foremost in the exact direction to which the gun points, but with a slightly increased elevation due to the jump.

The forces which bring a fired projectile to the ground and limit the range are gravity and the resistance of the air, the first force being always constant, the second, which is proportional to the area of the shot in transverse section, need only be considered.

It is obvious that an elongated shot must have a transverse section much less than that of a round one of the same weight, and therefore meets with less resistance from the air, and will, with



A heavy Howitzer in action

a similar muzzle velocity, range further. The front part of a rifled shell is made of a form the most favourable for passing through the air with the least resistance.

The method adopted for giving rotation to a projectile is different with the fifteen-pounder and twelve-pounder from what it is with the 2·5 inch.

With the latter of heavy guns it is done by means of a soft copper driving band attached round the shell near

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

its base. On the charge being ignited, the first pressure of the gas forces the shell forward and the rifling cuts into the band, then as the pressure on the base of the projectile increases it is forced along the grooves, and thus leaves the bore with a rotating motion.



A French anti-aircraft gun

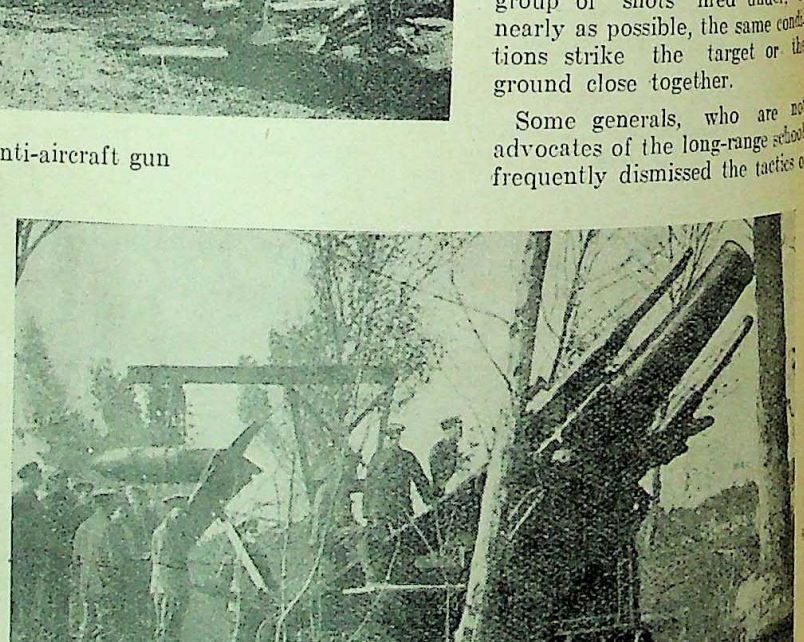
With the 2·5 inch the projectile has a gas check on its base which is forced into the grooves of the gun by the gas generated from the charge, and this gives the required rotation.

The relative advantages of breech and muzzle-loading guns have been much discussed, especially since the war of 1914, in which the Krupp breech-loading guns played such an important part. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into the arguments hitherto held for and against the rival systems, as owing to the great strides made in gun manufacture the conditions have considerably altered. It may, however, be mentioned here that the muzzle-loader is the cheapest and easiest to construct. But the 'power' of the gun, its accuracy, range, and rapidity of fire, in the two systems, may be assumed to be practically identical when using the same charge, and the projectile with its mode of ignition is in construction and effect the same.

The shells fired from guns and howitzers strike the ground in the form of an oval, having their greatest depth in the direction of fire and while the firing guns are being fired, the observer looks through his telescope of the observing gun with his right hand on the deflection screw and his left hand on the tangent screw. The depth diminishes as the range increases, and for short range it is much greater than for long ones. The breadth increases as the distance of the object at which the burst takes place increases. Furthermore, the shells are not uniformly spread over the whole of the oval of dispersion; on the near part of the oval the shells are crowded together, and on the far part, as the shells travel farther, they are more scattered.

Accuracy of fire is of the greatest importance, as without it not only is an unnecessary amount of ammunition required to be expended to produce a certain effect, but also because bad shooting may give encouragement to the enemy. Absolute certainty of hitting the same spot at each round is impossible of attainment as several causes of error exist which cannot be got rid of, even under the most favourable circumstances. Accuracy of fire is therefore, a comparative term and is said to be good when a group of shots fired under, as nearly as possible, the same conditions strike the target or the ground close together.

Some generals, who are not advocates of the long-range school, frequently dismissed the tactics of



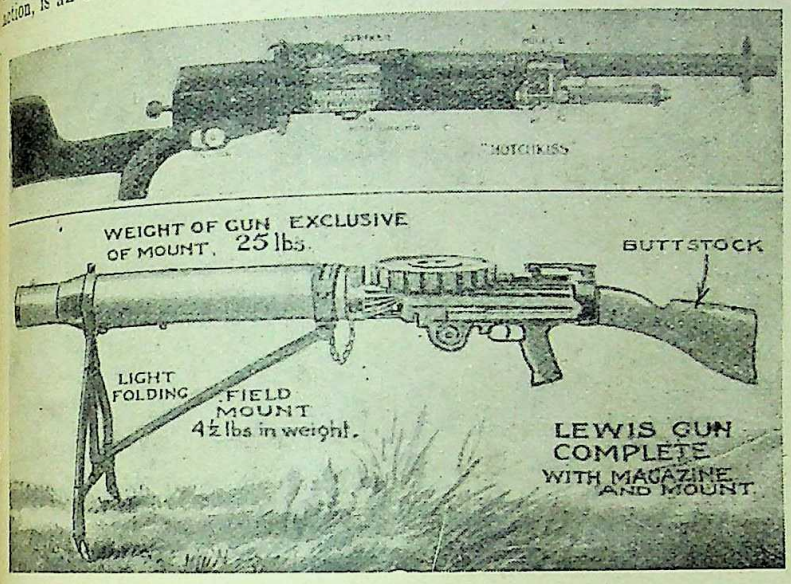
A big gun getting ready for action

them as simply an auxiliary to the other arms. Is this somewhat summarily, and looked upon

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ow the case? Is it not a fact that guns played a considerable part in gaining victory over the Germans in the last War? The denuding of the centre of a line of battle of all troops but the guns, as in World War II, is surely a recognition of their playing something more than a subsidiary part. The fire from massed batteries, not only at the commencement, but all throughout an action, is an essential feature of the modern warfare.



Hotchkiss and Lewis machine-guns

The great armies of the world at first did not feel the necessity for a regular system of artillery tactics in the field. With progress of science, the actual destructive effect of a shell has increased by alterations in size and explosive power, and by perfected methods of estimating the range and igniting the fuse. The infantry have lost much of their power of manoeuvring, while the cavalry can seldom use their shock action on the field. But the full power of the modern guns is far greater than it has hitherto been and the modern world is only beginning to understand that where rapid firing is essential, the inevitable elements of artillery in the field are more valuable.

When a force awaits attack in position, its guns have to keep down the fire of the hostile artillery, delay as long as possible the forward movement of infantry, protect the flanks from being turned, and aid in counter-attacks. It is not pretended that artillery is the arm that deteriorates the least during the combat, and the one that can be most effectively kept in hand by the general in command. Guns can with rapidity be transferred from one point to another, and by means of their manoeuvring power can most effectively aid in the limited changes of formations practicable on the battlefield. It must, however, be admitted that the guns have to co-operate with the other arms in dealing a final blow to the enemy, following his retreat if victorious, and covering the retirement of their own side in case of defeat.

Modern warfare has established many improvements in the manufacture of munitions for the guns. In a war, where artillery fire goes on almost perpetually and bombs and mine explosions are of constant recurrence, rifle and machine guns crack intermittently and snipers are always busy, no engagement of great size moment takes place without a due supply of guns, shells, and bullets. Although there are many forms of bullets and shells which are intended to destroy men and materials, the invention of shrapnel shell has provided an arrangement which is far greater in proportion of explosive power. Shrapnel, the man-killing weapon par excellence, was invented by Henry Shrapnel in 1784 and improved later by Colonel Boxer. In its original form it was the spherical cast iron shell of the period, having lead bullets mixed with the bursting charge, but it was defective in this respect that bullets were scattered in all directions when the shell burst. Boxer's improvement consisted in placing an iron diaphragm between the charge and the bullets, so that the flight of the latter was directed. When the rifled gun came into use, the shape of shrapnel was changed and it was given an elongated form with an ogival nose. The bursting charge was placed in the base, separated by a diaphragm from the bullets which filled the body, while a tube down the centre conveyed the flash to the charge from the fuse in the nose. Substantially this remains the construction of modern shrapnel. The desideratum that the shell should contain as many bullets as possible while being strong enough to hold together on discharge



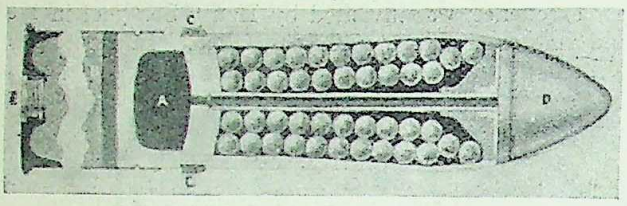
Taking ammunition up to the trenches

and during flight could, however, be better fulfilled when cast iron was displaced by steel, which permitted the walls to be made thinner. The effect of substituting steel for cast iron in shrapnel has been that it has decreased the total weight of the shell by about one-half. In order to render the burst visible some smoke-producing device is employed. One method is to mix black powder with the bullets, and another, adopted in Russia, is to use a mixture of magnesium and antimony sulphide. In Germany, red amorphous phosphorus with gunpowder

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was used with the bullets which gives rise to dense white smoke. The bullets used in shrapnel are half an inch in diameter and usually spherical, though for the U. S. Army they are made with six flat faces with the

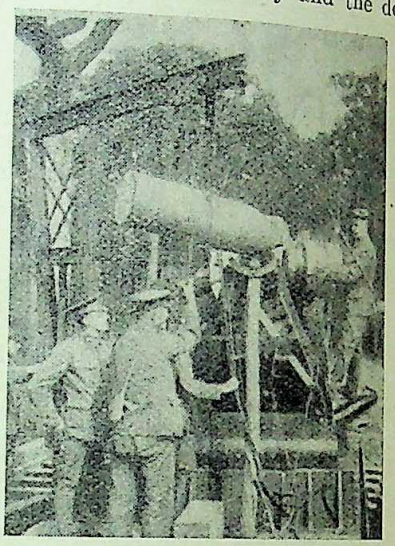


The interior of a Shrapnel shell

object of enabling them to be packed more readily in the casing. They are composed of lead hardened with antimony, and may either be cast in iron moulds or struck between dies from a long thick wire fed forward continuously. Any fins that may be formed on the bullets are removed by tumbling them together in a machine, when the rubbing of one upon another renders them quite smooth. Considerable exactitude is required in the manufacture, as 41 of them must weigh 1 lb. with an allowable error of only one dram.

It may be recalled that guns are also fitted in submarines and other battleships. It is believed that the great damage done to some of the larger British and American ships by German submarines in World War II and the short period which elapsed before they sank, were due to the use of an excessively large volume of explosive compound as well as to its particular composition. But, it must be admitted that the destruction of the personnel of a cruiser or a submarine was effected almost entirely by the shrapnel fire of the gun. These guns fold down within the superstructure of battleships and are installed on all sides having practically an all-round fire. The German guns which are of 2·95 inch bore are mounted so that they can be lowered into a recess in the deck of the vessel—between the upper deck and the recess of the hull. It is stated that these guns may be raised and got into position for firing in twenty seconds and that they can be stowed away in a corresponding time.

The gun and the rifle may be improved to any conceivable extent but the whole epoch beginning with Alexander's accession to the Greek throne and extending up to the defeat of Germany and the downfall of



A shell

Hitler will indicate how races of the world in the name of their superior civilization waged wild and awful wars on account of which towns and villages were littered with skeletons and human blood and wildernesses reigned where there had been gardens. It is a tale of the torture, mutilation and extinction of millions of men and women and of sacrifice of all that was best and noblest in many generations.

———:O:———

NORTH WALES

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

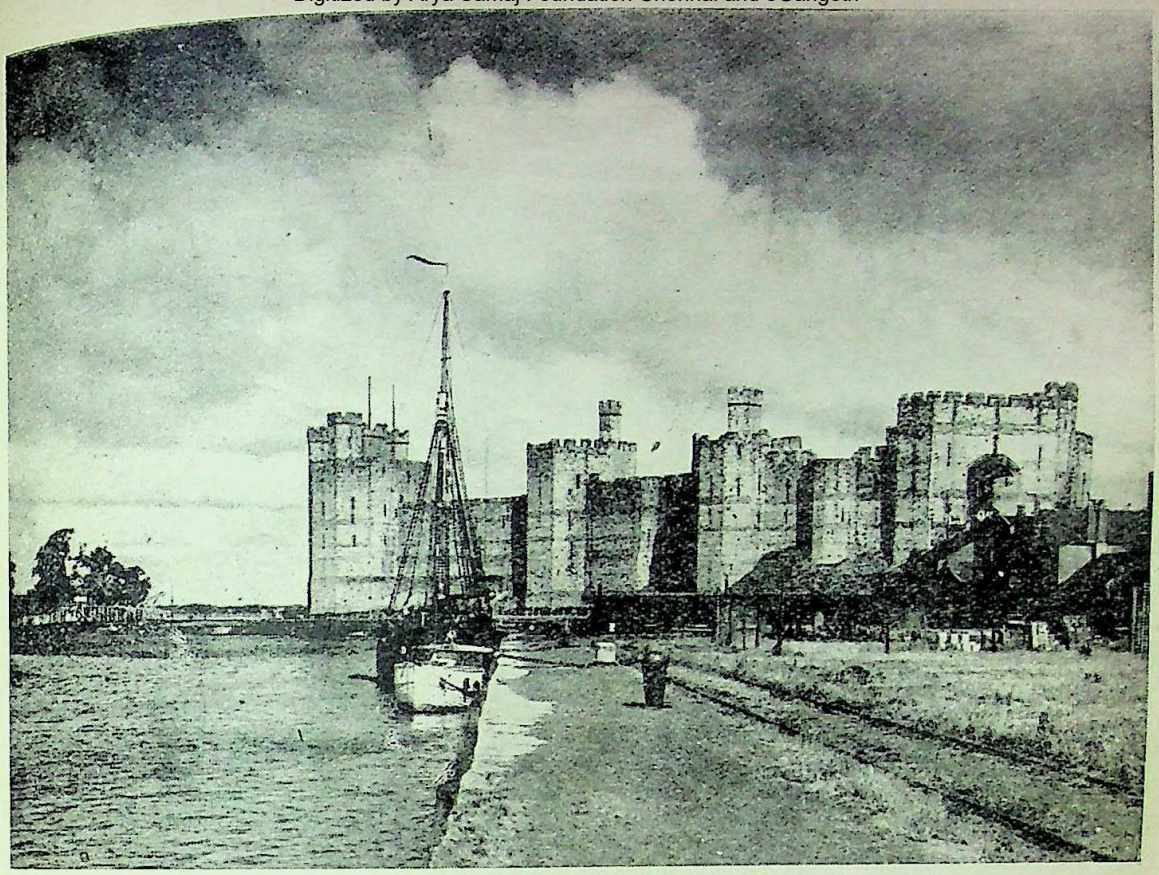
The land of Wales stands upon England's western border like a great bastion. From the Irish Sea in the north to the Bristol Channel in the south, its scenery is dominated by the mountains which give that ancient Celtic country its essentially romantic character. Although some of the most densely populated parts of the English Midlands lie upon its eastern boundary, it has retained its intrinsically Welsh atmosphere, and it still has over 50,000 people who speak only the old Welsh language. Most of its soil is drenched with legends of old heroes and of beautiful women from the world of dreams. It is a land remote in many ways from the main current of English history and tradition ; and few will deny that this very remoteness constitutes one of the chief charms of the country.

North and South Wales are divided by a chain of mountains stretching from the rugged peak of Cader Idris near the sea to the Berwyns in the east. Stand upon a peak of that dividing range and you will see the differences in landscape ; the hills of South Wales have rounded outlines compared with those stern peaks to be observed in the north country. The southern valleys are greener than those grey and rocky clefts between the northern hills. Into South Wales there are many gateways from England ; but there are only two on the north, one by the coast and the other through the lovely vale of the River Dee. The old English town of Chester, once a Roman station, lies on the coastal entrance into North Wales, and both road and railway take us up to the Irish Sea along a coastline which has become a holiday resort for the great English industrial towns that lie within the orbit of Liverpool, Leeds and Sheffield.

There is Rhyl at the mouth of the Clwyd, a stream that flows through a broad and fertile valley that is known as the Garden of North Wales. Further along the coast, Colwyn Bay is a holiday resort noted for its gentle winter climate ; and Llandudno has the other advantage of a picturesque situation, with the magnificent cliffs of Great Ormes Head standing high above

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Caernarvon Castle is one of the best preserved of the many Welsh mediaeval castles



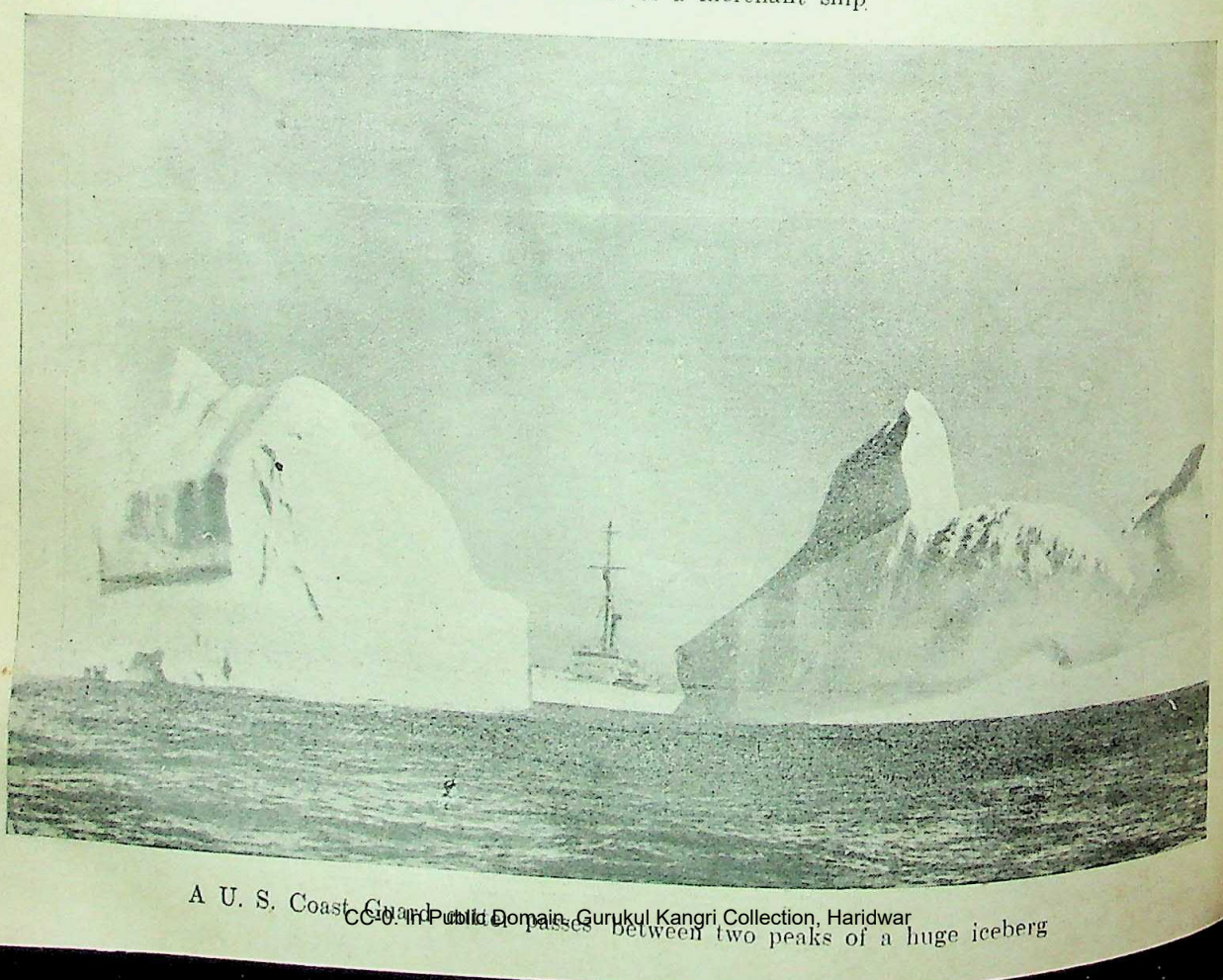
A Welsh festival at Eisteddfod, in which the performers wear the robes of the Druids and sing or recite either singly or in choirs

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A doctor aboard a U.S. Coast Guard ship starts across the water in a boatswain's chair to treat an injured member of a merchant ship

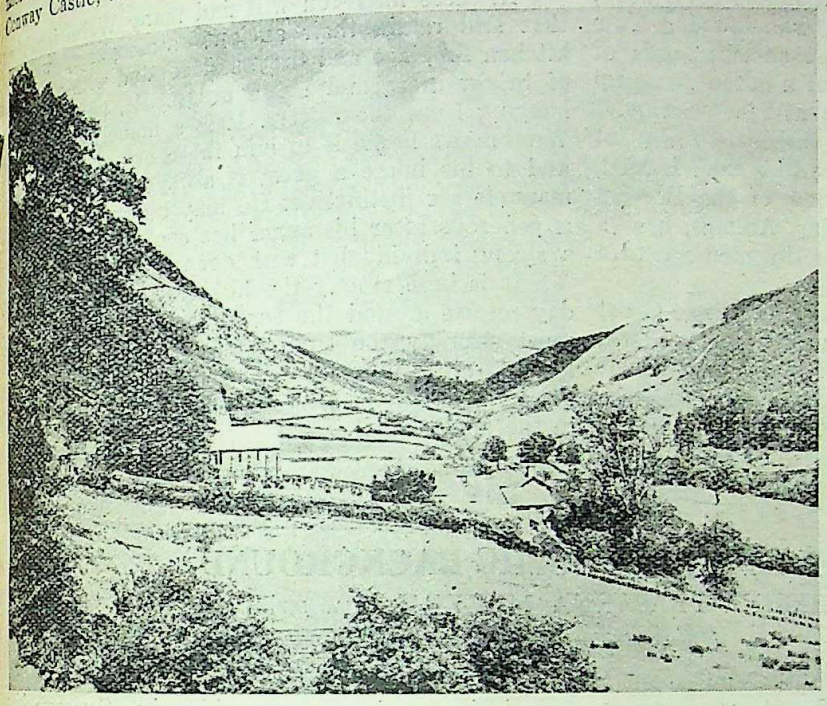


A U. S. Coast Guard cutter passes between two peaks of a huge iceberg

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the sea. The wide river to the west was famous for its salmon fisheries before the days of the Romans, and across it is the old walled town of Conway. These walls, built in the thirteenth century, still exist and are among the finest examples of mediaeval fortifications in Europe. Conway Castle, in its time one of the most formidable



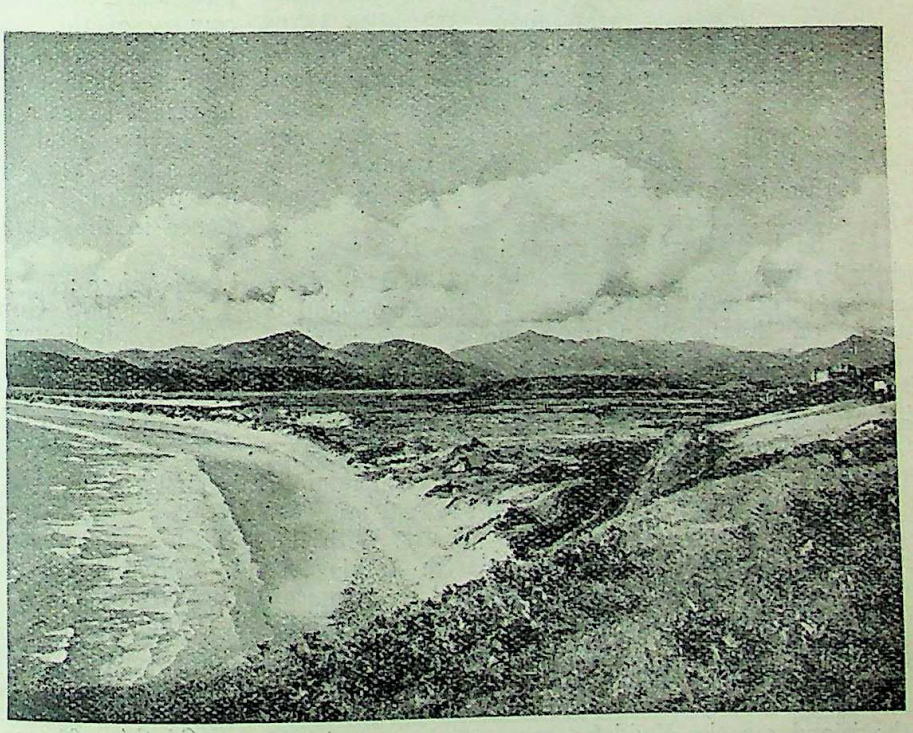
A peaceful village in Merionathshire, amidst the Welsh mountains

in Britain, was built by England's great warrior king, Edward I, when he was endeavouring to preserve the peace in the remote corners of his kingdom. Follow the River Conway into the mountains and you will come to a winding vale of uncommon beauty, with the peaks around Snowdon towering in their splendour on the west.

Snowdon sits like a patriarch among its own family of great hills. To find a mountain as high in Britain one must go to the Highlands of Scotland. Snowdon has an awe-inspiring grandeur from whatever angle you may view it; and indeed, on a clear day, you may see it from other peaks both in Scotland and in Ireland. In this throng of mountains, known as Snowdonia, we find scenery of many kinds, towering cliffs, deep lakes, desolate passes, splendid valleys. In the olden days, people referred to the highest peak of Snowdon as "The Tomb": it was here, they said, that a giant was slain by King Arthur, who was the greatest of the fabulous heroes in old Welsh legend. In more recent times, modern industry has invaded Arthur's mythical kingdom, and the great slate quarries of Snowdonia have been prosperous for many years. In the days of peace, thousands of visitors come to this district in search of recreation and health in the pure mountain air; and its high crags and precipices are a rock-climber's paradise.

Descend from Snowdon to the west, and you are at the Menai Straits, which separate the mainland from the green island of Anglesey. Fourteen miles long, these Straits vary in breadth from a few hundred yards to a couple of miles, and Spring tides rush through them at a tremendous speed. On the northernly entrance is the little town of Bangor, an ancient episcopal see, with a cathedral founded in the sixth century; it is a scholastic centre, with a college that is part of the University of Wales. At the southernly end of the Straits is Caernarvon, an old town which grew up beside another of those great mediaeval castles that we find in so many parts of Wales. But Caernarvon is distinctive because it is one of the best preserved of all these strongholds, and beside those grey walls were enacted some of the most critical scenes of Welsh history.

Spanning the Menai Straits is a bridge that carries the north coast railway on its way to Holyhead, the nearest seaport to Ireland. Before the days of railways, one journeyed to Holyhead by coach, and the old coach-road crossed the Menai Straits by the famous suspension bridge built more than a century ago by Telford, one of the greatest roadmakers in British history. The route he chose entered Wales by the gate-



Tremadoc Bay with the Snowdon mountains in the background, North Wales

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

way of the Dee valley ; and a few miles from its mouth is the busy town of Wrexham. There are collieries in the vicinity, and the smelting of iron-ore ; here, too, are other industries that include the manufacture of bricks and tiles ; and it is an important centre for agricultural produce. Wrexham's fifteenth century church is called one of the "Seven Wonders of Wales"; and here is the tomb of Elihu Yale, who founded Yale University in the United States. The ancient lands of the Yale family are to be found about a dozen miles up among the hills, and are still known as Plas-yn-Yale.

In the Dee valley we come to the little town of Llangollen, with hills towering upon either side. Indeed, every mile of that road in the shadow of the Berwyn Hills, and later by the peaks of the Arenigs, has a changing beauty that lingers long in the memory of a traveller.

Here is some of the loneliest country in Great Britain ; and in the folds of these mountains you will find Welsh people whose forbears for many generations have been brought up on the same farms—or who are following the same rural occupations. These people are deeply religious, with a strong imagination and a speech that is rich with vivid metaphor. They are a race of poets who take pride in reciting their verses in public. They are story-tellers and singers ; creatures of warm impulses, quick to reveal their emotions to each other and even to strangers.

In these hills you will find many Welsh farmhouses that still retain their ancient atmosphere, with the kitchen fireplace and dresser decorated with a multitude of bright brass and china ornaments, and salted meats hanging from the rafters. It is a homely scene, and a Welshman's home is to him the centre of the universe ; and to his home a guest is always welcome. His good manners are instinctive. He may be quick to anger, but is generous after his anger has cooled. He is, above all, a strong individualist with deep self-respect.

It is here among the hills, rather than at the holiday resorts around the coast, that you will find beating most strongly the true heart of Wales. Here the old legends are still repeated around the firesides, and the old traditions kept alive by people whose roots are deep in the ancient soil.

———:O:———

CEYLON : THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

By Dr. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil.,
University of Ceylon

Ceylon is a mango-shaped island of 25,481 square miles with the flat end at the bottom (*i.e.*, on the south). The maximum distance from north to south is about 270 miles and from east to west about 140 miles. Lying within 60 miles of the southernmost point of India, the distance is nearly bridged by the islands of Manar and Rameswaram. The northern half of the island is an extensive plain. The central part is generally rocky and constitutes a plateau of about 4,000 square miles which is the home of the plantations. The highest peak is over 8000 feet high.

Ceylon has a luxuriant vegetation so that it may rightly be compared to an emerald pendant studded on the shapphire bosom of the mother sea. The island is situated on the monsoon route and as such receives showers of benediction both from the summer and the winter monsoon. Owing to its proximity to the mountains the south-western part of the island, however, attracts most of the rains and forms the wet zone. The northern part is a rather dry zone of insufficient rainfall.

The island has a population of over 6 millions, which is, however, not homogeneous racially. With the exception of the Moslems who came from Arabia and Malaya, and the Burghers who are the descendants of the Dutch invaders, the vast majority of the island's population however are descendants of invaders or emigrants from India—an apt illustration of the influence of Geography on History. The oldest inhabitants of the island are the Veddahs, some of the survivors being still extant in the forest areas. They are believed to have migrated from India in some pre-historic epoch when Ceylon was still linked with India by the Adam's Bridge. By far the major part of the inhabitants who are known as Sinhalese came from north India about 500 B.C. and adopted Buddhism a couple of centuries later. From the eleventh century A.D. hordes of south Indian invaders came to the island and gradually conquered the northern part while the Ceylonese kings were obliged to push back their capital (from Anuradhapura and Pollannaruwa) to Kandy, in the mountainous country of the south-central region. Their descendants are known as Ceylon Tamils and they constitute today the most influential minority community in the island. In recent times a large number of south Indian labourers have come to Ceylon who mainly work on the plantations. They are known as the Indian Tamils. The mixed composition of the population may be seen at a glance in the table below :*

1. *Sinhalese* :		
Low Country		2,596,000
Kandyan		1,467,000
2. *Tamils* :		
Ceylon		697,000
Indian (Estate Workers) ..		650,000
Others		162,000
3. *Muslims* :		
Moors		380,000
Malays		18,000
4. *Burghers* :		30,000
5. *Europeans* :		10,000
6. *Others* :		50,000
Total		6,060,000

Of this 61 per cent are Buddhists, 22 per cent Hindus, 10 per cent Christians and 7 per cent Muslims.

As in India, the population of Ceylon is mostly rural. The common man is the small cultivator of insufficient means with little initiative and a limited outlook. Political uncertainty, which was a chronic feature

* Figures cited in this article are mostly from the *Soulbury Commission Report.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

until 1802 (when the island became a British crown colony) also was responsible for the apathy and lack of initiative in the people. The first half-a-century of British rule was devoid of any substantial material and moral progress owing mainly to the lack of revenue and the resultant deficits. In consequence roads, railways, harbours, hospitals, schools and industries had to be neglected. The State then functioned only as a police force.

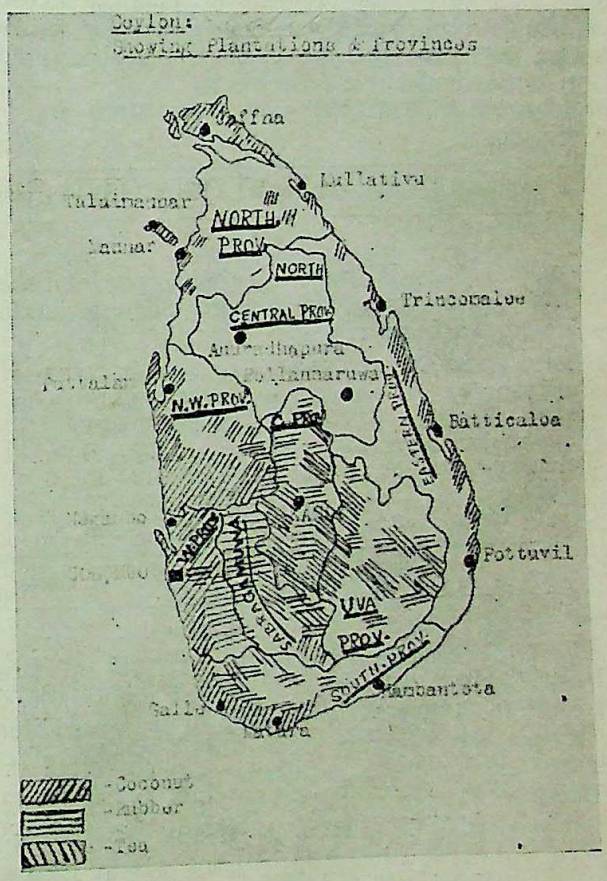
This tragic financial situation, however, improved with the introduction of British capital in 1855 with the help of which the Coffee industry was started. This resulted in providing an annual surplus and gradually "Ceylon became one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of the crown colonies." As a result roads and railways were constructed and the irrigation works, which had fallen into decay, were restored partially. Health, sanitation, education and other social services came to be included among the functions of the State from the beginning of the present century. It would indeed be interesting to prepare a list of nation-building activities undertaken by the government. But before doing so it would be proper to enquire into the causes which enabled the island of deficits to be transformed into an island of surpluses. This will be provided by the story of the growth of plantations in the island, specially coffee, tea and rubber.

The chronic deficits in the island's budget set the administrators of Ceylon to think seriously about the possibilities of fresher source of revenue (after quelling the Kandian revolt of 1818). The then Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, found that coffee could be grown in the mountainous regions with profit only if there were sufficient capital to start the plantations and roads to carry the coffee to the ports. For the one he "tried to interest the Europeans" (who alone then had the capital to invest) in the coffee industry and for the other he constructed three to four hundred miles of roads linking the upcountry towns to Colombo. Improved methods were introduced and the industry developed rapidly. The result was that "by the middle fifties it was so large that road transport was unable to cope with it." Accordingly, the first railway project (from Colombo to Kandy) was undertaken by the Ceylon government and completed in 1875. The lines were extended to other parts later on. The blight of 1868-82 ruined the coffee estates and they had to be replaced by tea plantations. The tea industry made rapid progress between 1880 and 1887. It was, however, not till 1903 that it reached security and stability as a permanent industry of the island. Today it is the most important and valued export of Ceylon, rubber and coconut occupying the second and third places in order of importance.

The eagerness to evade the danger of depending on a *single crop* was largely responsible for the introduction of rubber plantations in Ceylon which was encouraged by the rapid development of motor industry (specially in the U.S.A.) whose demand for rubber could not be satisfied solely by the Brazilian supply. The fact that expensive machinery is not needed for making latex was equally influential in popularising rubber cultivation as it enabled many Ceylonese with small capital to invest in rubber gardens. In this way the dependence of revenue on one crop was avoided and the commercial importance of Ceylon products (specially tea, rubber, coconut) added to the prosperity of the country considerably. The following table shows the approximate acreage under various crops :

Arecanuts	..	69,000
Cacao	..	34,000
Cardamoms	..	6,000
Cinnamon	..	26,000
Citronella	..	23,000
Coconut	..	1,238,000
Cotton	..	2,000
Palmyra	..	50,000
Sugarcane	..	1,000
*Rubber	..	657,145
*Tea	..	550,571
Tobacco	..	14,000
Paddy	..	645 000 (Maha season 1944)
		409,000 (Yala season 1944)

As an island which depends for balancing her budget on the export of the products of her soil the statistics of Ceylon's foreign trade is of special interest : The



Ceylon—showing plantations and provinces

annual value of her *imports* in 1939 was Rs. 240,930,697 as against Rs. 414,458,245 of 1943. The annual values of her *exports* for the same years were Rs. 308,417,749 and Rs. 539,306,294 respectively. The island has to depend on foreign imports for some of the essential necessities of life, specially food-stuffs and textiles. On the export side coconut, tea, rubber and plumbago are the chief items. She imports from India (foodstuffs and textiles), Britain (machinery and textiles) and Burma (rice). Her main customers in the export trade are Britain (tea, rubber and coconut products), U.S.A. (rubber and cinnamon) and Canada (coconut products).

* It is of interest to note that 40 per cent of Rubber and 70 per cent of Tea plantations are owned by Europeans.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On the basis of the figures for 1939† the following are the percentages of the value of her imports and exports (exclusive of postal articles, ships' stores and specie) :

	Imports	*Exports*
United Kingdom	18·78	49·03
British Possessions	46·67	18·68
	(Of this imports from India alone was 27 p.c.)	
Foreign Countries	34·55	32·29
		(Of this exports to U.S.A. alone was 25 p.c.)

The total revenue of Ceylon for the year 1939-40 was Rs. 123,130,498—93 cents (as against Rs. 200,006,747—39 cents of 1942-43). Of this revenue the income from *taxation* alone was as follows :

	1939-40 Rs.	1942-43 Rs.
Customs	59,877,595—48 cents	77,925,046—92 cents
Excise	8,337,136—11 ,,	13,538,499—38 ,,
Income tax	18,794,723—91 ,,	59,227,070—66 ,,
Licences, etd.	1,299,201—79 ,,	753,241—84 ,,
Export duties under Medical wants Ordinance	1,768,978—63 ,,	2,159,326—04 ,,
Total	90,077,635—92 cents	153,603,184—84 cents

Ceylon has several ports and the *income from these ports* form an important single source of State income, which is shown below :

Port	*Income in Rs. in 1939-40*
Colombo	6,076,152—18 cents
Galle	66,956—71 ,,
Trincomalee	16,702—09 ,,
Jaffna	20,512—15 ,,
Batticaloa	1,650—79 ,,
Other Ports	34,407—45 ,,
Total	6,216,381—37 cents

The total expenditure for the year 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 122,356,249—03 cents (as against Rs. 185,006,506—65 cents for 1942-43). A scrutiny of the expenditure side reveals the following scale of expenditure on different items on the basis of the figures for 1939 :

Education 14 per cent, Defence 10·2 per cent, Pension 10 per cent, Medical and Health Services 9·9 per cent, Administration 8·7 per cent, Debt Charges 7 per cent, Public Works 5·9 per cent, Courts and Police 5·8 per cent, Agriculture and Irrigation 3·6 per cent and the remainder is spent on social services such as Co-operative Societies, Forest Preservation, Protection of Labour, etc.

A few noteworthy facts emerge out of a critical study of the public finance of the island. In the first place we find that the major part of the revenue (over 75 per cent) is derived from *taxation*. Secondly, a substantial portion of the revenue from taxation (about 60 per cent of total taxes paid) is derived from British planters and businessmen (as Income-tax, Export and Import duties and Estate duties). Thirdly, as a result of investment of capital in a number of commercial crops (like tea, rubber and coconut) the island is able, at present, to command an annual surplus, which is being utilised for social services and nation-building works some of which are described below :

Education : The most remarkable fact about the economic policy of the island is the progressive increase in expenditure on Education (from 12 million rupees in 1931 to 34 million rupees in 1945). The State is pursuing a policy of free education and the most noteworthy feature of this policy is to be seen in the enormous increase in the number of vernacular schools and the introduction of school-meals to children. About 50 per cent of the children of school-going age are receiving instructions. It is, however, regrettable that owing to an over-emphasis on academic education vocational training has not made the progress which would have maximised national efficiency and as a result an intellectual proletariat class has cropped up. The need of the hour is to divert the flow of students to technical schools.

Medical Service : The Medical and Health Services receive commendable attention from the state in Ceylon. The most prevalent diseases are malaria, enteritis, dysentery and hook-worm. Sometimes cases of small-pox, cholera and plague are also reported. The Government spends some 15 million rupees annually for combating these diseases. Till recently expenditure on this department had been mainly "on the clinical treatment of disease." Gradually (specially since the great malaria epidemic of 1934-35) preventive medicines are being used by the Health Department. The general health and sanitary conditions however still remain a formidable problem. The authors of the Soulbury Commission Report have rightly remarked that "Housing conditions, water supplies and proper nutrition urgently demand attention. The death-rate remains unduly high and the infant mortality rate in particular is being slowly reduced." But the encouraging fact about this department in Ceylon is, that unlike in many Indian Provinces, systematic work has been started and one feels that "things are getting along." Anti-malaria measures were started in 1921, treatment against hook-worm was started as early as 1915 and the Government's anti-small pox measures are so stringent that new-comers to Ceylon are likely to mistake it for a nuisance. "Ceylon has probably the most extensive system of hospitals in the British Colonial Empire." On the basis of 1939 figures the Medical Department has 348 officers and 24 Health officers. There are 120 hospitals (11,137 beds) and 751 dispensaries treating minor cases. In the medical College there are 181 students. There are 96 hospitals and 670 dispensaries in addition in the tea and rubber Estates. Medical researches are carried in the Bacteriological and Pasteur Institute.

Labour : A large number of the labour population in the island is Tamil emigrants from India. It is estimated that in the estates, railways and other departments there are some 700,000 Tamils as against 140,000 Ceylonese labourers. As a result of a series of social legislations the labourers now enjoy the usual protections the more important of which are stated below :

(*a*) Workmen's Compensation Ordinance (1934),

(*b*) Ordinance dealing with the employment of women, young persons and children (1923, 1940 and 1941), in lines laid down by the International Draft Convention;

† Usually figures for 1939 have been shown as indications of more or less normal, pre-war conditions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(c) Ordinance prohibiting Female labour under ground (1937);

(d) Maternity benefit Ordinance (1939),

(e) Factory Ordinance (1942);

(f) General Wages Board Ordinance (1941 amended in 1943).

Estate labour enjoys even greater safeguards—including a minimum wage-rate, an eight-hour working day, free housing, medical service and free education for children. Old age pensions and maternity benefits are paid by some estates though not required to do so by law.

The Trade Union movement has come to stay and are responsible for bringing about improvements in labour conditions. In 1940 there were 67 unions. The law (Trade Union Ordinance of 1935) requires that all Trade Unions must be registered.

Irrigation and Agriculture: The Soulbury Report rightly observed that *the problem of agriculture in Ceylon is the problem of irrigation*. In ancient times the kings in Ceylon constructed and maintained huge reservoirs and tanks ("some of them covering thousands of acres") out of which water was distributed through canals for irrigation purposes. In course of time the old irrigation system was destroyed and the magnitude of the work ruled out of court any possibility of success through private efforts. The British Government started taking interest in such works as soon as revenue-conditions improved and in 1856 restoration of old tanks was started. The Irrigation Department was established in 1900. By 1931 some 18½ million rupees were spent by government on major construction works and at present some 540,426 acres of land under rice is irrigated. As a result of all this a vast tract of irrigated land has become available for agricultural purposes. The present policy of the Government is to induce peasants from the over-crowded wet (southern) zone to come to live and colonise the irrigated land in the dry (northern) zone. With this end in view the Department of Agriculture has formulated an extensive *scheme of colonisation and land development*. Experimental stations and demonstration farms have been established. The Executive Committee of Agriculture recently approved the proposal of spending 3 million rupees in next year's budget for the purpose of giving assistance to farmers settling down in the "colonies" established by the Ministry of Agriculture. According to the latest available report (*Ceylon Daily News*, May 10, 1946), the following facilities are proposed to be given to the colonists:

i. A paddy farm of about 5 acres (to each colonist),

ii. A high land allotment of about 3 acres (to each colonist). This is for the purpose of encouraging mixed farming (rice and fruits), with a view to remove the dependance of cultivators on rice crop only,

iii. A house of standard pattern (to each colonist),

iv. Each colonisation area is to be provided with medical and educational facilities, community centres and other social amenities essential for planned development.

Already 100 allotments under the Minipe Ela Scheme and 100 allotments under the Kaagama Extension Scheme have been made. Five thousand acres of irrigable land under the Parakrama Samudra Scheme has been dealt with so far and the remainder (about 15,000 acres) is to be dealt with in the next financial year.

In conclusion we surmise that the main economic problems of Ceylon are two: (1) *The dependance of the island for foodstuffs on foreign countries.* This is neither desirable nor inevitable. The Ministry in choosing to follow a vigorous policy with regard to agricultural development (with a view to secure self-sufficiency in food-supply) has chosen the wisest course. It is hoped that ere long Ceylon will attain complete self-sufficiency in this respect.

(2) *The lack of Industries* and the consequential dependance solely on Plantation economy. In this connection the dependance of the island on outside supply of textiles is specially noteworthy. To what extent it will be possible to start textile industry in Ceylon is a question to be decided by expert opinion but the present position of a supplier of raw materials must come to an end and indigenous industries must be started before there can be any possibility of raising the standard of living of the common man. In this connection the prospect of manufacturing rubber goods appears to be promising and therefore worth giving a trial or at least a consideration. To encourage optimum industrialisition benefits, technical and vocational education should also be encouraged.

It is an unsatisfactory state of affairs that of the total taxes some 60 per cent are paid by a handful of Europeans. This can be changed only by progressive transference of control of industry to Ceylonese hands, which is possible only when Ceylon produces her own captains of industry. Foreign capital may be *borrowed* if capital is lacking but not foreign *initiative* without detriment to the economic welfare and growth of political consciousness of the people:*

* Rights of reproduction and translation reserved by the author. —K. P. M.

—:0:—

HENRY HANDEL RICHARDSON

By NETTIE PALMER, Australia

Henry Handel Richardson, the great woman novelist who has just died at her home in Sussex, was Australian born; and as an Australian she lived and worked to her last days. It is true that she was absent from her country since the age of seventeen—except for one visit with a special literary object—but it is more important that in character and interests she never wholly left it. In recent years, her books have been out of print, temporarily; but the ending of the war has promised a revival of them: revivals in English, American and Australian editions. We can talk of them now as if they were safely homing to our shelves.

Henry Handel Richardson early became an accomplished European in her mind and her writing. Her

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

first book, *Maurice Guest,* (1908) was built, as she once said, 'on European lines.' It showed none of a beginner's hesitations, and has never ceased to be recognised both by the public and by other writers of international repute ; its name occurs as a landmark in books of literary experiences. In it she found her way straight to the core of artistic realities in Europe as well as to her basic theme, that of human relations. Thus from the beginning Henry Handel Richardson was established as a major novelist in the eyes of the small world that takes notice of such valuations, and *Maurice Guest* was republished quietly from time to time.

It is important to record this now, when people are apt to remember only that in 1929 her completed masterpiece, *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony,* gave her a sudden wider fame. If she had never written anything after *Maurice Guest,* she would still have lived as a novelist—but not, you will say, as an Australian novelist. *Maurice Guest,* indeed, was embedded in the life of Leipzig music students in the nineties, aware of cosmopolitan art and its seriousness ; how different from the life of any new country ! Yet, how is it that the heroine, the enigmatic, temperamental, difficult Louise Dufrayer, is a young woman from Australia ? Wasn't it that Henry Handel Richardson, herself an exile from a very new country, felt that a girl from Australia would be the most completely exotic type she could name in a European environment ? I suggest that it was her instinct also in some way to mark her books, that belonged to the world, with the sign of the country of their true origin. This she did with each of her few novels in turn, subtly, as in *Maurice Guest,* in others quite plainly, until she came to her last *The Young Cosima,* of 1939. In this case it would have been impossible, her subject being a group of historic German musical personalities ; besides, if the question were then to be raised, she had already been known, time and again, as the Australian novelist : Australia's most distinguished literary representative abroad.

The book that very soon followed *Maurice Guest, The Getting of Wisdom,* was 'marked' plainly enough by being set in a Melbourne school—and one described with almost autobiographical intimacy. I have often wondered how it was that the critics who accepted the author of *Maurice Guest* as a man were not more openly surprised that this girls' school story could also be produced by him. But perhaps in those years—it appeared in 1910—there was a familiarity with George Moore's novels set inside women's institutions, and that kind of tour de force was accepted from the psychologist Mr. H. H. Richardson had already shown himself to be.

After *The Getting of Wisdom* there was a break of seven years, and the next novel appeared in the middle of the war, in 1917. The first volume of what was to be her trilogy had a heavy title, suggesting sequels : *The Chronicle of the Fortunes of Richard Mahony,* with a sub-heading *Australia Felix.* In American editions much later, this volume, if not the three volumes together, bore the name *Australia Felix.* This title kept the author's hint of irony that runs through Richard Mahony's 'fortunes,' as in *The Way Home* (for a man by nature homeless on the earth) and finally *Ultima Thule,* in which Richard sends his soul through the invisible.

Here it is curious, looking back, to notice that the first volume of *Richard Mahony,* concerned though it was with nothing but Australia, did not in itself mark its author as Australian for those who had not the clue already. Readers were confronted with its brilliant reconstruction of Early Ballarat and Melbourne by some novelist called Richardson, and with his group of characters centring in Mahony, restless, complex, exasperating and credible. The author, giving such a full, objective presentation of Richard's outlook on the Australian scene, seemed to accept Richard's values. To Richard, as a storekeeper doctor on Ballarat in 54, conservative and self-centred in temperament, law-abiding in habit, the famous Eureka Stockade is only an annoyance on the horizon : so are most of the interests of men on the diggings. The volume ends with Richard's departure from Australia, it seems for good. He has shaken off the dust of it—how he detested 'colonial' dust !—and set sail for England, which he, though Irish-born, regards as his spiritual and appropriate home. Is it to be wondered if readers took Mr. H. H. Richardson for an English novelist, remarkably well-read in Australian social history, who after one volume brought back his hero to England for closer observation ?

Again it was seven years before a volume appeared : *The Way Home,* the second in the trilogy. Though the title was, purposely, enigmatic, the author's personal knowledge of Mahony's Australian background now stood revealed. It is true that for half the book the scene is in England, where we are shown the attempts of Mahony to set up a practice, and his amazement to find himself rejected as a colonial—after all his resistance to the colonial environment ! But henceforth Mahony's life is to be Australian. It was to Australia that he found his 'way home'; and his *'Ultima Thule'*—this being first the facetiously learned name he gave to the expensive house he built himself in an outer suburb, afterwards the title of the last volume in the trilogy, in which Mahony was to journey to the Ultima Thule of mental and spiritual agony. This inner agony is inseparable from external detail, remorselessly presented, pressing like fierce sunlight on a head that cannot tolerate it.

Henry Handel Richardson, then, describing Mahony, describes Australia also through his eyes. This was what some readers could not understand. Carried on the wave of enthusiasm for her work that arose when *Ultima Thule* at last appeared (1929), they abandoned themselves to a book more tragic than any they had read before, but then, resenting their own surrender, protested sometimes timidly, even to the point of suggesting that the book was a bad advertisement for Australia. As if the arrival of a masterpiece could lower a country's reputation ! 'But Australia is not like that!' said these readers. 'Mahony had no eyes for its beauty of landscape or for the warmth and character of our people !'

Exactly : but you could only understand Richard Mahony by seeing how life appeared to him. Moreover, Richard was an extreme instance of a type : the unhappy new settler who saw no colour or beauty in the strange new sky or earth. 'Only those born of the soil,' says Henry Handel Richardson, 'only those can love the soil.' She counted herself among the later generations who have drunk in with their mothers' milk a love of sunlight and space. 'In the trilogy,' she said, 'I speak entirely for the generation of whom the books are written. All the old settlers term the landscape colourless. Idiotic. Brutish. And for the time being their standpoint had to be mine.'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'For the time being' had meant nearly twenty years, during which the chronicler of Mahony worked to express truth, 'as it was given'. All that time, she had kept clearly in mind Mahony's inevitable end. In facing it, she faced more than the story of Mahony himself and ended by creating one of the symbolic figures in world literature.

After 1929, when so many had read her trilogy, often backwards, beginning with *Ultima Thule* and then feeling out for the predecessors that made its base, all her books were published again, in England and America. Some were translated, especially into Scandinavian languages.

A book of her collected short stories and sketches next appeared, *The End of Childhood*, the long name-story connected with Mahony, while several of the sketches of young girls in Australia stemmed from *The Getting of Wisdom*. Her chief books were again brought out in large American editions for Readers' Clubs and Unions, and these called for new prefaces. Notable is one by Sinclair Lewis to an edition of Mahony as recent as 1941. Emphatically he asserts his belief that this author was before her time—and that the time to begin reading Henry Handel Richardson is now. The time will always be now. Australia is fortunate to have such a literary representative in future.

———:O:———

THE FAIRY

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Said Kusmi, "You tell a lot of made-up stories. Tell me a true story, won't you ?"

"There are two sorts of stuff in the world," I said. "One is the True, and one is the Super-true. My business is with the Super-true."

"Dada-Mashai, everyone says that they can't understand what you say."

"That's true," I said, "but when they don't understand it's their own fault."

"What do you mean by Super-true ? Do tell me."

"Well, this for example. Everyone knows that you are Kusmi. That's quite *true*. It can be proved a thousand times over. But I have discovered that you're a fairy from fairyland. And that is Super-true."

Kusmi was pleased. "Very good. How did you find out ?"

Said I, "The other day you had an examination, and you were sitting on your bed learning your geography by heart ; at last your head dropped on the pillow and you fell asleep. It was full moon night. Through the window the moonlight fell full on your face and on your sky-blue sari. Then I saw quite clearly that it was a messenger from the king of fairyland come for news of their runaway fairy. He came close to my window, his white scarf fluttered into the middle of the room. The messenger looked you up and down, but he didn't know whether you were their truant fairy or not. He thought perhaps you were a fairy of this world, and that it would be no easy job for them to carry you off from the lap of earth. It would be too weighty for them, in fact. Gradually the moon rose higher, darkness fell inside the room, and the messenger, shaking his head, vanished into the shadow of the *sishu* tree. That day I found out that you are a fairy from fairyland who have got yourself held captive by the weight of this world."

"But Dada-Mashai," said Kusmi, "how did I come from fairyland ?"

"One day, there in the *Parijat* forests you were flying up and down on the back of a butterfly. Suddenly your eye fell on a ferry-boat lying by the landing-steps of the horizon. It was made of white clouds, it was rocking in the wind. On the spur of the moment you got into that boat. Away it floated, and came to rest at the landing-steps of the earth, and your mother picked you up."

Kusmi was delighted, and clapped her hands. "Dada-Mashai," she said, "is it really true ?"

"True " I said. "Who says it's true ? Do I care about what's true ? It's Super-true."

Kusmi said, "Well then, shall I be able to go back to fairyland ?"

"Perhaps you may," said I, "if the winds of fairyland fill the sails of your dreams."

"Then if they do, which way must I go ? Which road ? Is it a *very* long way ?"

"It's very near," I said.

"How near ?"

"As near as you are to me. You won't even have to leave that bed. Just see, the next time the moonlight comes into the room, you look outside, and you'll have no more doubt about it. You'll see that cloud ferry-boat coming down the river of the moonlight. But you've become an earth fairy now, so that boat won't do for you. Now you'll have to leave your body behind when you go wandering and have only your mind for your companion. Your 'True' will stay behind here on earth but your Super-true will be off and away, and none of us will be able to catch up with it."

Kusmi said, "All right then, when full moon night comes I'll be watching the sky. Will you take my hand and go with me, Dada-Mashai ?"

"I can show you the way sitting here," I replied. "That's in my power, because I'm a dealer in the Super-true."

—*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

Translated from *Galpa-Salpa* by Marjorie Sykes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTRIBUTION OF BENGAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By Prof. J. B. CHOWDHURI, ph.D. (London), F.R.A.S. (London)

Sanskrit Poetry

Bengal poets headed by Satanananda, Gauda-Abhinanda, Sandhyakara Nandin, Jayadeva, Govardhan, Dhoyi, Sridharadasa, Rupa Gosvamin and Kavi Karnapura have contributed substantially to all branches of Sanskrit poetry, *viz.*, Mahakavyas, Kavyas, Khandakavyas, Dutakavyas and Subhasitas. The contribution of Bengal to Lyrical Literature and anthology is superb in every respect. Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, Govardhana's *Aryasaptasati*, Dhoyi's *Pavanaduta*, Vishnudasa's *Manoduta*, Krishnanatha's *Padamkaduta*, Rupa-Gosvami's *Hamsaduta* and *Uddhvaduta* are some of the best lyrical gems in Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, the *Gitagovinda* is simply unparallelled in the whole range of Sanskrit lyrical literature. Bengal has again contributed to the anthological literature the best work namely, *viz.*, the *Saduktikarnamrita* of Sridharadasa. Rupa-Gosvamin's *Padyavali* and Jagannath Misra's *Sabhataranga*, too, are excellent works.

Sanskrit Dramatical Literature

Bhattanarayana, author of the *Venisamhara* ; Rupagosvamin, author of the *Vidagdha-Madhava* and *Lalita-Madhava* ; Ramananda Ray, author of *Jagannathavallabha-natak* ; Jagadisvara Tarkalamkara Bhattacharya, author of the *Hasyarnava*, etc., are very powerful writers. The contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit Dramatical Literature is by no means small. Rupagosvamin introduced into literature Bhakti or Devotion as a sentiment and consequently there was a thorough change in general outlook of scholars towards all works of the Bhakti school.

Sanskrit Prose-Poetry Literature

Whereas Bengal has contributed little to Sanskrit Prose Literature, Mediaeval Bengal made solid contributions to Sanskrit Prose-Poetry Literature, *viz.*, the Champu and Virud literature. The *Gopala-champu* of Jiva Gosvamin is not only the most voluminous of all Sanskrit Champus but decidedly one of the best contributions to the Bhakti school of Indian philosophy and thought. In subject-matter as well as form, our Bengal Viruds are quite different from the stereotyped Viruds described in the rhetorical literature.

Regarding the rhetorical and metrical literature, Bengal made some of the best contributions, *viz.*, the *Bhakti-rasamrita-Sindhu, Ujjvala-nilamani* and *Natakachandrika* of Rupa-Gosvamin, the *Alamkara-Kaustubha* of Kavikarnapura, etc. The *Chhandomanjari* of Gangadas is the best metrical work in Sanskrit.

Special mention must be made regarding our contribution to Sanskrit Biographical Literature. Headed by Murari Gupta and Kavikarnapura's *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, this literature is really very rich in quality as well as quantity. Regarding our Kavya commentaries, *Bharata Mallika* is certainly the best. He excels Mallinath in his own way ; but it is only unfortunate that none of his commentaries except that on the *Bhattikavya* has as yet been published.

Sanskrit Grammar

The only Sanskrit Grammar for grammarians, and not for beginners, is the *Prayoga-ratnamala* of Purusottama and this work was composed by a Bengali scholar at Cooch Behar. It is absolutely undeniable, on the evidence of the MSS. materials in particular, that Bengal made the most substantial contributions to Sanskrit grammatical literature. Bengal is solely responsible for the gradual development of the Kalapa school, and she may really be very proud of her contribution to the gradual development of the Mugdhabodha school as well. Out of the fourteen important commentaries of the Mugdhabodha, thirteen were contributed by Bengal alone. The *Rasavati Vritti* by Kayastha Jumara Nandin on the Samkshiptasara Vyakarana and the Nyasa commentary of Jinendrabuddhi on the *Kashika Vritti* of Vamana and Jayaditya exhibit the real brain-power of Bengali scholars.

Smriti

Our earliest Smarta is Gautama the Sutrakara. Navya-smriti flourished in our part of the country. Our Smartas headed by Brihaspati, Halayudha, Jimutavahana, Sulapani, Raghunandana, Govindananda, etc., are the best mediaeval India ever produced. Regarding the Prachina-Smriti, Kulluka Bhatta of Bengal is regarded to be the best commentator on the Manavadharma-Sastra. Bengal may boast of more than 500 Smartas who have contributed substantially to Smriti Literature.

Purana and Jyotisa

In these two branches as well, we have contributed not a little. Raghavananda Chakrabarti, Rajnarayan Vidyabhusana, Gauda Bhattacharya, Chiranjiva Bhattacharya and many others of Bengal are regarded as leading Jyotishins.

Indian Philosophy

Regarding Indian philosophy, it may be stated at the very outset that Navya Nyaya is the special forte of Bengal. Besides this, Bengal contributed most substantially to Uttaramimamsa, Purvamimamsa, Samkhya and Vaisesika as well. Sridhara, Bhavadeva Bhatta and Madhusudan Sarasvati of Bengal—to mention only a few—are rightly acclaimed as some of the most outstanding figures in the whole range of Indian philosophy.

Ayurveda

Bengal has not produced Charaka and Susruta but their best commentators flourished in Bengal. Madhavakara, Vijaya Rakshita, Srikantha Datta, Bhattara Harichandra, Chakrapanidatta, etc., are the greatest authorities on our Ayurvedic Science and they all flourished in Bengal. The importance of Chakradatta, Vangasena and Madhava-Nidana can hardly be overrated.

Sutrakara Palakapya, the greatest authority on Hasty-ayurveda, flourished in Bengal.

Regarding musical science, the *Ragamala* and the Sanskrit commentary of the Bengali work *Padamritasamudra* may be acclaimed as important contributions of Bengal to this subject.

It is now high time to make a thorough and systematic investigation into the contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit literature. Right-thinking Bengalees must realise that they have not only been pioneers in many branches of Sanskrit learning but also contributed most substantially to a number of them and not a little to almost all the branches. Educational authorities of Bengal today must, therefore, devise ways and means for the continuation of the same tradition in our part of the country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AMERICA DELIVERS THE GOODS

By PROBODH CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

INSULAR America stepped out before the world during the clash of arms and became possibly amazed at its dormant resources. She was the Allies' hope in the war and she has now much material reason for hope in the future. America's prodigious production landed first at the North African deserts had changed the course of the war and a recent 'Atlantic' report of the Middle East says, the call of the desert has become strong within them (a new generation of pioneers heading not towards west but east). American business has suddenly become acutely conscious of the Middle East. It is the call of the desert in which have been discovered fabulous deposits of oil. It is the romance of a market left intact in the war-ravaged world. Arab countries are hungry for American goods. The prolific and tantalising shipments of these goods for use of the American personnel have shown what amenities people should have. Tractors, agricultural machinery and fertilizers are naturally in heavy demand in an area that lives by agriculture. The climate claims refrigeration and air-conditioning. The Egyptian air-lines want planes, and Palestinian industry is desperately in need of machinery. Private automobiles which have undergone normal usage—there has been no rationing of petrol—are in demand for replacement. To name a few lesser items, radios, household electrical appliances, office equipment, paint, fountain pens, lighters, lipsticks and insecticides are the things the Middle East is looking for early delivery from America. This is a random list given by the *Atlantic Observer*.

Britain has not been able to promise early attention to these demands of an uncertain market. Britain has known the oil dividends but Arab countries have had very few demands for the general necessities of life. They lived a different life in the deserts. But the army camps have infiltrated new ideas.

While the beginning of this year found the U.S. Committee for Economic Development proudly estimating that 52,000,000 Americans have been back to civilian jobs with only 2 000,000 unemployed and that reconversion is 90 per cent complete in many parts of the country, the Leader of the British House of Commons, Herbert Morrison, was possibly bewildered and declared:

"We have not properly got used to (place) and often have to think twice when an automobile in low gear makes a noise like a siren . . . We still can't afford to light show windows at night or allow electricity to be used for advertising signs."

But American enthusiasm has its brakes. There are the sterling bloc restrictions but this barrier cannot but last for a short term. The long-term impediment is the low economic level of the countries. The people are unable to earn sufficient dollar exchange for the goods they want to purchase. Iran and Saudi Arabia are only free from exchange controls. Syria and Lebanon are under French dollar pool. Palestine, Trans-Jordan are British mandates and Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Iraq have sterling backing in international transactions. The Middle East market has always accounted for only a small proportion of Britain's export trade, because it was not in a position to pay for all that it should need. And when the sterling restrictions will be abolished, it is estimated that the Middle Eastern countries will be actually left with less dollar exchange than they are at present receiving from London. Granting of credit facilities will be no solution. The exporter will, of course, get paid but out of the pocket of the American tax-payer. There is no immediate possibility of increasing imports to United States to balance the United States exports. The present ratio is 1 : 3. Even then, Westinghouse, the electrical manufacturer, has created an import department and other concerns are opening offices to explore what items could be marketed more extensively in America. In order to balance the ratio, the dollar must be earned by the people and the only course is to employ the natives of the soil in industries and projects to be financed by U.S. businessmen.

American oil holdings in the Middle East are virtually in the development stage. In Iraq, the Americans have substantial interests in the oil-fields and the oil concession in Bahrein is all American, and Aramco (American Arabian Oil Company) owns the sole right to exploit the enormous oil resources of Saudi Arabia. Americans will set up refineries in Tripoli. Local labour and materials will be used for construction works and then the wages will also aid the purchasing power of the people.

Then there are the America-owned international air lines. Lines will pass through the Middle East. The U.S. Air Transport Command in fulfilment of wartime duties has finished primary work for opening up the Middle East to commercial aviation. The travel lines will be another potential source of dollar exchange for the area in the form of expenditures on construction work, wages to local labour and a new avenue, namely, expanded tourist trade. The Egyptian air line, the Misr Airways Corporation is likely to secure the monopoly right to pick up and land intermediate traffic—passengers from Cairo to Jerusalem, for example, but the overwhelming air superiority of U.S. will give her a sort of monopoly for traffic in the sky.

American Banks instead of going *via* British Banks to handle their Middle East business, are opening their own agencies. Idle American capital will be soon invested in sound indigenous concerns which will buy equipment in America and may serve as a channel for import of raw or half-processed materials. This lesson they appear to have learnt from the British merchants.

And this is the Middle East business and the background of the wire-pullings in the political doldrum in that area. Syria and Lebanon have now long U.S. envoy plenipotentiaries and other apparently diplomatic relations established meanwhile have not yet become news. Potsdam decided to make German foreign properties available for reparations and at the same time to ensure that such concealed interests as the I. G. Farbenundustire cannot later serve as a source of new aggression. But the authority of Russell Nixon, acting U.S. member of the German external property Commission, the U.S. State department, had tried to exclude the Russian from search and seizure in South-East Europe, the area specified to her, to exempt all Western Hemisphere including Argentine from the plan to seize German assets, to be lukewarm in its demands against neutrals, notably Spain. Four years of efforts to destroy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

German interests in Latin America have met with best results in two countries, Brazil and Mexico, and worst in Argentine. 'Legal' grounds have stood in support of the State Department's slow movement. From Sweden has come demands for "satisfactory legal claims." These German assets with great potential energy for production are estimated at $5 billion. U.S. State Department says they amount to $1½ billion. America expands in the Middle East and hopes to get a good slice of the German resources still thriving for recovery from the shock of the war and giving full employment to the people.

—:o:—

CHANHU-DARO EXCAVATIONS, 1935-36

By G. F. LAKHANI, B.A. (Bom.), Dip., in Ed., Ph.D. (Edin.)

The excavations made at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, twenty years ago, had revolutionised the ancient history of India. We came to know for the first time that prior to the coming in of the Aryans after 2000 B.C., India was not inhabited by wild people, but there flourished an advanced civilization on the banks of the Indus, which has come to be known as Indus Valley Civilization or Harappa Culture. But the intervening period of nearly 1000 years in the Indian history, (C. 2500 to 1500 B.C.) between the Indus Valley civilization and the coming in of the Aryans, has up till recently remained a mystery. No doubt the archaeologist's spade can throw a great light on this period, but unfortunately further excavations have not been undertaken on a large scale.

During 1935-36, however, Dr. Ernest Mackey, an eminent American archaeologist, already known to the Indian public as author of *The Indus Civilization*, with the permission of the Government of India, carried out some excavations at Chanhu-Daro in Sind, on behalf of the American school of Indic and Iranian studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Dr. Mackey's expedition was the first American archaeological expedition to India. The results of his work are embodied in the book which bears the same name which has been given to this article.

The Site

Chanhu-Daro which has not been fully excavated so far, lies a little over half a mile south of the modern village of Jamal Kirio near the town of Sakrand in Nawabshah District. The mounds are three in number and cover an area of 9 acres though their extent is considerably greater beneath the alluvium. They lie on the east bank of the Indus which flows at a distance of 12 miles now, although there is an ancient river-bed only 3 miles away. Mohenjo-Daro is situated on the west bank of the river and is 80 miles to the north-west of Chanhu-Daro. Thus 5000 years ago, both sides of the river harboured a civilization which has stirred the imagination of people all over the world.

The Jhangar and Jhukar Cultures

The largest and the loftiest mound at Chanhu-Daro has been excavated up to 17 feet and altogether four occupations have been unearthed. The uppermost stratum revealed hand-made pottery, made by some primitive wandering Gypsy community at an uncertain date. It was similar to the one found by Mr. Majumdar at Jhangar (43 miles, north-west of Chanhu-Daro) before. The second stratum revealed what has come to be called "Jhukar Culture," after the village of Jhukar near the town of Larkana in Sind where pottery similar to one found at this level at Chanhu, was first discovered. The third and the fourth occupations were similar to the Harappa Culture. In order to test what might be revealed at a still lower level, a large pit was dug in the side of the mound that had partly been cleared, till water level had been reached. In addition to the four occupations already referred to, three more occupations were revealed and according to Dr. Mackey "it appears not unlikely that the lowest will prove on further examination to antedate the earliest occupations reached at Mohenjo-Daro." It was also found that it was due to the floods that the towns had been deserted.

The people responsible for the Jhangar and Jhukar cultures were alien to those of the Harappa culture and to one another. The discovery of the former two cultures has been hailed as "a first step towards bridging the gap (C 2500-1500 B.C.) in the history of India before the coming of the Aryans."

Jhukar Culture

The people of the Jhukar culture arrived soon after the site was deserted by those of the Harappa Culture and they in turn had to leave the town as it was threatened by the river. It appears that these people entered India through north-west and wares similar to theirs have been found in Baluchistan. Among the things found are pottery, steel amulets and other handicrafts. As regards their houses, they were built of burnt bricks or matting.

Harappa Culture

It appears that during the Harappa period, Chanhu-Daro was a great bead-manufacturing centre. A large number of them in all stages of manufacture, and varying from the agate and carnelian nodules to completed beads are to be found there. Some of the beads found are exceedingly small; some of them when kept end to end run 40 to an inch. Their holes are so tiny that they could only have been threaded on a hair. It is a marvel how these beads were made.

Other articles found in abundance are toys, e.g. fairly decorated pottery rattles, whistles shaped like hens, model carts of pottery of various shapes with humped oxen that drew them, etc. Two charming carts discovered are not very different from those used in India today. Like beads the carts are so common that it appears that the city not only satisfied the needs of Mohenjo-Daro and the area round about but used them for export also.

Chanhu-Daro was favourably situated for trade both by sea and land. It lay close to the once important

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

trade-route across the Khirthar Range only 37 miles away from the mound, very near to the modern town of Sehwan, to Baluchistan and it is quite reasonable to assume that the products went that way. The discovery of beads similar to those found in Chanhu-Daro, in Ur, Kish and other Sumerian towns, but in very small numbers, also suggests that they were exported there from the Indus Valley.

Other interesting articles found in plenty were copper and bronze objects, *e.g.*, utensils, adzes, aces, knives, chisels, daggers, hair-pins, razors and some female figurines. Quite a large number of weights which had been locally made, have been found. They have the same ratios as the weights at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

The sanitation of the town was as good as at Mohenjo-Daro. Houses which were strongly built had a well-planned system of latrines, bath-rooms and drains made out of pottery drain pipes. At the second Harappa level from the top a "hammam" or bath with a hypocaust beneath and a row of five openings has been discovered.

The absence of war-like weapons or any fortifications shows that like the people of Mohenjo-Daro, the people lived in peace with one another and with their neighbours. Their chief enemy then, as now with the Sindhis, was the changing river which turned out people from their hearths and homes several times and ultimately from the site itself.

The people of Chanhu-Daro were not so well-off as at Mohenjo-Daro ; they had also less of leisure. Whilst at Mohenjo-Daro, a large number of gamesmen and dice have been discovered. their number is very small at Chanhu-Daro.

The discovery of a number of Kohl-jars containing paint for the eyes throws some sidelight on the customs of these people. Kohl was possibly used by both sexes for its medicinal and other qualities. There were also little pottery toilet stands with four short legs for feminine use. Among the other articles of toilet found was "a small stick of rouge with one end levelled by much use." An Indian maiden, 5000 years ago, was not after all an altogether different creature from her counterpart in the Indus Valley today.

———:O:———

GORAKHNATH AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

By Prof. R. L. AHUJA, M.A.

Gorakhnath, the legendary Yogi-Saint of the Punjab, whom tradition has described as the saviour of Puran Bhagat, has only recently been rescued from medieval obscurity by historical and religious research. His personality is still wrapped up in a shroud of medieval mystery, and it has, so far, been found next to impossible to discover any facts of his life or to ascertain even approximately the date of his birth or death. He was a commoner, it is said, who sprang from a low class and inherited the disabilities of his birth, but by sheer force of high character and Yogic culture he stirred up the masses from "Assam to Baluchistan and from Ujjain to Afghanistan and beyond." While Briggs, and Cunningham on the authority of Mohsin Fani, the author of *Dabistan,* believe that Gorakhnath flourished not later than 1200 A.D. or probably a century earlier, Dr. Mohan Singh, for better and more convincing reasons, asserts that the Yogi-Saint lived and preached in the 9th and 10th centuries, probably during the early days of the Pratihara paramountcy (725). According to the latter authority, he was a Punjabi ; or at least, he adopted the Punjab, the land of his beloved followers, as his domicile and left it the mantle of his Yoga as well as his ashes and bones.

Gorakhnath came in the wake of Sri Sankaracharya (688-728), about half a century later, more as a follower, than a pioneer, but a follower who had the genius of a pioneer. Both were opposed to the cold formalism and ritualism of the Brahmans ; both stood for the revival of Upanishadic Hinduism among the ascetic orders ; both were learned enthusiasts and adept Yogis ; both were like Charakas, the wandering scholars and educators, mentioned in Brihad Upanishad, (III, 3, 1) and Shata-Bra., (VI, 2, 4, 3). Both were peripatetic teachers of religion, who in those days of slow means of communication, travelled in every part of India preaching their missions through the length and breadth of the country ; both organised, after the manner of the Buddha, bands of monks and founded monasteries thus establishing their missions on a firm footing. Both were philosophers and poets, mystics and religious reformers, though Sankar was a great master logician and a great controversialist. Both laid emphasis on knowledge, contemplation and devotion as the three essentials of self-realization, though Gorakhnath regarded Yoga also as the fourth *sine qua non* of the attainment. But while Sankar was a Nambudri Brahman of Malabar, born among the aristocracy of Sanskrit learning and culture, and addressed himself to the learned audiences of highly educated Brahmans throughout the country using Sanskrit as the vehicle of his sermons and religious propaganda, Gorakhnath, who had risen from the ranks, made his appeal to the masses and spoke to them in Devnagari, the *lingua franca* of those days, in accents which came home to their business and bosom. Following, further, the ancient tradition rather rigidly, Sankar excluded women from the body of his ordained monks, but Gorakhnath followed the Buddhist tradition and admitted widows or wives of his followers as female Yogis though they were not allowed to live in monasteries.

The teachings of Gorakhnath were simpler and easier to follow than the abstract philosophy of Vedanta and had, therefore, a greater hold on the masses, particularly on the Buddhists of Nepal and the common people of the north-west, wherein he won an extraordinary degree of popularity. Numerous shrines of Gorakhnath and the saints of several orders organised under his aegis are found in the Punjab hills ; in Kangra, Chamba and in the Submontane districts of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Rawalpindi, and Sialkot. He is believed to have been born somewhere in this hilly region, and to have lived for some time at Peshawar. He is, further, believed to have been buried at Tilla,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

25 miles north-west of the Jhelum on the highest point of an isolated line of hills in the Salt Range tract in the Punjab. There is a very old monastery there, the head of which is in possession of a deed granted by Akbar confirming earlier grants. The Nath Yogis of the monastery trace their spiritual lineage direct to Gorakhnath himself.

Gorakhnath himself spent twelve years at the feet of his Guru Machhendar Nath and drank deep at the fountain of the religion and philosophy of ages and emerged out as a great Yogi, and mystic. In the words of Cunningham, Gorakhnath taught that mental abstraction would etheralize the body of even the lowliest and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. He popularized Yoga among the masses as well as among the kings.

Gorakhnath attempted poetry in several metres and ragas as well as in *Gorakh Boddh* or "the Enlightenment of Gorakh." His literary influence was tremendous and a popular *genre* of Yoga literature both in Sanskrit and Hindi appeared in the wake of his *Boddh*. With its thought and imagery, reminiscent of Upanishads, and its vocabulary and verse forms, the *Gorakh Boddh* created a vogue and a tradition which continued down to comparatively modern times. The book is in the form of a dialogue between Gorakhnath and his Guru, which reminds one of similar dialogues in Upanishads and of the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna. Even Guru Nanak, eight centuries later, came under its magic influence. The Guru visited Achal Vatala, in Gurdaspur district, where he had a long conversation with the followers of the Siddh order of Gorakhnath. In his *Siddh Goshta*, *Ratan Mala* and *Pran Sangli*, the influence of the *Gorakh Boddh* is clearly evident. Other books of the *genre* are *Kabir-Gorakh Gosht*, *Kabir-Ramanand Gosht*, *Ismail Boddh*, *Kabir-Boddh*, *Bhatrihari Gorakh Samvad*, *Dattatreya-Gorakh Samvad*, *Siva-Gorakh Samvad* and *Ramanand-Gorakh Samvad*.

His Philosophy

The philosophy of Gorakhnath is fairly comprehensive and a happy reconciliation of realism and idealism. Its approach to reality is characteristically simple and plain. It says, to begin with, that, apart from the bare needs of existence to keep body and soul together, flesh has its own appetites or cravings, the gratification of which brings it pleasures or comforts. It seeks, therefore, the means of their gratification by employing the mind and several senses or organs of the body as its willing agents or tools. Asceticism of Gorakhnath, like that of the Buddha or Sankaracharya, consisted in the first place, in denying the flesh these appetites and cravings, which, by their very nature, are distracting and as such make contemplation or meditation rather difficult. The gratification of these cravings, moreover, affects the body and the mind in such a way as to render them addicts which are no longer capable of any intellectual or spiritual attainments :

(*i*) "From the desire rose hunger ; from hunger, food ; from food, sleep ; from sleep, death."—*G. B.*, 84.

(*ii*) "The man of the world lies low engrossed in the objects of the senses, while the Sannyasi rises high in the unknowable fortress." Gorakh says, "O ascetic, I have attained consciousness of the formless one."—*Ragu Bhairau.*

Further :

(*iii*) "He is a *sati* who conquers death ; he is a *jati* who keeps ever young and retains the innocence of childhood in himself ; I eat easily digestible food and in little quantity," says Gorakh, "such is my body."—*Saloku.*

Food or diet forms an essential part of a person's physical or mental health and determines either. The control of body and mind must therefore begin with the control of diet :

(*iv*) "By eating sour things one loses one's vital elan ; by eating spicy things one grows old ; by eating sweet things various diseases crop up." Gorakh says, "O Siddhas, you should eat and drink properly and with great discrimination."—*Rag.*

Continence is another form of self-restraint and a very important means of attaining strength of character.

(*v*) "The tree by the river bank and the man by the side of woman, verily they cannot expect to last long. The restlessness, the unfettered activity of mind causes the back-bone to wear away and the body perishes.—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali.*

This mortification of flesh consists not merely in a negative act of self-denial or self-suppression but is chiefly concerned with the very elimination of such desires, and could be attempted in two ways. Asceticism advocated from the very outset an attitude of negation which regarded the world with its events and objects as petty, low, ephemeral and vain, when contrasted with the eternal verities of life. The two cardinal virtues of this asceticism were, therefore, one positive, *contentment* and one negative, *non-attachment* :

(*vi*) "Contentment is the posture ; contemplation is the knowledge ; he (the young disciple) should try to rise above his physical being in his meditation."—*G. B.*, 98.

But the question is how to have contentment and contemplation and meditation that go beyond the physical, and further, how to bend the mind towards them.

(*vii*) "Contentment comes from fearlessness ; contemplation, from avoidance of attachment ; he (the young disciple) should meditate within his body to rise above the body ; by turning to the Guru one can bend one's mind to them."—*G. B.*, 100.

Further :

(*viii*) "By becoming unattached one can become fearless."—*G. B.*, 101.

Lastly,

(*ix*) "The mind is the Yogi ; let him live in self-transcendence ; the great elixir will come to him and he will enjoy all his pleasures ; the word of the Guru secures the patience to suffer pain."—*G. B.*, 126.

The other measure to eliminate desires is the adoption of a mode of life, a regimen of daily routine which subjected the body as well as the mind to a rigorous course of discipline. The ideal which was placed before the young disciple was :

(*x*) "Let the unattached live at the monastery or be on the road, resting in the shadow of the trees ; he should renounce lust, anger, greed, attachment, and the great illusion of the world, that is, *Kam*, *Krodh*, *Lobh*, *Moha* and *Ahankar* ; he should hold the converse with himself and contemplate the unknowable, he should eat little and sleep less."—*G. B.*, 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The second aspect of Gorakhnath's asceticism is secure, and holds a very great place, indeed. It is Yoga, the end of which is consciousness, awakening or self-realisation.

(*xi*) "He that thinks that the highest goal is the control of breath ; he, that tries to know reality without self-realisation, are both ignorant persons."—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali*, (III, IV).

On the other hand :

(*xii*) "The consciousness of awakening is the home of knowledge; and realisation is the door of the void."

(*xiii*) "When I got news of the home, the palace, I succeeded in purifying and controlling the vital air. I acquired the vision. I realised, my wanderings ceased. Without the medium of the idol I glimpsed the unseeable, the unknowable, the unmeasurable as the Formless One."—*Ragu Bhairau*, (III).

Yoga is another name for mental discipline or a metaphysical type of intellectual culture.

It has four elements : word, attention, discrimination and contemplation :

(*xiv*) (*a*) "Word is the Guru, attention is the disciple."—*G. B.*, 8.

"By another metaphor : Knowledge is the lamp; the word is the light ; contentment is the wick in which oil resides."—*G. B.* 122.

Or

"The word is the seed, intellect is the soil, attention is ears ; discrimination is the eyes ; light is liberation ; refulgence, the salvation."—*Ibid.*, 10.

(*b*) "One (the young disciple), should sit, walk, speak and meet others with his *attention* controlled."—*Ibid.*, 92.

But what is attention ? And what is discrimination ? And their functions ?

(*c*) "Right awareness is attention ; independence is discrimination."—*Ibid.*, 94.

(*d*) "*Attention* can hear without ears ; discrimination can see without eyes ; and contemplation can tread without feet."—*Ibid.*, 96.

Next to 'word' comes 'attention' or concentration which is a difficult process to acquire.

(*e*) "Patience goes slow ; evil desire goes fast ; attention revolves and truth is the find."—*Ibid.*, 124.

The young person who enters the trance or Samadhi has to encounter disturbance from without and evil desires from within ; and according to Gorakhnath :

(*f*) "He gets rid of disturbance through the air."—*Ibid.*, 68.

(*g*) "Through the recitation of the unrecited and unrecitable the mind gets rid of evil desires."—*Ibid.*, 102.

The Yogi, according to Gorakhnath, is one :

(*h*) "Who controls the mind and the air, who does not allow himself to be soiled by evil or lose himself through pride of virtue."—*Ibid.*, 132.

Meditation serves further a two-fold function :

(*i*) "Meditation is purification ; right thinking or discrimination leads to right action.—*Ibid.*, 102.

(*j*) "He, that burns away his body," says Gorakhnath, "without the fire of meditation, is an ignoramus !"

'Discrimination' or 'right thinking' born of independence, is necessary for right conduct which is based on the correct estimate of the values of life and on the correct estimate of the motives and conduct of others : Pride perverts judgment of oneself, and ignorance, that of others :

(*k*) "He, who calls himself a Yogi just because he has left his home and hearth;

"He, who does not look into the inner objective of a person ;

"He, who calls himself a knower just because he has read a few books ;

"He, who calls himself great, because he has accumulated wealth ;

"He who thinks the poor fit for enslavement ;

"He, who gives up a part of his possessions and proudly calls himself a charitable person ;

"He, who calls a man old just because his body has worn out or has suffered from age ;

"He, who claims greatness, because of his strong body ;

"He, who travels the path of discipleship with a delicate constitution ;

"He, who does not seek to realise the supreme Truth, Essence ;

"He, who has resorted to silence not because he has become intoxicated with true knowledge :—verily, says Gorakh, all these err in judgment and live in self-deception.

—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali.*

Speaking of *pilgrimage* to holy places Gorakhnath said :

(*l*) "Wander not, O Siddha, to other places ; within the body resides the Essence, the Truth, seek the one who speaks.

. . . . . .

Gorakhnath was a mystic too. He interpreted the physical and metaphysical verities in a picturesque style which was later popularised by Guru Nanak :

(*i*) "As oil is in seed ; fire is in wood ; odour is in flower ; so does the spirit reside in the body. —*G. B.*, 54.

(*ii*) "The void is the temple ; the word (*Shabda*) is the door, the light is the idol ; the flame is the Unfathomable."—*G. B.*, 120.

Speaking of the self, Gorakhnath says :

(*iii*) "The air-self comes and goes ; the mind-self is absorbed in the void, and the knowledge-self resides unchanged in three worlds."—*Ibid.* 128.

This is a metaphysical expression ; the one that follows is mystical :

(*iv*) "The moon is the mind ; the sun is the air ; in the void Time plays on the musical instrument (*tur*) ; and in the house of knowledge the five elements reside in equipoise."—*Ibid.*, 16.

And the vision of the Yogi is transcendental *par excellence* :

"Inside the Topmost, the music sounds ; age and disease and death have vanished ; with the Void has the cord of music got linked ; the Truth, the Reality, the Essence is now revealed as the sounding of the Divine Music !"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE BENGAL FAMINE OF 1943

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A.

The famine took a heavy toll of human lives. The writer's Sample Survey in five villages* in Bengal records high figures of mortality. The all-district (Faridpur) figuers of birth and death in 1943 are also very revealing. The vital statistics covering the district for five years from 1939 onwards are given below :—

Vital Statistics of the District of Faridpur

Year	Total birth	Total death	Deaths due to—			
			Malaria	Cholera	Small pox	Other causes
1939	80214	48311	13763	1984	244	20848
1940	87514	59080	20965	1622	83	20907
1941	80175	70374	29443	5483	370	20536
1942	64107	80174	36674	8322	97	23044
1943	53786	100117	50532	7778	586	31409

From the above table, it is clear that from 1941 onwards the birth rate continued to fall, and it reached the bottom in 1943, when, however, the death rate mounted the highest. Barring the figures of death from Cholera in 1942, the famine year of 1943 reveals the highest number of deaths due to each one of the causes of mortality in all other years from 1939 onwards.

In the five sample villages, the writer covered 592 families consisting of 2915 members in all, who were alive on the 1st of January, 1943. In course of one year, *i.e.*, by the 1st January, 1944, as many as 446 persons died. They constitute 15·3 per cent of pre-famine total. Death occurred in 268 out of the said number of families, *i.e.*, 592. Of 446 persons dead, 256 died of starvation pure and simple ; this means that they died through gradual devitalisation due to continuous fasting over months. While they lived, some of them had their negligible share of that filthy substance called *Gruel* ; but a temporary and inadequate sustenance was more often sought to be derived from wild fruits and roots and weeds and all sorts of non-edibles which, however, in the end, were all exhausted. This is how 256 persons were *starved* to death after growing emaciated and rickety. Then, again, 146 persons died of various diseases resulting from starvation, in addition to two cases of suicide apparently caused by pangs of starvation. The diseases that were commonly associated with fasting were Dropsy, Beri-beri, Diarrhoea, Dysentery, etc. The following chart will indicate the causes of deaths :

Starvation	256
Dropsy or Beri-beri	74
Diarrhoea and Dysentery	50
Cholera and Small-pox	20
Suicide	2
Total	402

There were, however, 44 more deaths in the year caused by natural diseases, that is, diseases not so peculiarly associated with famine and fasting as in the cases enumerated above. The classification of these diseases is as follows :

Pneumonia	1
Kal'a Zar	6
Malaria	21
Others	16
Total	44

Regarding desertion, it may be observed that in some cases some individuals singly deserted the native village obviously in search of food elsewhere, the family being left behind. In other cases the whole family as a unit trekked away after some of its members had died and when all attempts at procuring food failed through. So, in all, 204 persons deserted their native villages and had not returned when the enquiry was held during the summer of 1944. What is more striking is that in course of one year (1.1.43 to 1.1.44), 90 families out of a total of 592 were wiped off. This was due to the death as well as desertion resulting from famine conditions. Of these families that got extinct, 20 per cent were agricultural and 80 per cent non-agricultural. It may, therefore, be said that in those five villages, the rural landless labour class suffered more than the peasants.

Disease and Epidemic

The district-wise figures as well as the figures obtained through our Sample Survey serve to record an abnormal state of public health in Faridpur in the famine year of 1943. The epidemic of Malaria broke out towards the end of the year ; other diseases overtook the people right from the middle of the year. The following figures would indicate that Malaria and Kal'azar cases continued to increase in the year following the famine, while Cholera attack subsided remarkably in 1944 :

Number of Cholera attack and of Malaria and Kal'azar cases treated in Treatment Centres and Charitable Dispensaries in Faridpur District

Year	Cases of Cholera attack	Death from Cholera	Total cases treated :	
			Malaria	Kal'azar
1939	2841	1984	78147	7044
1940	2460	1571	147302	8535
1941	9920	5394	342057	15615
1942	9600	8117	272112	13260
1943	10083	7479	338754	9689
1944	1948	1803	956205	13251

In some of the annual reports of the District Board Charitable Dispensaries, the following overall stereotyped remark is entered :

"Malaria was prevalent in 1942, 1943 and 1944, probably due to insufficient drainage as a result of silting up of rivers and accumulation of water-hyacinth in this area."

* Dist. Faridpur, Thana Kotwali, Villages—(1) Tambulkhana, (2) Betberia, (3) Rankali, (4) Gredo, (5) Ishan-Gopalpur.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This explanation can be only partially true. No official, full explanation is available. An expert medical opinion reveals that previous to 1941 (since when Malaria became very widespread), microscopic examination of blood gave out only 5 per cent to 10 per cent Malignant Tertian (M.T.) Malaria parasites; the rest consisted of the Benign Tertian type. But during 1941 to 1943 period it was found that there were 50 per cent to 60 per cent M.T. infection due to reasons unknown (for, how Anopheles bred and spread was not investigated). This, its was contended, was the reason for the sudden increase in the number of Malarial patients. As to the very high figures of Malaria in 1944, they may be taken to indicate the after-math of the famine, the inevitable result of famine-time devitalisation.

In the villages of our Sample, the diseases common in 1943 have been already named. More specifically, these are (1) Starvation fever, *i.e.*, fever due to unusual fasting and malnutrition, (2) Dropsy or Beri-beri, (3) Diarrhoea, (4) Dysentery, (5) Scabies, (6) Cholera and (7) Small-pox. The last two did not break out in any virulent epidemic form in the villages of our Sample, although, of course, they covered 4·4 per cent of the total deaths (excluding deaths from natural causes). All told, 2583 persons or 88·6 per cent of the total population on the 1st January, 1943, fell ill during 1943, only 332 or 11·4 per cent remaining free from illness. The period of illness for each of those falling ill was counted in course of the investigation. The total period equalled 15948½ months for all the persons that fell ill in 1943. Thus the average period of illness for each of the sick persons consisted of 6·1 months as against the normal period of probably two months in the pre-famine malarial season per annum.

Economic Loss Sustained

(*a*) *House and Movable Property* : In January 1943, all the 592 families had their own houses,—some made of corrugated tins, most others made of mud and straw; only 6 families had brick-built houses. By January, 1944, 103 families or 17·4 per cent of the total, were turned homeless. Out of the total of 592 families, 30 sold out the whole of their houses; 73 families entirely lost their houses due partly to selling and partly to inclemency of weather coupled with lack of repair-work. Apart from these 73 families, 6 others also sold part of their houses without, however, being rendered homeless. The total number of rooms or sheds sold was 141 against a total cash value of Rs. 5668-8 in the place of an estimated fair market price amounting to Rs. 14170. Again, nearly 99 per cent of the families that had any movable property, sold or mortgaged either the whole or part of their bed-steads, utensils, ornaments and other items. The total cash-value realised and the probable fair price of the things sold, came up to Rs. 7320 and Rs. 22000 respectively. The economic loss in this connection is measurable by Rs. 14680, which amount was presumably pocketed by middlemen or buyers themselves. The number of families that were entirely stripped of all their movable property was 576 out of 592. No account, of land sale or mortgage or lease, etc., is given here.

(*b*) *Live-stock* : The cultivators' plight will, however, be somewhat realised from a study of the following figures: On the 1st of January, 1943, all the 592 families taken together, had 647 bullocks, 361 cows, 235 calves and 9 horses; during the next twelve months 288 bullocks, 128 cows, 71 calves and 6 horses were sold out with a view to tide over the distress. The respective sale prices were Rs. 10462, Rs. 4128, Rs. 945 and Rs. 141. The prevailing market prices ought to have fetched in all, Rs. 25000, Rs. 12000, Rs. 2700 and Rs. 400 respectively. Their eagerness to sell coupled with a weak bargaining power obviously made them agree to accept such low prices.

(*c*) *Plough and Plough-cattle* : Out of 592 families, nearly 398 families lived on agriculture. Altogether, they owned 282 wooden ploughs of which 42 were sold in 1943 at a price of Rs. 49-8. Thus at the beginning of 1944, there were 240 ploughs against a total number of 359 bullocks, which showed a shortage of 121 bullocks, the ratio being 2 bullocks to each plough. It was found that the shortage was sought to be partially covered by utilising milch-cows for tilling the land in the spring of 1944. Milch-cows, however, were no equal substitutes for bullocks. The result of such an experiment (at least in 16 families) proved disastrous on two counts: first, the tilling of the land was perfunctory, as by habit or strength or stamina, the cow is usually no match for a bullock for purposes of cultivation; the prospect of a good harvest could, therefore, naturally be put at a discount. Secondly, under the severe strain of pulling the plough, harrow, etc., milch-cows, so employed, ceased to produce milk as before. This partly aggravated the growing scarcity of milk in those areas in 1944.

(*d*) *Indebtedness* : Debts incurred by the villagers in 1943 will not be discussed here in all their details. Suffice it to say that their indebtedness mounted high in the year under review. The figures of total debts contracted in 1943 solely to cope with wants came up to Rs. 28510 in all. All the 592 families did not, of course, have to borrow. Still, however, averaging on the basis of the total number of families, the amount of debts per family was equal to Rs. 48-8. The burden per each indebted family obviously, therefore, was much heavier than Rs. 48-8 can indicate. In January, 1943, the total debts for all the families stood at Rs. 20951. Thus, indebtedness more than doubled itself in 1943, and that due to the famine alone. Rent and tax dues for 1943 have not been included in the figures given in this paragraph.

Economic Condition of the People as a Whole

Major J. C. Jack, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Faridpur between 1906-1910, who conducted economic investigation on an extecsive scale covering the whole of the district, has, while discussing the results of his inquiries in his book called the *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, classified families according to their condition as it appeared to the naked eye of the investigator. The classification was a four-fold one and was as follows: (1) In comfort, (2) Below comfort, (3) Above starvation and (4) In starvation. To the naked eye of the present investigator it appeared that out of 592 families surveyed, 28 were in comfort, 35 below comfort, 102 above starvation and 427 in starvation, the families that were wiped off having been placed in the last category.

The standard adopted by Mr. Jack was this: *Comfort*, according to him, implied a condition in which the material necessities of life could be fully satisfied.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to this standard, none of the 592 families, except six, could be said to be living in *Comfort* in 1943 or in 1944. Still, however, the number of families found to be living in *Comfort* has been quoted as 28, simply because the present investigator, in making the classification, had to bear in mind the then background, namely, the devastating famine. Thus, a condition in which the material necessities of life could be "fully" satisfied would be impossible of attainment during abnormal times like the year 1943 or 1944. Therefore, a certain leniency had to be observed for placing such families in the class of *comfort* as had their material necessities a little more than "barely" satisfied.

Starvation, want or indigence, according to Mr. Jack, implied a condition in which, the family had "just sufficient to keep itself alive and no more." If one were to follow this definition of starvation, then, in that case, not less than 90 per cent of the families should have been classed as living in starvation. For, about 90 per cent of the families in the villages surveyed were, even as late as June 1944 (not to speak of the year 1943 as a whole), unable to make their both ends meet. But, the figure for *starvation* families has been quoted so low, namely, 427 or 72·1 per cent. This is done in view of the fact that *Starvation* of Jack's definition and starvation that was actually experienced by the people in 1943 in those villages, meant altogether different things: the latter meant actual fasting or living on roots and weeds and other things that can never be normally edible. When, therefore, it was found that a family was getting at least one meal a day (which was, of course, not "just sufficient" to keep itself "alive", but "just sufficient" to make it steadily get "ruined"), it was placed in the class of "starvation".

According to Mr. Jack, *below comfort* implied a state in which the income and material condition approximated more nearly to those of families living in comfort than to those families living in indigence; and *above starvation, want, or indigence,* implied a condition in which the income and material condition approximated more nearly to those families living in *starvation, want or indigence.*

The findings of this writer reveal the following percentages of classifications on the basis of the above definitions:

(i)	In comfort	4·7 p.c.
(ii)	Below comfort	5·9 p.c.
(iii)	Above starvation (want)	17·22 p.c.
(iv)	In starvation (want)	72·1 p.c.

The respective percentages calculated by Mr. Jack were 49·5, 28·5, 18 and 4 for cultivators, and 47, 27, 20·4 and 5·6 for non-cultivators.

Combining the percentage classifications made by the present writer and by Mr. Jack with those made by the new Settlement Officer (1940-42) in Faridpur district, we get the following table:

Classifications	1904-1910 Mr. Jack (cultivators)	New Settlement (1940-42)	1943-44 Present writer
(i) In comfort	49·5%	27·8%	4·7%
(ii) Below comfort	28·5%	28·2%	5·9%
(iii) Above starvation (want)	18·0%	20·6%	17·22%
(iv) In starvation (want)	4·0%	23·4%	72·1%

From the above table it becomes obvious that the economic condition of the people in the district of Faridpur has progressively deteriorated during the last 40 years. But one thing should be borne in mind, the result of the present writer's investigations as given in the table above, concerns only 592 families inhabiting 5 villages in the district, which may or may not be true of the district as a whole during the famine year of 1943. This remains to be examined subsequently.

———:O:———

FOLK-SONGS OF DANGI BHILS

By Dr. D. P. KHANAPURKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

The wild, hilly country of Dangs shelters "the most savage of the Bheel clans, the Bheelas of Dangs."[1] Though situated between the fertile lands of Gujarat and hills of Khandesh, "the Dangi Bheels are the most uncivilized of all the wild tribes."[2] Due to isolation from the modern influences, "the Dangees represent an unadulterated race."[3]

In spite of the above characteristics, the Dangi Bhils have at least one thing in common with other aboriginal tribes. And that is their love for dancing and singing. They are so much fond of it that they spend most of their moonlit nights, dancing to the tune of *kahali* and *tur*. It is a grand sight to see them keeping tune to the *kahali* music, bending forward and backward, while wheeling round the players in an irregular circle. In some of the special dances like *Thakrya* dance, performed in the monsoon the dancers imitate the movements of a peacock that dances with joy at the sight of rain. At each refrain the dances move forward and then backward like a peacock, while the players sing:

(1)

Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to Mother Earth.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to Mother cow.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to Mother Kanasari (corn-spirit).
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to the Sun and Moon.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to the shining stars.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to the Morning Star.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to the clouds.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to Hanaman.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to Buffalo-god.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock!
I bow to father and mother.

1. Wilson, *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 33.
2. Capt. Graham, *The Bheel Tribes of Khandesh*, p. 3.
3. H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 28.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Bhils love to recite with zeal and passion, the deeds of valour, performed by their forefathers, who were branded as dacoits and plunderers by the government. Their exploits have found a place of honour in the hearts of Bhils. They never miss an opportunity of singing such ballads, when an occasion arises. One such ballad is given below :

(2)

Oh, boy, Cimana !
Where were you born ?
You were born in Kocargaon village.
The boy Cimana wanders
Like a blazing torch.
He started a rebellion
On the boundary of Bhendavad village.
Bhendavad was encircled,
The sowcar was caught,
On his chest was placed the foot.
His nose was cut and ears too.
Sahib came to know.
He took out troops
Cimana ran away
To the corner of Bhendabad village he went.
He became friendly with the *Patil* of Bhendabad
Cimana was enticed with wine.
The Sahib came
The house was encircled.
The boy Cimana was caught
Handcuffs were put on him
His feet were tied
He was taken to Nasik city
And shut up in the prison.
The Sahib imprisoned
The boy Cimana
But a day arose
When Cimana fled away.

It is not always that the Bhils are serious. They have got a lighter vein too, though it becomes pungent, when describing an officer who is always a calamity to them. They express their open disdain for the officers, even in the songs :

(3)

Patil has gone to office
He has gone to office.
In comes a government servant
He demands a fowl immediately
He turns arrogant and abusive.
Patil is not at home
He has gone to office.
In comes the government officer
He demands the rations immediately
He becomes arrogant and abusive.
Patil is not at home
He has gone to office.

(4)

Build a bungalow !
Oh, sepoy ! Build a bungalow for me.
Make windows in that bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! Make windows for me.
Make a passage for air
Oh, sepoy ! make a passage for air.
Place a chair in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! place a chair for me.
Bring cup and saucer in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! bring a cup and saucer for me
Have a mirror in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! have a mirror for me.
Let me see my face (in the mirror)
Oh, sepoy ! let me see my beautiful face.
And all the above things are executed by the sepoy, at the cost of poor Bhils. It is really they who carry out the orders of the Sahib through the agency of the sepoy.

The following song enumearates the divisions of Dangs and the important persons staying therein :

(5)

Whose abode is *Zavada* division ?
Zavada division is the tax-collector's abode.
Whose abode is *Vaghai* division ?
Vaghai division is the Dewan's abode.
Whose abode is *Pipri* division ?
Pipri division is the Chief's abode.
Whose abode is *Ahawa* division ?
Ahawa division is Sahib's abode.

The songs play an important part in social functions like marriages. No Bhil marriage procession wends its way through the forest without the accompaniment of songs. No marriage is celebrated without the songs in which the bride's party demands something, and is courteously refused with humorous excuses by the bridegroom's party. The following songs are a few specimens :

(6)

Beat the drum
Let somebody beat the drum.
Tie the queen-brand rupee in your torn cloth.
We shall walk a couple of miles, a couple of miles.
We shall wed the daughter of a big man.
Beat the drum
Do beat the drum.

(7)

In the home of *Ambadya,*
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.
Go, tell your father and mother
To build a bungalow.
Whom does it become ?
It becomes officers.
In the house of *Ambadya*
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.
Tell *Rajabhau,* to decorate the village
Tell *Rajabhau,* to get ready *kahali* (band).
Whom does it become ?
It becomes big men and officers.
In the house of *Ambadya*
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.

(8)

Why is there not a car
In the bridegroom's house ?
There was a car
But he got tired of it.
Why is there not a horse
In the bridegroom's house ?
There was a horse
But a sepoy with impudence took it away.

(9)

Oh, brother ! why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there are nice *sarees.*
Oh, mother ! why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there is a big house.
Oh, sister-in-law, why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there are vast fields.

The first two songs, given above, describe a marriage procession and reception to the bridal party. The third song offers excuses for not possessing a car and a horse. The last song points out motives, underlying the selection of a bridegroom, belonging to a distant place.

These are but a few specimens from a vast store of folk-songs current among the Dangi Bhils.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ARE THE BENGALI HINDUS GETTING POORER ?—YES

An Analysis of the Number of Assembly Voters During 1920-1945

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

The main qualifications of electors or voters in Bengal for the territorial constituencies of the Indian Legislative Assembly (under the Montague Constitution) are the payment of cesses or union-rates or municipal taxes of Rs. 60 in Calcutta, Rs. 10 in Howrah, Rs. 5 in other municipalities, Rs. 5 as union-rates or cesses ; or assessment to income-tax on not less than Rs. 5,000.*

* See *Indian Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules*, Schedule II, Part III—Bengal.

These qualifications are much higher than those of the (now defunct) Bengal Legislative Council under the 1919 Reforms. The corresponding qualifications for the *old* Bengal Legislative Council were payment of Rs. 24 in Calcutta, Rs. 3 in Howrah, Re. 1-8 as in other municipalities as municipal taxes ; and Rs. 2 as union-rates and payment of income-tax on any amount.

The Southborough Committee on Franchise estimated in February 1919, the number of the Bengal Council electorate to be as follows (see p. 55) :

Urban	
Non-Muhammadan (11 seats)	88,000
Muhammadan (6 seats)	18,000
Rural	
Non-Muhammadan (30 seats)	700,000
Muhammadan (28 seats)	422,000
	12,28,000

The non-Muhammadan electorate was estimated to reach a total of 788,000 ; and the Muhammadan a total of 440,000. The actual numbers of electors as registered on the rolls were, however, as follows :

In	*Non-Muhammadan Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	541,189	..	..
1923	557,914	..	..
1926	593,414	29,803	623,217
1929	647,001	32,087	679,088
In	*Muhammadan Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	465,127	..	..
1923	463 386	..	..
1926	522,892	7.103	529,995
1929	628,560	8,884	637,444

It will thus be seen that the estimate made by the Southborough Franchise Committee was a slight *under*-estimate (about 6 per cent) as regards Muhammadans ; and a considerable *over*-estimate (about 4 per cent) as regards non-Muhammadans (mainly Hindus). The estimate of 788,000 was not even reached ten years later even by including the newly enfranchised female voters.

The relative growth of the two electorates is best expressed as increase or decrease in percentages over the figures of the previous roll. They are as follows :

	Non-Muhammadan Males	*Females*	*Muhammadan Males*	*Females*
1920-23	+3·1	..	—0·4	..
1923-26	+6·2	..	+13·0	..
1926-29	+9·1	+7·7	+20·3	+25·3
Total	+19·6	+7·7	+35·3	+25·3

The growth of the Indian Legislative Assembly electorate in absolute numbers during the last 25 years from 1920 to 1945 has been as follows :

In	*Non-Muhammadan Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	128,004	..	..
1923	134,877	..	..
1926	145,147	12,319	157,466
1929	157,361	13,436	170,797
1934	163,585	16,107	179,692
1945	172,772	17,774	190,546
In	*Muhammadan Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	53,935	..	..
1923	45,401	..	..
1926	60,844	2,447	63,291
1929	73,396	2,854	76,250
1934	86,223	4,094	90,317
1945	135,750	8,059	143,809

The comparative growth of the two electorates is expressed in the table below as increase or decrease in percentages over the figures of the previous electoral roll :

During	*Non-Muhammadan Males*	*Females*	*Muhammadan Males*	*Females*
1920-23	+5·4	..	—15·9	..
1923-26	+7·6	..	+36·0	..
1926-29	+8·4	+3·0	+20·6	+5·4
1929-34	+4·0	+20·0	+17·6	+45·5
1934-45	+5·6	+9·9	+57·4	+96·8
Total	+35·0	+44·8	+152·2	+235·8

Part of the increase noticed is due to the growth of the respective populations of the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans. Let us try to eliminate the effect of this first. The actual population strengths of the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans at the different censuses during the relevant period have been as follows :

Census year	Bengal *Non-Muhammadans*	*Muhammadans*
1921	21,492,900	25,210,802
1931	22,617,924	27,497,624
1941	27,301,091	33,005,434

From the above absolute figures we calculate the percentage increases :

During	*Persentage increase of— Non-Muhammadans*	*Muhammadans*
1921-31	5·1	9·1
1931-41	20·8	20·0
1921-41	26·9	30·9

As the electoral rolls are based on payments of qualifying taxes "during and for the previous year," there is a time lag between the electoral roll and the actual population. Thus the electoral roll of 1920 represents the state affairs as on the 31st March, 1919.†

On account of the high mortality during the Influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919 there was actual decrease of population in some large areas. So we

†See in this connection the writer's *Use of Vote*, pp. 5-6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would assume that the increase of population since 1919 is better represented by the rate of increase during 1921-31 than by that during 1911-21. The over-all increase or decrease during 1911-21 is made up of (*i*) increase during 1911-17, (*ii*) decrease during 1918 and 1919, and (*iii*) increase during 1919-21. We would further assume that during 1941 and 1942 the rate of increase has been the same as between 1931 and 1941 ; and that during 1943 and 1944 there has been no growth of population. This later assumption is in favour of the Muhammadans. For according to the Bengal Government publication *A Plea for the Rehabilitation of Bengal's Rural and Industrial Economy 1944* of the fourteen subdivisions *very severely affected* by famine, as many as twelve are Muhammadan majority (over 70 per cent) ones ; of the twenty-five *severely affected* by famine, eighteen are Muhammadan majority ones. The number of famine deaths amongst the Muhammadans is, it is feared, *thrice* that of the Hindus. There have been numerous famine deaths and deaths due to after-effects of famine ; but we believe that among the economic class from which the Indian Assembly electors are recruited there have been fewer deaths. For our limited present purpose we, therefore, take that the normal growth of population during the years 1943 and 1944 has been completely neutralised by the effects of famine. Of course, this is an assumption, but an assumption which is largely in favour of the Muhammadans.

The estimated population growth of the Non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans is, therefore, estimated to be as is shown in the table below.

The method of estimate is this : During 1921-1931, the Non-Muhammadans have increased by 5·1 per cent; so each year they have increased by 0·5 per cent and during the *three* years 1919-1922 they must have increased by 1·5 per cent on the assumption that the rate of growth after the Influenza epidemic is the same as that recorded between 1921 and 1931. Similarly for the periods 1922-25 and 1925-28. The growth during 1928-33 has been estimated in two stages ; that during 1928-31 is taken to be $3 \times 0{\cdot}5\% = 1{\cdot}5$ per cent, and that during 1931-33 is taken to be $2 \times 20{\cdot}8/10\% = 2 \times 2{\cdot}1\% = 4{\cdot}2\%$; and the total is shown as $(1{\cdot}5 + 4{\cdot}2) = 5{\cdot}7\%$. The growth during 1933-1944 also has been estimated in two stages : that during 1933-1942 is taken as $9 \times 20{\cdot}8/10 = 9 \times 2{\cdot}1 = 18{\cdot}9$ or 18·7 more accurately ; and that during 1943 and 1944 as *zero* on the assumptions we have made.

Similarly the rate of growth of the Muhammadans has been estimated for the inter-electoral rolls revision periods. As there is time-lag of about one year between the electoral roll and the population, we have taken the population as it was one year earlier than the roll and estimated the population growth accordingly.

During	*Estimated growth of*—	
	Non-Muhammadans	*Muhammadans*
1919-22	1·5%	2·7%
1922-25	1·5%	2·7%
1925-28	1·5%	2·7%
1928-33	5·7%	6·7%
1933-44	18·7%	18·0%
1919-44	31·2%	35·0%

Deducting these percentages from the percentage growth of the respective electorates, we get the following ing figures of "Net growth" of the electorates due to causes economic and otherwise other than that due to mere population growth. The electorates shown below are the *old* Bengal Legislative Council and the Indian Legislative Assembly electorates.

COUNCIL

Percentage growth of the Non-Muhammadan

	Electorate		Population	Net growth	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1920-23	+3·1	..	1·5	+1·6	..
1923-26	+6·2	..	1·5	+4·7	..
1926-29	+9·1	+7·7	1·5	+7·6	+6·2
1920-29	+19·6	—	4·5	+15·1	—
1926-29	—	+7·7	1·5	—	+6·2

Percentage growth of the Muhammadan

	Electorate		Population	Net growth	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1920-23	−0·4	..	2·7	−3·1	..
1923-26	+13·0	..	2·7	+10·3	..
1926-29	+20·3	+25·3	2·7	+17·6	+22·6
1920-29	+35·3	—	8·1	+27·2	—
1926-29	—	+25·3	2·7	—	+22·6

ASSEMBLY

Percentage growth of the Non-Muhammadan

	Electorate		Population	Net growth	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1920-23	+5·4	..	1·5	+3·9	..
1923-26	+7·6	..	1·5	+6·1	..
1926-29	+8·4	+3·0	1·5	+6·9	+1·5
1929-34	+4·0	+20·0	5·7	−1·7	+14·3
1934-45	+5·6	+9·9	18·7	−13·1	−8·8
1920-45	+35·0	—	31·2	+3·8	—
1926-45	—	+44·8	28·2	—	+16·6

Percentage growth of the Muhammadan

	Electorate		Population	Net growth	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1920-23	−15·9	..	2·7	−18·6	..
1923-26	+36·0	..	2·7	+33·3	..
1926-29	+20·6	+5·4	2·7	+17·9	+2·7
1929-34	+17·6	+45·5	6·7	+10·9	+38·8
1934-45	+57·4	−96·8	18·0	+39·4	+78·8
1920-45	+152·2	—	+35·0	+117·2	—
1926-45	—	+235·8	+29·5	—	+206·3

If we now consider the figures of "Net growth" of the two electorates obtained after eliminating the growth to the increase of respective populations, we find that between 1920 and 1929 the Non-Muhammadan electorates for both the old Bengal Council and the Assembly have been *increasing* ; and that after 1929 the Assembly electorate (the figures for the Council are wanting) has been *decreasing*. In the case of the Muhammadans, barring the first period of 1920-23, the electorates have been *increasing* and increasing *at a much greater rate* than the corresponding Non-Muhammadan ones.

Let us analyse the figures of "Net Growth" further. The following tables are self-explanatory :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Period	Net growth of Muhammadans: Males	Net growth of Muhammadans: Females	Net growth of Non-Muhammadans: Males	Net growth of Non-Muhammadans: Females	Advantage (+), or disadvantage (—) in favour of Muhammadans: Males	Advantage (+), or disadvantage (—) in favour of Muhammadans: Females	Rate per year: Male	Rate per year: Female
Council								
1920-23	—3·1	..	+1·6	..	—4·7	..	—1·6	..
1923-26	+10·3	..	+4·7	..	+5·6	..	+1·9	..
1926-29	+17·6	+22·6	+7·6	+6·2	+10·0	+16·4	+3·3	+5·5
1920-29	+27·2		+15·1		+12·1		+1·3	+1·4
Assembly								
1920-23	—18·6	..	+3·9	..	—22·5	..	—7·9	..
1923-26	+33·3	..	+6·1	..	+27·2	..	+9·1	..
1926-29	+17·9	+2·7	+6·9	+1·5	+11·0	+1·2	+3·7	+0·4
1929-34	+10·9	+38·8	—1·7	+14·3	+12·6	+24·5	+2·5	+4·9
1934-45	+39·4	+78·8	—13·1	—8·8	+52·5	+87·6	+4·8	+11·0
1920-45	+117·2	—	+3·8	—	+113·4	—	+4·5	—
1926-45	—	+206·3	—	+16·6	—	+189·7	—	+10·0

The decrease in the number of Muhammadan electors in 1923, both to the Council and to the Indian Assembly, cannot now be accounted for. The Bengal Government in their Memorandum before the Simon Commission could not account for this decrease. Assuming, therefore, the decrease to have been *accidental*, if we combine the figures for the periods 1920-23 and 1923-26 we may get a truer perspective. We then get the following table :

Rate of Advantage +, or Disadvantage —, per year in favour of the Muhammadans over the Non-Muhammadans in—

Period	Council: Males	Council: Females	Assembly: Males	Assembly: Females
1920-26	+0·2	..	+0·8	..
1926-29	+3·3	+5·5	+3·7	+0·4
1929-34	..	..	+2·5	+4·9
1934-45	..	..	+4·8	+11·0

A consideration of the above table shows that the advantage is not only in favour of the Muhammadans, but that it is increasing rapidly. Not only more Muhammadans are becoming rich or attaining such economic status as to come within the electoral ambit or either the Council or Assembly as the case may be, but the *pace* of becoming rich is increasing rapidly. The slight decrease in the pace between 1929 and 1934 may be accounted for by the world-wide economic depression of the early thirties. The above table only proves that the Muhammadans are becoming richer ; it does not demonstrate that the Non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are becoming poorer.

A closer study, however, of the last but one table shows that the "Net growth" of the non-Muhammadans had been *positive* for both Males and Females up to 1929. In between 1929 and 1934, it became *negative* for non-Muhammadan Males only ; and in the period 1934-1945, it became so for both Males and Females. This means that the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are becoming poorer. We give below a portion of the above table, and calculate the rate of becoming poorer or richer :

Period	Net growth of Non-Muhammadans: Males	Net growth of Non-Muhammadans: Females	Rate per year: Males	Rate per year: Females
1920-23	+3·9	..	+1·3	..
1923-26	+6·1	..	+2·0	..
1926-29	+6·9	+1·5	+2·3	+0·5
1929-34	—1·7	+14·3	—0·3	+2·9
1934-45	—13·1	—8·8	—1·2	—0·8

The figures obtained for 'rate per year' prove that the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are not only becoming *poorer*, but the pace of becoming *poorer* has increased from —0·3 to —1·2 *i.e.*, the pace has increased *four* times. The sudden rise in the case of females between 1929 and 1934 may be explained by *benami* transfers in favour of females during the world-wide economic depression of the early thirties. On the other hand, the decrease among the Males cannot be explained by any hypothesis of *benami* transfers from males to females. The total non-Muhammadan electorate in 1929 was 1,70,797 and in 1934 it was 1,79,692—an increase of 5·3 per cent. During the same period the population has increased by 5·7 per cent ; so the over-all "Net Growth" for both males and females is —0·4 per cent. The Non-Muhammadans as a whole must have been becoming poorer during this period.

In our above discussion we have used the term Non-Muhammadan as synonymous with the Hindus ; as the Hindus form 97 per cent of the non-Muhammadans.

The advantage which both the Muhammadan males and females have over the non-Muhammadans in the matter of "Net Growth" is generally greater in the case of females. At first sight it may seem that this is due to their more liberal law of succession ; for among the Muhammadans both sons and daughters inherit, while among the Hindus sons only inherit. But we are inclined to think that is due to something else than that difference between the two laws of succession. Of course we do not want to be dogmatic in this matter. Analysing the statistics given above, we get the following table :

Proportion of female voters to every 1,000 male voters

Year	Non-Muhammadan	Muhammadan	Difference
Council			
1926	50·2	13·6	36·6
1929	49·6	14·1	35·5
	—1·2%	+1·0%	44·8
Assembly			
1926	84·9	40·1	46·5
1929	85·9	39·1	50·6
1934	98·2	59·3	42·4
1945	102·7		
	+17·8%	+19·2%	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ordinarily one would expect the proportion of females to increase with the lower property qualifications. But the facts are otherwise. For among the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, the proportion is about 50 per mille for the Council and 85 for the Assembly level; among the Muhammadans, the corresponding proportions are 14 and 40 respectively. The difference between the two levels seems to be constant for each of the communities as is illustrated by the following figures:

Proportion of female voters to every 1,000 male voters

	Non-Muhammadans		
	Council	*Assembly*	*Difference*
Year			
1926	50·2	84·9	34·7
1929	49·6	85·6	36·0
	Muhammadans		
	Council	*Assembly*	*Difference*
Year			
1926	13·6	40·1	26·5
1929	14·1	39·1	25·0

At the higher level the proportion is greater among both the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans. This is not likely to be due to any peculiarity in their laws of succession.

On the other hand, the differences in proportion between the two communities as noticed in the last but one table, both at the Council and at the Assembly levels, tend to remain more or less constant. This fact points out that there is something basically different between the two communities. The increase in the proportion of female voters to male voters during the last 20 years from 1926 to 1945 in the two communities is almost the same, being 17·8 per cent in the case of the Hindus and 19·8 per cent in the case of the Muhammadans. To what this is due we do not know. Is it due to the increasing habit of holding property *benami* in the name of female members of the family to avoid the operation of income-tax and other taxing statutes? Is it due to avoid the operation of insolvency laws? This point requires closer and further investigation.

———:O:———

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

AHIMSA or SHRIMAN-MOHAN-GITA: *By Prof. Indra, M.A. The Minerva Bookshop, Anarkali, Lahore. 1945. Pp. viii + 166.*

Prof. Indra has chosen a distinctly original method for the presentation of Gandhiji's teachings. He has taken the Bhagavadgita as his model, and composed his book in the form of an imaginary discourse between Rabindranath and Andrews on the one hand, and Rajendarprasad and Gandhiji on the other. The Sanskrit verses are arranged in eighteen chapters; and the subjects dealt with are Non-Violence, Truth, Fasting, The Conception of God, Alleviation of the Misery of Ignorance, Disease, Poverty, Untouchability and so forth. The last chapter contains an exposition of Gandhiji's ideal social order or Ramrajya. The Sanskrit used is simple, and can be easily committed to memory by the average reader. The English rendering by Surendra Devi is clear and accurate.

The essentials of Gandhiji's teachings have been, on the whole, chosen with discrimination; but there are just a few points to which the reviewer feels called upon to draw the attention of the author by way of suggestion. Where Gandhiji speaks, the phrase *Sri Bhagabanukacha* has been used. Now this jars upon one's ears; and would hurt Gandhiji himself more than anyone else. It would have been much better to use the simple proper name.

In describing the technique of non-co-operation, it has been rightly said that Satyagraha becomes fully successful when a change of heart has been effected in the adversary (VI-8). But it has also been said elsewhere that the purpose of withdrawing co-operation from one's adversary is to punish him, or treat him with contempt. 'The boycott of an aggressor is the severest silent punishment to him,' (III-14), or The meanest of aggressors can be struck down on earth by the application of non-violence' (III-17). We believe there must be something wrong here. As far as we have understood Gandhiji, his call is for non-co-operation with evil and not with the evil-doer; and the purpose of the non-co-operation is to evoke the best in him so that the Satyagraha may afterwards give him his hearty co-operation. He, therefore, refuses to be party to a wrong, and bears with fortitude all the punishment which the evil-doer can today shower upon him in his blindness. His object is never to 'punish' the wrong-doer into submission by the withdrawal of co-operation.

Then again, with regard to the economics of self-sufficiency, it has been stated that villages should be self-sufficient and self-reliant. That is all right; but with regard to India Gandhiji has been made to say, 'Taking in view the plenty of my country, I see no justification for its dependence on other countries.' (XIV-33). So far as we are aware, Gandhiji has never thought in terms of narrow nationalism. Of course, he wants every small economic unit to be self-sufficient with regard to the production of the vital necessaries of life; but he also knows, and approves of the fact, that the world is progressing towards voluntary interdependence between state and state. Only, that interdependence, in order to be really beneficial, should be based, not on force, but on willing effort of units which all enjoy an equal status. Gandhiji has never thought of the welfare of India apart from the welfare of humanity taken as a whole; and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

he has claimed that India should be free so that she can place her moral, as well as *material*, resources at the service of humanity. Now, that is a part of his teachings which needs more emphasis than is usually accorded to it.

We sincerely hope that the learned author will take into consideration these two suggestions when a revision of the work is duly called for. We feel however confident that the book will form a very good and useful introduction to the ideas of Gandhiji. Some improvement is called for with regard to the printing in future.

THE PARDHANS OF THE UPPER NARBADA VALLEY : *By Shamrao Hivale. With a Foreword by Verrier Elwin. Published for "Man in India" by Geoffrey Cumberlege at the Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 230. Twelve plates and twenty-seven figures. Price Rs. 12-8.*

By profession, the Pardhans are story-tellers, musicians and entertainers, who live in a sort of symbiotic relationship with the Gonds of Central India. Shri Shamrao Hivale has spent thirteen years of his life among them, not as a disinterested observer, but as one who has shared the life of the tribe fully, employing his talents in order to understand them as well as help them towards a better life as far as possible. This has given him an insight which is denied to more formal students of Anthropology.

The book is divided into eight chapters bearing the following titles : Introduction, The Tribal Organization of the Pardhans, The Pardhan at Home, The Pardhan's Profession, The Pardhan as Priest and Prophet, The Pardhan as Lover and Poet, The Pardhan in Life and Death, The Pardhan and his Family. Students of Cultural Anthropology may be inclined to complain that sufficient details are not available in the book for use in connection with problems of Diffusion, Contact or Historical Reconstruction, although such details are not wanting where the author deals with social organization or ceremonial life. But they should not overlook the fact that the present book belongs to the new school in which cultural facts are examined principally in their functional relation to the physical and spiritual needs of a people. From that point of view, Hivale's book will undoubtedly remain a very valuable addition to current ethnographic literature in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

SARAT CHANDRA : MAN AND ARTIST : *By Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta. Published by Saraswaty Library, C 18/19 College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

It is an exceedingly well-written book presenting a homogeneous account of Sarat Chandra's life and work and weaving in the appropriate biographical details to show their mutual interactions.

The arrangement of the shorter stories is both original and illuminating, bringing out clearly the subtler variations from story to story in the treatment of the one major problem, the retarding factors at work in some of them and the degree of success attained as the author succumbed to or triumphed over these obstacles. I particularly appreciate author's observations on *Grihadaha*, embodying Sarat Chandra's half-bewildered perception of the last enigma in feminine love, the last web of self-delusive sophistry in the soul of a woman who does not know herself aright. To my mind, however, it seems that the balance between Mahim and Suresh has hardly been held even, Achala's relations with Suresh never reach even momentary stage of stable equilibrium, never the phase of acceptance ; it has always been represented as an uneasy and unreconciled surrender to necessity. The real reason why she kept house with Suresh seems to be her conviction of the inexorability of Mahim's character. She never shows any interest in the domestic arrangements and seems not to have a single taste in common with her partner ; not a word of tenderness escapes her lips even on the eve of the last farewell. Her one night's surrender may have been facilitated by an unconscious core of desire and acquiescence ; but it was not led up to by a latent streak of tenderness in their mutual relations. Excepting for one brief moment when Achala asks Suresh to take her away from her village home, she never made any positive appeal to him. The source of her love for Mahim remains equally inexplicable, a parade of her fidelity to the plighted word is the motive force that binds them together. All these thoughts generate in me a doubt that Achala was incapable of love, her rigidity and undemonstrativeness had a strange spell of fascination, but her life with either Mahim or Suresh is curiously bleak and negative. Her wavering suspense between her two lovers and her failure to respond to either seems more the result of a core of icy frigidity in her soul which not even the most impetuous tenderness can touch and melt than that of genuine passion poised so precariously between opposite attractions as to condemn itself to frustration and immobility.

The concluding chapter is also very well-written, as also the interpretation of the character of Jibananda in its curious combination of unbridled sexuality and philosophic detachment. He seems to me to have a strange affinity to Villon, the rascally poet of the French Renaissance, with the difference that Jibananda is a philosopher and not an artist. The present work is a notable contribution to our study and appreciation of Sarat Chandra and some of Dr. Sen Gupta's conclusion will rank as definitive judgments.

SRIKUMAR BANERJI

POST-WAR BANKING IN INDIA AND A CASE FOR LEGISLATION : *By Mr. R. M. Mitra, B.A., A.I.I.B. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Pages 172. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author has discussed the growth of banking in England and has compared it with the slow growth of banking in this country under peculiar circumstances. Influence of war and inflation on Indian Banking have also been dealt with. The author admits that legislation is necessary to give right direction to the banking business that has made some headway during recent years, particularly during the war. But the proposed Bill for controlling Banking business does not get full support from him and he gives his reasons for it. He apprehends that unless the proposed bill is sufficiently altered in certain respects, the banking of the country is likely to suffer rather than flourish. He is an advocate of the principles of guidance, warning and protection so far as the banking legislation is concerned and as such he considers the proposed Bill as a bit too stiff. While admitting some of the contentions of the author, we have to opine that time has come for a drastic legislation to regulate banking and to protect the depositors' money and any further delay is fraught with consequences which no lover of the country's prosperity through Banking will desire. Both the Bank Bills, 1944 and 1946, are given in the Appendices with observations of the author for certain modifications.

This is a timely publication which contains the views of a practical banker, who is not only acquainted with the routine of day to day administration but has an outlook for the future.

A. B. DUTTA

THOUGHTS ON THE GREAT QUEST : *By Heramba Ch. Maitra. Published by Asok Kumar Maitra 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta. To be had of General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta. Cloth-bound. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a collection of essays written and published by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra at different times. This is the first collection and is necessarily small. The publisher holds out the hope that a second and fuller collection of Principal Maitra's writings will follow soon.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As Principal and as professor, Maitra occupied a unique position in the academic world of his day. The present reviewer was one of his many pupils during the last decade of the present century and still remembers the great veneration with which Principal Maitra was looked upon by his pupils, his colleagues and the public at large. The integrity of his character, the high moral principles which he inculcated and followed in practice and his scrupulous and extensive scholarship won for him this high place in the educational world. Time has not abated the respect for him of those who ever came into personal contact with him.

The essays published here reveal the moral teacher in their author and show a religious fervour which was characteristic of him. But it is religion leavened with spiritual insight and philosophical acumen. Such a book will probably be a little out of tune with the type of literature that is flooding the market now. Yet it has a permanent value and deserves the attention of the thinking public and should be held in the same high esteem which its author enjoyed in his lifetime.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

STUDIES IN SRI AUROVINDO'S PHILOSOPHY: *By Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Benares Hindu University. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.*

The growing literature on Sri Aurovindo's Philosophy is a proof that it has caught the imagination, not only of the students of philosophy, but also of their professors. The book, under review, is a notable addition, and contains a series of six learned studies contributed to some leading periodicals by Dr. Maitra, who is the head of the department of philosophy in the Benares Hindu University. These studies faithfully interpret Sri Aurovindo's views on religion of the future, problem of evil, conception of intuition, prophet or the Superman and the status of man. The first study makes an interesting comparison between Aurovindo and Bergson.

The author is a staunch admirer of Sri Aurovindo; but his appreciation, we are afraid, lapses into exaggeration when he does not hesitate to call the celebrated yogi of Pondichery, the most creative thinker of the present-day East, as the latter, in Dr. Maitra's view, has the same prophetic vision like Manu, Yajnavalkya or Vyasa. Dr. Maitra further asserts that, if the bridge of thoughts and sighs, which spans the history of Aryan culture has its first arch in the Veda, it has its last in Sri Aurovindo's *Life Divine*. In this connection we are constrained to observe that one, having even a nodding acquaintance with the Vedic thought, will decline to express such an unrestrained appreciation. Dr. Maitra's assertion that Aurovindo's philosophy is in full accord with the Vedas and Upanishads is far from true ; for, he himself points out that in the former, matter as well as spirit are regarded as real. According to Aurovindo, even matter is Brahman. This doubtlessly shows that Aurovindo's philosophy has a definite pragmatic bent, in contradistinction to the Upanishadic thought which reveals the purest form of Brahmavada and the illusoriness of the sense-world.

Sri Aurovindo has been very unfair to Samkar when he remarks : "Samkar's wordless, inactive self and his *Maya* of many names and forms are equally disparate and irreconcilable entities." "The real monism, the real Advaita," reiterates Aurovindo "is that which admits all things as the one Brahman and does not seek to bisect Its existence into two incompatible entities, an eternal truth and an eternal falsehood, Brahman and not-Brahman, Self and not-Self, a real Self and an unreal, yet perpetual Maya." It is regretted that the Advaita is misunderstood as Mayavada by an original thinker like Aurovindo. We humbly submit that the Advaita is emphatically Brahmavada and it never teaches maya as an entity as Aurovindo wrongly thinks. According to Vedanta, the knower sees Brahman only, and not the mayik show as held by Goudapada. But to the ignorant, who do see the phenomenal appearance and not Brahman out of nescience, the theory of maya is advanced, not as an explanation, but as a statement of facts. This is admitted by Aurovindo's interpreters in a way when they say that Samkar's characteristic note is one-sided affirmation of the Spirit. We do not lag behind any of Aurovindo's admirers in genuine appreciation of Aurovindo and his original contribution to philosophical thought; but that does not deter us from pointing out the glaring limitations of his philosophy and his wide differences from Samkar, the foremost exponent of the Advaitavada. To a critical and unbiased student, Sri Aurovindo's philosophy is, at best, an amalgam of Indian and European thought with a distinct pragmatic leaning. In this age when world-thought tends to mingle together, it is a unique attempt at harmonisation.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

FAMOUS LETTERS & ULTIMATUMS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT : *Edited and compiled by Durbab Singh. The Hero Publications, 6, Lower Mall, Lahore. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 3-12.*

This is a collection of seventeen famous letters written by our public men to different Viceroys and Governors, etc. It contains Tagore's letter to the Viceroy renouncing his Knighthood, Gandhi's open letter to Lord Reading, Syamaprasad's letter to the Governor, etc. The Editor, in short notes, has explained the background of each of the letters. This has enhanced the value of the collection many times. The printing and get-up is well.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF AUDITING: *By R. B. Bose, M.A., B.Sc., B.Com. Published by A. Mukherjea and Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3-12.*

With the growing industrial development of India, joint-stock companies are going to play an important part; and auditing as a profession is becoming more and more important. This is a handy book containing all that an average Indian student should know on the subject from the very first principles right up to the implications of the Indian Companies Act. It should be in the hands of all students. One suggestion we have to make : the author should have given the references to various law reports in the Table of Legal decisions.

J. M. Datta

BENGALI

SASWATA PIPASA : *Published by Katyani Book Stall, 203 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 331. Price Rs. 4.*

MAYAJAL : *Published by Romesh Ghosal, 35 Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 4.*

The two novels by Rampada Mukherji are taken together for review, as both of them form parts of the same story, the latter being complementary to the former.

The titles of the books signify respectively *The Eternal Thirst* and *The Bond of Delusion*, which bind us subtly to hold on to our everyday life with fond affection for mother Earth and to play our mortal parts well in our assigned spheres of life, not only ungrudgingly but cheerfully amidst the trials and tribulations of life, without any thought of escapism. If we read the story in this context, it will unfold itself in all its charm and beauty ; otherwise a casual reader may miss much of the inherent charm underlying the story, for he will find in it no grand romance of a love-story, no attempt at analysing or solving any social or political problems of life nor is there any artistic handling of the story so as to create tense dramatic situations or un-

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

solved problematic triangles, which are the general characteristics of a great novel. Still the two novels are classic in their own way, just as the *Pather Panchali* of another great novelist, Bibhuti Banerji, rightly claims to be one of the best novels in Bengali literature.

Regarding the particular aspect of the story, it depicts in *Saswata Pipasa* a vivid and glowing picture of the social life that existed in our Bengal village in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The simple joys and sorrows, the quiet and peaceful surroundings of village life, the unostentatious but intense life enjoyed by the villagers are portrayed with the minutest details and painted in a graceful halo of colour. With the beginning of the twentieth century the quiet and placid domestic and social life of the village is disturbed by the advent of new ideas and customs and the transition period ushering in the hectic days of Swadeshi movement spreading through the innermost recesses of the country is described in *Mayajal* skilfully, as reflected in the characters of the new generation.

The story has been narrated by the author picturesquely, characters are all drawn in a living manner and the style is limpid and delightful.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

PRITAM KI GALI MEN : *By Rajaji Maharaj Gurdasram Sahab. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.*

This is a "litany" of love of the Lord consisting of thirty-one "stanzas." Though written in prose, they have the *passion* of poetry. The style has the vividness of the Vaishnavite singer-*cum*-saint of the Middle Ages. Love is luminosity of the soul,—this is the strain of the author's ecstatic song. *Pritam Ki Gali Men* is a mystical manual, which every devotee of the Divine would like to have on his shelf.

G. M.

RUPAYE KI KAHANI : *By D. D. Birla and P. N. Sinha. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This informative and interesting story of the Rupee, written in simple Hindi, is divided into two parts : the first written by Mr. Birla, deals with the various forms of currency, exchange, inflation, its value and devaluation, etc., and the other, written by Mr. Sinha, deals with the history and development of the currency-system. The book is ably written and is, perhaps, the first of its kind in Hindi and is useful equally for the layman as well as the professional.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

RAJYOGINI : *By Purshuttam Mahadeva Vaidya. Navaras Karyalaya, Indore City. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.*

This is a short play, in two Acts, dealing with the heroic deeds of the patriot-queen, Ahalyabai Holkar, of Indore, who is the heroine of every Hindu student of Indian history. It is replete with historical events (as against imaginations and inferences, as so often is the practice of some playwrights) and historionic effects. It can serve easily, therefore, the purpose of a primer in the passion and philosophy of patriotism, with its multicoloured skein of sentiments and sacrifice.

G. M.

KANNADA

BENDRE VANGMAYA DARSHANA : *Edited by H. G. Joshi Esq., B.A. (Hons.), Galgali. Published by Ramacharya Kakhandiki. Editor, "Nirbhaya," Jamkhandi. Pp. 4+2+89. Price Re. 1-4.*

DATTA SAHITYA : *Editor Shri Shimpi Linganna. Published by M. Gopal Krishna Rao of Kalyuga for Sadhana Press, Dharwar. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-8.*

The two books under review are two laudable attempts at the critical and constructive appreciation of Mr. Bendre's poetical works and other literary productions. Shri Bendre by his unswerving loyalty and steadfast devotion to Kannada muse for over two decades has succeeded in carving out for himself a niche in the galaxy of the great. The Editors of the two booklets in question availed themselves of the occasion of Shri Bendre's fiftieth Birthday celebration to pay their humble tribute to the poet of their choice. Without putting forth any audacious and pretentious claim of having seen and presented all about Bendre, the Editors have done well in glancing over the few striking aspects of Bendre's works. Of the two books, the latter contains a more elaborate and detailed review of Shri Bendre's various literary productions. Pandit Keshava Sharma of Galgali, has given us a beautiful analysis of Bendre's poetic inspiration in Bendre's *Pratibhavilas*—an essay contributed by him to the *Bendre Vangmaya Darshana*. The books in question are indeed very helpful additions to the spate of critical reviews of Bendre's poetry that have appeared in recent weeks.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

MADHUP : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 3-4.*

Madhup has fought as a Lieutenant in the Indian Army in North Africa in Auchinlec's Army. He has returned to India on leave. His real name is Kirtu Kumar. As a Madhup (Bee), he has sucked the juice of many flowers, but a flower called Mrinalini makes him fall really in love. She tries her best to keep him at arm's length but at last succumbs. Their repartees are full of vigour. The whole atmosphere of the story is, however, unreal and the society amongst whom this love story is placed is something alien to the ordinary Hindu society, thoroughly Anglicised ; what else could there be when the characters are aristocrats and race-goers ?

NITYA PRIYA : *By Raj Hans, Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3.*

The friction as to the ideals of marriage, between old and new *i.e.*, East and West, is emphasised in this story by means of incidents which when stated plainly look very ugly. A girl marries a rich husband, so that her costly artistic tastes may be satisfied. After some years' happy married life, the husband meets with an accident resulting in loss of virility. The wife is yet young and beautiful. They, therefore, decide to go their own way, and as if, that was not enough, the husband acts as a pimp to his wife, so that her sex-hunger may be gratified. The wife too like a butterfly, flies from flower to flower promising to remain constant in love in her heart or mind to one, but allowing her body to be used by others too. As a contrast, another girl constant in love, both in body and mind, is presented who marries one of the lovers of the inconstant girl, and becomes happy. The stilted, artificial life led by these society people, is graphically described when the reader is allowed to glimpse into the bath-room of the unfaithful wife, a bath-room which is a thorough Anglicised contraption, and rarely to be found anywhere else except in the house of millionaires. The intimate knowledge shown by the author of the details of the life lived by the rich in Bombay at the Taj Mahal Hotel or on the Race-course, Bombay and Poona, or in places where they go for changes, Nasik or Deolali, strikes one to be almost first-hand.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America :**—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America :**—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China :**—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa :**—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon :**—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A,** Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Modern Poetry

Rabindranath Tagore's original Bengali article on modern poetry has been translated into English by Indira Devi Chaudhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The first part of the article is given below :

I have been asked to write something about modern English poets. It is by no means an easy task. For who will define the limit of the modern age with reference to the almanac ?—It is not so much a question of time as of spirit.

After flowing straight on for a time, the river takes a sudden turn. Literature likewise does not always follow the straight path. When it takes a turn, the turn must be called modern. Let us call it *adhunik* in Bengali. The modernity depends not upon time but upon temperament.

The poetry to which I was introduced in my boyhood might have been classed as modern in those days. Poetry had taken a new turn, beginning from the Poet Burns. The same urge had brought forth many other great poets, such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats.

The manners and customs prevalent in society are known as social usage. In some countries these social customs completely suppress all the freedom and variety of individual taste. There man becomes a puppet, his conduct conforms meticulously to social etiquette. It is this traditional and habitual way of life that society appreciates. Sometimes literature also falls into a groove for long periods ; and whosoever wears the sacred marks of perfect literary style, is looked upon as a saintly person. During the age of English poetry that followed Burns, the barriers of style were broken down, and temperament made its debut. "The lake adorned with lotus and the lily" is a lake seen through the special hole of official blinkers fashioned in the classic workshop. When a daring writer removes those blinkers and catch-pharses and looks upon the lake with open eyes, he also opens up a path through which the lake assumes manifold aspects to many eyes and various fancies. But classic judgment cries "fie for shame" on him.

When we began to read English poetry, this unconventional individualistic mood had already been acknowledged in literature, and the clamour raised by the *Edinburgh Review* had died down. Be that as it may, that period of our life was a new era of modernism.

In those days, the hall-mark of modernism in poetry was the individual's measure of delight. Wordsworth expressed in his own style the spirit of delight that he realised in Nature. Shelley's was a Platonic contemplation accompanied by a spirit of revolt against every kind of obstacle, political, religious or otherwise. Keats' poetry is wrought of the meditation of creation of beauty. In that age, the stream of poetry took a turn from outwardness to inwardness.

The deepest feelings of a poet's heart strive to attain immortality by assuming a lovely form in language. Love adorns itself. It seeks to prove its inward joy by its outward beauty. There was a time when humanity in its moments of leisure sought to bind up in various ways that portion of the universe with which it came into contact. This outer adornment was the expression of its inner love. Where there is love, there can be no indifference. In those ways, in the exuberance of his sense of beauty man began to decorate the common articles of daily use. His inner inspiration lent creative power to his fingers. In every land and every village household utensils and the adornment of the home and person bound the heart of man, in colour and form, to these outward insignia of life. Many were the ceremonies evolved by man for adding zest to social life ; many the new melodies, new arts and crafts in wood and metal, clay and stone, silk, wool and cotton. In that age, the husband designated his wife as his "beloved disciple in the fine arts." Then it was not the bank-balance that constituted the principal asset for the married couple in the work of setting up house,—the arts were a more necessary item. Flower-garlands must not be woven anyhow, young women knew how to paint the ends of their *saris* of China silk, skill in the art of dancing was especially taught, and was accompanied by lessons in the *vina*, the flute and singing. There was spiritual beauty then in human intercourse.

The English poets with whom we came into contact in my early youth, saw the universe with their own mind's eye ; it had become as it were their personal property. Not only did their own imagination, opinions and tastes humanise and intellectualise the universe, but they moulded it according to the heart's desire of each individual poet. The universe of Wordsworth was specially Wordsworthian, of Shelley Shelleyan, of Byron Byronic. By force of creative magic it became the reader's universe also. The joy that we felt in that particular poet's world, was the joy of taste in the hospitality of that particular world's aroma. The flower sends its invitation to the bee through its distinctive scent and colour, and sweet is that note of invitation. The Poet's invitation also possessed that spontaneous charm. In the days when the chief bond between man and the universe was one of individuality, the personal touch in the invitation had to be fostered with care, a sort of competition had to be set up in dress and ornament and manners so as to show oneself off to the best advantage.

Thus we find that in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tradition which held priority in self-poetry of the previous age had given place to expression of the individual. And this is what was called modernism in those days.

But nowadays that modernism is dubbed Mid-Victorian senility and made to recline on an easy-chair in the next room. Now is the day of the harsh modernism of lopped skirts and lopped hair. Not that powder is not frequently applied to the cheeks and rouge to the lips, but it is done in public, with unashamed bravado. It is proclaimed that the days of illusion are over. There is illusion at every step of the Creator's creation, and it is the variety of that illusion which plays so many tunes through so many forms. But science has thoroughly examined its every pulse-beat, and declares that at the root of things there is no illusion ; there is carbon and nitrogen, there is physiology and psychology. We old-fashioned poets had taken illusion to be the main thing and these to be the by-products. And, therefore, we must confess we had striven to compete with the Creator in spreading the snare of illusions through rhyme

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and rhythm, language and style. In our allusions and suggestions there was some play of hide-and-seek, we were unable to cast aside that veil of modesty which adorns the truth, while it does not contradict it. In the coloured light that filtered through its filmy haze, the forms and evenings appeared to us in a beauty that was as tender as that of a new bride. The modern Draupadi, engaged in disrobing publicly Dushshasan, engaged in disrobing publicly Draupadi the universe, is a sight we are not accustomed to. Is it mere force of habit that makes us feel uncomfortable? Is there no truth behind this sense of shame? Does not Beauty become bankrupt when divested of the veil which conceals not but reveals?

But the modern age is in a hurry, and has no time. Livelihood has gained the upper hand of life. Man has to race through his work and rush through his pleasures in the midst of a crowd of accelerating machines. The human being who used to create his own intimate world, in leisure, now delegate his duties to a factory and gets up some sort of provisional affair on the spur of the moment to suit his needs, according to some official standard. Feasts are gone out of fashion, only meals remain. There is no urge to consider whether life is in harmony with the mind or not, for the mind of man is engaged along with the crowd, in pulling the rope of the huge Juggernaut car of livelihood. Instead of music, there issue from his throat hoarse shouts of "Push, boys, push". He has to spend most of his time in the company of the crowd, not in the world of his own fellows. His mentality is the mentality of the hustler. In the midst of all this bustle he has not the will power left to bypass ugliness unadorned.

Which path must poetry now follow then, and what is to be her destination. It is not possible nowdays to follow one's own taste, to select, to arrange. Science does not select, it accepts whatever there is as existing; it does not appraise it by the standard of personal taste nor embellish it with the eagerness of personal attachment. The chief delight of the scientific mind consists in curiosity, not in forming ties of relationship. It does not regard what I want as the main point, but what the thing in itself exactly is, leaving me out of the question; and without me, the preparation of illusion is unnecessary.

Therefore, in the process of economising that is being carried out in the department of poetry in this scientific age, it is adornment that has suffered the biggest cut. Finicky selectiveness in the matter of rhyme, rhythm and words is now become almost absolute. And the change is not taking place smoothly, but in order to break the spell of the past, it has become the fashion to repudiate it aggressively. It is like trying to set bits of broken glass on the top in an uncouth and ugly manner, lest the selective faculty by force of habit should enter the house by jumping over the garden-wall. A poet writes: "I am the greatest laugher of all, greater than the sun, than the oak-tree, than the frog and Apollo." "Than the frog and Apollo," this is where the bits of broken glass come in. For fear someone should think that the poet is arranging his words sweetly, prettily. If the word "sea" were used instead of "frog," the modernists might object to it as regular poetising. That may be so, but mentioning the frog is by a long way much more regular poetising of the opposite kind. That is to say it is not introduced naturally, but is like treading on your toes intentionally. That is the modern fashion.

But the fact of the matter is, the days are gone when it was generally accepted that the frog could not be admitted into gentle poetry on the same footing as other creatures. In the category of reality, the frog belongs to a higher class than Apollo. Nor do I wish to regard the frog with contempt. What is more, in an appropriate context, the croaking laugh of the frog might be juxtaposed with the laugh of the poet's beloved, even if she objected. But even according to the most ultra-scientific theory of equality, the laugh that is the sun's, that is the oak-tree's, that is Appollo's, is not that of the frog. Here it has been dragged in by force, in order to destroy the illusion.

Indians in South Africa

Perhaps in no other part of the world is the racial problem so profoundly disturbing as it is in the Union of South Africa. Race dominates every aspect of life there. Dr. Prakash Chandra writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The Europeans, Asiatics and Negroes live side by side but they have failed to evolve a common meeting ground and the differences between them are most striking. The population is nearly ten millions and a half. Of this, 70 per cent are Negroes, the Europeans number 21 per cent and Indians whose total strength is 2,10,000 barely 2·5 per cent.

A wide chasm separates the Europeans from the non-Europeans. The former enjoy many social privileges, social services, and educational facilities which are denied to the coloured peoples. All political power rests in their hands. So far as Indians are concerned, they do not possess even elementary civic rights. As Sir Zafarullah Khan said, "Indians in South Africa are almost in the position of being a stateless people. They cannot vote. They have to live in defined residential areas. They can hold property only on a restricted basis. Their children cannot attend normal South African schools. And they are not admitted as citizens, although many of the families have been settled there for generations." A more elaborate picture was drawn by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, a former High Commissioner in South Africa, who stated that the Indian community in that country was "deprived of representation in local bodies and public services, in Parliament as well as in the Universities, denied admission even to hotels, cinemas, theatres, places of culture no less than of amusements, and subjected to a colour bar for which neither modern nor ancient history affords any precedent whatever." While European children receive free education, no provision exists for the teaching of 20,000 Indiin children of school-going age, let alone tuition-free instruction. Indians contribute as much to the finance of the country as the white residents but do not figure on the rolls as municipal or parliamentary voters. Apparently, the theory of 'no taxation without representation' has only a limited validity.

Leaving aside the Orange Free State, where the Indian population is negligible, the position in the rest of the three provinces of the Union is as follows. In Natal, where the Indians are most numerous—five-sixth

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of their number is confined to this area—they exercise at present neither the municipal nor the provincial franchise. The latter was withdrawn just fifty years ago; the former comparatively recently. In the Transvaal, Indians have never enjoyed any franchise at all, municipal or provincial. They possess both in the Cape Colony and have the right there of being represented on the municipality by a Fellow-Indian. As for the right of electing candidates for the Senate or the House of Assembly of the Union Parliament, it is conspicuous by its absence. The laws expressly require that the voters must be British subjects of European descent.

It is not only that political rights have been held back from the Indians. Repeated efforts have been made to dislodge them from their economic position.

The latest measure of this kind is the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill which has received its second reading only recently. This bill is to replace the notorious Pegging Act which was due to expire at the end of March, 1946, and whose object was to segregate the Indians from the Europan population. In a sense, the new bill is worse than the old. Whereas the Pegging Act applied only to Durban, the new legislation extends to the whole territories of Natal and the Transvaal. Indians are being prohibited from exercising the right of acquiring property either for residential or investment purposes in these regions, except in certain areas set aside for them. Apart from the social stigma implicit in the bill, it will have serious economic consequences. Indians living in demarcated zones outside towns and cities will tend to get isolated from the European and the native populations. This will affect their means of livelihood and will lead in course of time to their economic extinction.

The obnoxious bill has been sugar-coated with the gift of an illusory franchise. South African Indians are to be accorded the right of electing representatives to the Union Parliament and the Natal and Transvaal Provincial Councils. But the franchise is worthless because it suffers from three grave defects. First, the qualification is high. Secondly, Indians are to be registered on a separate roll instead of sharing the common roll with the Europeans. Finally, and this is the most preposterous feature of the provisions, though Indians may vote, they cannot stand for election and must be represented by Europeans. The last stipulation places the Indians on a par with the Bantus who though eight million strong are represented on the South African legislature by three gentlemen with the whitest skin. It is thus clear that the bill offers a mythical political status in exchange for substantial economic rights which are taken away.

It is amazing that Indians should be subjected to discriminatory treatment in what happens to be a part of the British Empire but it has been a characteristic policy of the Dominions to be fairer in their dealings with the Whites, though belonging to a different nationality, than with the coloured races. While they have received European immigrants, all of them, with the exception of Newfoundland, have excluded Orientals by one means or another. In some of the States of the Commonwealth of Australia, Asiatics are disqualified from voting and from obtaining leases in certain irrigated lands. The same continent is anxious to increase her population by the importation of 70,000 immigrants yearly but they must be British, Scandinavians, Swiss or French and not Indians, Chinese and the Javanese. In Canada, too, in British Columbia, Asiatics are denied the franchise. The late Srinivasa Sastri explained how on one occasion his appeals to the fair name of the Empire drew the impatient remark from the Prime Minister of that province that he had no use for it if it involved the surrender of any privilege. But the discriminations are most far-reaching and flagrant in the Union of South Africa. India and South Africa have made common sacrifices on battlefields for ostensibly common ideals but as Mr. Polak asked in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, "Is not the race and colour bar is not the policy of racial segregation, more reminiscent of the Nazi-Fascist doctrine of super-race than the ideals of the United Nations?"

It would be interesting to discuss the origin of the bill against the background of local conditions.

First of all there is the social factor. The Indians and the Europeans belong to two different civilizations and speak languages utterly divorced from each other. Superimposed is the political fact that the Whites have ruled coloured peoples for the last two centuries. This gives them an air of superiority which any autocrat would bear towards his subjects, regardless of race. The economic factor is even more important. Indians went to South Africa not because they were themselves eager but because their presence was felt to be in the interests of South Africa. It seemed to be impossible to exploit fully the Natal coast-belt without indentured labour. The Government of India was opposed to the arrangement but was eventually prevailed upon to sanction the emigration. So the Indians went and brought prosperity to Natal. Many remained and others followed, both free and indentured labourers. Their work on the sugar and tea plantations yielded magnificent results so that Natal today is known as the Garden Colony of South Africa. But in due course, the Indian with his lower standard of living, began to threaten the European in some of the occupations of which he had previously a monopoly. It was then that Indians came to be regarded in Lord Milner's phrase as, "strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them." More recently Indians have been thoughtless in their business dealings. They were obviously imprudent in buying up European property during the war in the heart of Durban. Finally, the racial and political set-up of the country has to be taken into account.

Most of the Whites in South Africa are Boers, the descendants of Dutch farmers who employed Negro slaves from West Africa to till their fields and watch their herds.

They are the people who never yielded when the British came but preferred to trek into the interior as national groups in order to safeguard their independence. Intensely self-conscious, they have not the capacity of developing feelings of appreciation and friendliness towards the people springing from a different racial stock. The mass of the British inhabitants are English as in Australia—not Scotch as in Canada and New Zealand—and the English are well-known for their reserve and insularity.

The principal political parties are the United party, the Nationalist party and the Dominion party. None of the three represents a liberal outlook on the racial question. But the two foremost leaders of the United party, Premier Smuts, and Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance, are personally sympathetic towards Indians. The latter has made no secret of his disgust with the colour bar. Dealing with the relations between Europeans and Asiatics in South Africa, he once observed, "It is hardly a matter for argument that in this field our record, when judged in the light of Christian principles, scarcely bears examination. The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa, self-interest has sought to get rid of him from the country; self-interest, in so far as this cannot be achieved, is determined to keep him in what is regarded with their followers and the opposition parties.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nationalists led by Dr. Malan are openly hostile to Indians and the Dominion party has affiliations with the Natal Europeans who are really responsible for anti-Indian legislation.

The delicacy of Field Marshal Smuts' position is obvious from the speeches made over the second reading of the bill. He was almost apologetic in defending the hotch-potch character of his bill. "Now when land rights of Natal Indians were being limited," he stated, "it was only fair that they should be given some political status." He made no attempt to defend the representation of Indians by Europeans but explained that the communal franchise had been modelled on the Indian pattern. "I think, therefore, that it does not lie in the mouth of Indians to say," he asserted, "that the separate electoral system of South Africa will be an insult to them." Here is warning to the champions of retrograde devices that what they do here in India may recoil on their heads elsewhere. In spite of the insistence of Field Marshal Smuts that the bill should be passed as a whole, Col. Stallard, the leader of the Dominion party, suggested that the two parts should be moved separately. He expressed himself in favour of the land-tenure restrictions but opposed the grant of franchise to Indians. Their admission to the Assembly, he pleaded, would endanger the structure of South African society. Similar was the line taken by Dr. Malan. While accepting the principle of segregation, he tried to shelve the franchise issue by seeking to make the Government to agree to the appointment of a joint committee to which the racial problem in all its aspects was to be referred.

The Indian community in South Africa is naturally upset and is doing all that it can to prevent the implementation of the Act.

In its endeavours, it has the fullest support of the High Commissioner, the Government of India, and all the political parties in this country. But the interest which India takes is bitterly resented as interference in the internal affairs of the Union. In an angry article, an African newspaper writes, "The Indians in the Union behave like citizens of India and seek consolation and support there. Good, then let us send them back to their home—India." The real fact is that in spite of their being settled in South Africa for over eighty years, Indians are not yet recognised as citizens of South Africa and that so long as they are treated as aliens in the land of their birth and adoption, they have a perfect right of appeal to India as their protector. Indeed, the effort to clothe them with a fictitious franchise is itself motivated by a desire to prevent the Government of India from interceding on their behalf. It is realised that India will soon be strong and independent, when her nationals abroad could be unfairly treated by a foreign Government only at its peril.

When Sir Shafaat Ahmad laid down his office, Indian public opinion demanded that no successor should be appointed. Failure to fill the post would, it was hoped, open the eyes of the world to the atrocious crime which was beng perpetrated in South Africa. The Government of India, however, was more optimistic and Mr. R. M. Deshmukh was sent out. He has been unable to improve the situation. The reasonable proposal of the Government of India that a round table conference should be held between the representatives of India and South Africa to find a settlement has been rejected by Field Marshal Smuts on the specious plea that the matter is a domestic concern and it is improper to call in the aid of another Government in solving it. Driven to extremity, the Government of India has given notice of the termination of its trade agreement with South Africa and is seriously considering the recall of the High Commissioner. Meanwhile there remains one final remedy, and that is an appeal to the United Nations Organisation.

The demands of the South African Indians are the demands for elementary democratic rights which should be enjoyed by all living in democratic countries. All that they are asking for is the franchise, not the truncated but the real thing, the opening up of provincial barriers and freedom to buy property and live wherever they like. If these are not granted, they are determined to resort to passive resistance, and as the late Srinivasa Sastri pointed out, they will be fully justified in seeking honourable suicide in preference to ignominous surrender.

Indo-American Amity

America will have a much higher appreciation of India when the million American soldiers and Red Cross girls return; they are bound to take back a better impression of India than most Americans have had in the past. Judith Ames Appasamy writes in *The Aryan Path* :

There has not been much cultural contact between America and India in the past, due probably to America's great distance, to the lack of good literature on India, and also perhaps to the fact that India was a subject nation of another great power. Missions and missionaries have been one great link, but their primary purpose has been to impose their culture, not to absorb Eastern culture. Their presentation of India in America has not always been fair. But they have done some good. They have started social reform to improve educational facilities among Indian women, who are now taking part in the nation's politics, forming clubs and societies for the uplift of Indian women. Women can usually be depended upon to take the lead once they are made conscious of ther importance in the scheme of things. The greatness of a country depends upon the treatment of its women. That is why the co-educational system in America is the best in the world. Travancore is a good illustration of this. It is the only state in India which has tried the co-educational system ; with the result that one finds women from Travancore all over India, holding very high positions.

There has never been any exceptionally good book written on India, at least not in English. *The Rains Came, Indigo* and *A Passage to India* are about the best so far ; but nowhere nearly as good as Dr. Lin Yutang's or Pearl Buck's books on China. Most writers on India in the past spent so much time looking for the rubbish or the bizarre, that they entirely overlooked the really beautiful and charming pattern of India. There is no book which brings out the joint-family system of India nor is there any good novel of school or college life in India, of the type of *Tom Brown's School Days*. Any

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

American who is a total stranger to India and who wants to know something about this great land could not do better than read *Introduction to India* by Moraes and Stimson (an Oxford University Press publication), or *My India, My America* by Dr. Shridharani. It is a pity that one or both of these books could not be made compulsory in every American school.

If, like the Rhodes Scholarships, which take American and other students to England, or like the Boxer Indemnity Fund which takes a large number of Chinese students to America, some such set of scholarships could be founded for Indian students, it would make for much better amity between India and America. Some of the reasons why Indian students have not gone to America in the past are the great distance and the huge outlay required to go there ; also the fact that the United States is a very costly place in which to live. Students have been rather encouraged to go to Great Britain, partly due to the specialised educational system prevailing in India and also because Indian students have come back from America with revolutionary ideas. This war has changed a great deal of that. Another great factor that has kept Indian students from going to America has been her unfriendly immigration laws, which have never been fair to Asiatics. Her excuse, of course, has always been that their standard of living is lower. In this matter, the Americans who are sojourning in India could and should help change or modify these laws.

Indian students should be encouraged to go to America for their higher education.

The American system of education is much better than that which prevails in India and which only fits the students for routine desk work. It has a freer interplay of ideas between the teacher and the students. And it brings out the best in every student and fits him for taking his place in a democratic world. One great contribution that the American educational system could make to India is teaching the "dignity of labour." There is in America no snobbery or looking down on a poor student who has to work his way through college. On the contrary, he is praised and honoured for it, (a system of self-help is being tried in some American-managed Indian colleges, but it is not quite the success that it is in America). India has a lot to learn from America's realistic outlook, her attitude towards progress and her giving an opportunity for everyone to rise or to develop towards self-realisation. India, on the other hand, has all her vast experience to give in exchange for speed and scientific research.

But India and America have much in common. They are both great countries of vast distances, varied climates and equally varied racial characteristics. The peoples of both countries have an intense love for democracy and independence. It begins to look as if India is on her way to getting her independence and she needs America's help more than ever to get firmly established and to make a success of it. America can help India organise herself. India is composed of four hundred millon individuals who have no idea of co-operation. Team work, as we understand it in the West, is completely foreign to Indian ideas.

Americans find it extremely difficult to understand the caste system in India. One of their stock phrases is "How can India expect to get her independence as long as she has the caste system ?" Every country since the dawn of creation has had and still has a caste system, though not always called by that name. It is known in the West as "colour prejudice" or "racial prejudice." The Rev. J. C. Heinrich in his book, *The Psychology of a Suppressed People*, says, in writing on untouchability in India. "The problem has striking parallels to the Negro problem in the United States."

At present there is no central bureau which can arrange for exchange professorships in America ; we would be only too glad of the chance to spend a few years in India. The same could be said of several men who are teaching in India. As there is Yale in China, if we could have a Harvard or a Columbia in India it would be very good for both countries. An exchange of cultures is greatly needed. More good-will missions are also needed between America and India.

Leonardo da Vinci

Leonardo da Vinci is undoubtedly one of the greatest geniuses which our humanity has produced. C. Jinarajadasa observes in *The Theosophist* :

All in Europe and America know that he is one of the supreme painters of the Italian School. But he was more than a painter ; he was also a sculptor, an architect, a musician, a mechanician who planned flying craft, an engineer who built castles and canals, and a deep inquirer in the spirit of modern science into all aspects of Nature.

There are many great painters and sculptors who have expressed themselves with another aspect of their character. Michael Angelo was not only a sculptor and painter, but also a poet. William Blake is better known as one of the great mystic poets than as painter. Giordano Bruno, the philosophical revolutionary, has written some of the finest sonnets in the Italian language.

But in Leonardo we have the unique combination of an artist and a scientist who was profoundly imbued with the idea that it was necessary to know Nature in all her varied manifestations, in order that he might be a truly great painter and sculptor. Hence his study of the anatomy of the muscles, bones, etc., not only of human beings, but of birds, insects and other creatures. All the time he desired to know Nature "as she is," before he reproduced her in painting or sculpture. His

ONE STEP FORWARD

From the Twenty-second Annual Report of the **Western India Life** it becomes quite clear that in 1945 this trusted Life Company has gone one step forward on its path of progress. Sound financial position, efficient management, dutiful service to policy-holders, and a number of other things become clear from the report. Call for a free copy and be convinced.

Just the Company for you to insure with or to have agency connections.

WESTERN INDIA LIFE INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,

Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

many notebooks, wherein he drew all he observed, are scattered now in the Royal Palace at Windsor, the University of Oxford, the British Museum, and in various collections of Europe and America. But through-out them all he insists upon the fact that there must be rigid truth to Nature.

"From his earliest days he had flung himself upon that study with an unprecedented ardour of delight and curiosity. In drawing from life he had early found the way to unite precision with freedom and fire—the subtlest accuracy of expressive definition with vital movement and rhythm of line—as no draughtsman had been able to unite them before. He was the first painter to recognize the play of light and shade as among the most significant and attractive of the world's appear-ances, the earlier schools having with one consent subordinated light and shade to colour and outline. Nor was he a student of the broad, usual, patent appearances only of the world; its fugitive, fantastic, unaccustomed appearances attracted him most of all. Strange shapes of hills and rocks, rare plants and animals, unusual faces and figures of men, questionable smiles and expressions, whether beautiful or grotesque, far-fetched objects and curiosities, were things he loved to pore upon and keep in memory. Neither did he stop at mere appearances of any kind, but, having stamped the image of things upon his brain, went on indefatigably to probe their hidden laws and causes." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*)

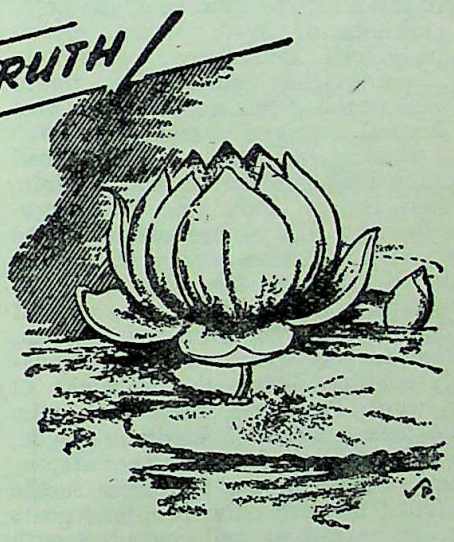
Leonardo is different from Hindu sculptors and painters of the past and of today. The attempt of the Indian artist is to reveal the "idea," and he pays very little attention to "form."

One characteristic of the best type of Greek Art was, especially in sculpture in which it was famous, to embody a great Divine Idea. Thus, all the great artists in their statues of Pallas Athene or Minerva, though they might model from a girl or a woman, tried to convey Pallas Athene as a Divine Concept of the Archetypal Mind.

The artistic message of Leonardo has influenced all Western artists profoundly. For, fundamentally it was that the form and the life are *one*, and that the more one knows the details of the form, the better one can represent the life, provided of course one has the quality of genius. In Indian philosophy it is known that *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, Spirit and Matter, Life and Form, are interblended and can never be separated. It is since the time of Leonardo that all Western schools of paint-ing and sculpture insist on the student studying anatomy or drawing from a model, so as to see the interplay of light and shade as it should be on a properly moulded limb or face. It *is* possible, as the Greeks attempted, to bring a wonderful inspiration to Art by blending the Idea with the Form, since both are of God.

—

Beauty IS TRUTH!
SO SINGS THE POET



BEAUTY is also the 'open sesame' to admiration and popularity in Society, particularly for women.
Preserve and enhance your beauty!

MARGO SOAP
helps to protect delicate skins, the foundation of all beauty, with its active Neem principles.

NEEM TOOTH PASTE
Keeps the teeth white, sparkling and healthy, the foundation and source of a charming and sweet smile.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Horse and Cow Culture of Aryans
(1600 B.C.-700 A.D.)

Writing about the role of domesticated animals in Indian History in *Science and Culture*, M. S. Randhawa observes :

The Horse :There is no evidence about the presence of the domesticated horse in India prior to the invasion of Aryan Nomads about 1600 B.C. We do not find any figure of horse in the seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, nor any bones have been recovered.

Peake and Fleure are of opinion that the horse was first tamed in the Steppes of Central Asia and South Russia. This immense grassland runs from Galicia, South Russia around the Caspian Sea, Russian Turkestan, with a narrow extension reaching the Sea of Okhtsk. The west part of this steppe was inhabited by descendants of Solutrean men, while the eastern part, for long uninhabitable due to glaciation, was later on inhabited by Mongols. Probably the horse was tamed by the inhabitants of these steppes, where Erzewalskis horse is still found wild. Though we have no positive evidence of the horse before 2000 B.C., it is inferred that the horse was domesticated before 5000 B.C. along with other animals.

In India the domesticated horse was brought by the Aryan invaders about 1600 B.C. These Kshatriyas or horsed-warriors defeated the elephant-armies of the natives of India. Their advantage lay in superior weapons of warfare, the trained horse and the sword. As Peake and Fleure remark, "The training of the horse for war, and of milch-mares as a source of an exceptionally complete food must have worked an immense advance, giving the herdsman a power over great spaces, and enabling him to organize vast stretches to gratify his ambitions and to meet his needs." After acquiring command over the horse, the Nomad horse-men marched into peripheral fertile lands of Iran, Mesopotamia, Southern Europe, India, and China, probably driven by a drought. The domestication of the horse caused a great crisis in human history which may be compared to the invention of the steamship and later on of the aeroplane in modern times. The ancient civilizations of India and Syria, based on the elephant, buffalo, zebu and the ass, were shaken to their foundations and ultimately crumbled before the onslaught of the horse and the sword. The horse was used by the Aryan Nomads for management of herds of cattle, sheep and goats in the grassland of the southern steppe, and it served a new purpose in the peripheral fertile lands. The Aryans found that not only sheep and goats but subject people can be just as well controlled with the aid of the horse. If a rebellion broke out, it could be more speedily crushed than was possible with the aid of the elephant.

The horse conquered Northern India and finally demonstrated its superiority in warfare over the elephant in 326 B.C. when Alexander invaded the northern Punjab. By the Kushan period about first century A.D., the horse had established his superiority over the elephant as far east as Mathura. On a lintel discovered from Mathura we see a procession of horse with the elephant humbly following behind. However, the acme of the horse period reached in the thirteenth century under the Mongols whose horse empire stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea. From fourteenth century onwards we see the importance of land transport decreasing as compared with sea transport with the improvement of the sailing ship. The final military use of the horse was made by the Marathas of Shivaji in the close of the seventeenth century and they played a conspicuous role in the dismemberment of the Moghul empire. From eighteenth century onwards the role of the horse as an empire builder and empire destroyer had ended and the sailing ship and finally the steamship and cannon had placed the future of the world in the hands of the Europeans.

The Ox and the Cow : While the buffalo takes delight in swimming in ponds and wallowing in mud, the ox and the cow have an aversion for water and never bathe in ponds. This indicates their origin in a dry environment and they could not be natives of monsoon jungles of India. The ancestor of present day cattle, *Bos primigenius* Bojanus, roamed all over Europe and Asia excepting the peninsulas of Arabia, Hindustan and Malaya in the Pleistocene. *Bos primigenius* Rutimayer was prominent in the rich Sivalik fauna of Northern India. Slowly the European and the Asiatic members differentiated, the former having forward-pointing horns while the latter had inward pointing horns. Falconer and Cautley found a wild variety of *Bos primigenius* which they named as *Bos nomadicus* of the Indian Pliocene. The cow and the ox were domesticated in the mountainous country of Afghanistan and Central Asia probably earlier than the horse. Peake and Fleure are of opinion that the cow could have been only tamed by people of mild and gentle manners such as those who live in mountains. It may, however, be mentioned that the presentday Afghan living in a dry country is by no means mild, though his ancestors in the comparatively wet phase of their history were certainly milder, otherwise they would not have gone in for Buddhism with so much zeal and ardour. The domestication of the cow must have taken place before 5000 B.C., for we find the existence of a dairy cult at Ur in Mesopotamia at about 4000 B.C.

Humped bulls and cows are frequently seen in the seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa as long ago as 3250-2750 B.C. Baini Prashad is of opinion that the Indus people had domesticated the hamped Zebu. There is no support for this view excepting the fact that domesticated humped cattle were found at Mohenjo-Daro about 3250 B.C. Domestication is a long process and it must have been started two or three thousand years earlier. It might very probably have been done in the mountainous regions of Baluchistan, Iran and Afghanistan. Considering that, according to the work of Vaivlov, this region was one of the centres of origin of cultivated wheats, it is likely that it was also the original centre of domestication of the humped Indian domestic cattle. Its appearance in the Sind Valley two thousand years later appears to be a subsequent event.

The art of food production by means of ox-drawn iron-pointed plough was brought to India along with the horse by Aryans about 1600 B.C. The warrior herdsmen of Central Asia introduced a more efficient method of food production in India, and their dominance over the Elephant and Buffalo civilization of ancient India is as much due to ox-drawn iron-tipped plough as to the horse. It may, however, be mentioned that they did not regard the cow as sacred. and bulls and heifers and horses were sacrificially eaten.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত
এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও যড়ঙ্গ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ।৷৹
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহু জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—প্রবাসী কার্যালয়, ১২০।২, আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Liberty to Live

Lila Ray presents in an article in *The Aryan Path* Gandhiji's economic solution in its fundamental simplicity and promise :

Lord Acton said that liberty itself was the end of all government. To say that any people is not fit to be free is to say that they choose to go unclothed, to die of starvation and diseases bred of starvation and to see their children naked and dying of starvation and diseases bred of starvation. It is to say they prefer to go without medical aid and without education, that they prefer poverty and death to prosperity and life. Does any one dare say that those who died in their hundreds of thousands in the Bengal famine of 1943 and in the Nazi concentration camps died because they were free to live?

"Your President," said Gandhi to Louis Fischer in 1942, "talks about the Four Freedoms. Do they include the freedom to be free ?"

The problem is to find a form of association which will actually make the free development of each the condition of the free development of all, which, while securing to each that freedom, will defend it and protect him with the whole common force. Such is our world that the obvious, right, simple thing appears to be the most difficult to accomplsh. Tom Paine wrote bluntly, "... make governments what they should be and they will defend themselves." The defence question is much exaggerated. People are easily quietened by it into the acceptance of something less than their due. The atom bomb makes no fundamental difference. It is only a question of degree. The game is the same though the stakes have been raised. Where and when the community is the realisation and fulfilment of the individual liberty of each of its members, men will voluntarily defend it with their lives and brains. Where the community is not that, conscription and a standing army and atom bombs will be necessary.

The community has always represented the liberty of some of its members and they have been its defenders.

Where large armies are needed they provide the commanders. The number has varied with the social pattern, being smallest in despotism and largest in democracy, smaller in aristocracy and larger in oligarchy. In none of the great modern societies do all have liberty. Partial liberty cannot content any people permanently. Monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy and the rest, where and when they have existed, have been tolerated not because they were good in themselves but because at a historical moment they may have happened to be the lesser of several evils. In their inception they have been arrangements for mutual protection but have hardened into tyrannies on the one hand and slaveries on the other, replacing liberty by licence, duty by privilege.

Democracy, which is the nearest we have got to the solution of our problem, is regarded by many as a failure and other expedients are being sought. Political democracy has not worked as well as expected chiefly because it has been combined with economic plutocracy, having been instituted at a time when people had not become as conscious of the working of economic forces as we are today. Now we know economic plutocracy and political democracy are incompatible. The assumptions behind them are contradictory. The contradiction can be resolved either by the suppression of democracy or the suppression of plutocracy. The first means political retrogression, the second, an economic revolution involving the abolition of capitalism. Fascism rescued capitalism from the dilemma by suppressing democracy and keeping economic relationships unchanged. Communism changed the economic relationships from those of a plutocracy to those of an oligarchy and suppressed political democracy as well. For the dictatorship of the proletariat *is* a dictatorship, the dictatorship of an oligarchy. It was regarded, by both Marx and Lenin, not as a desirable but as unavoidable in the transition to a classless society. They overlooked the fact that no dictatorship ever dare abdicate.

In England socialism is now attempting to pass from a plutocratic to an oligarchic economy while retaining political democracy and social aristocracy.

Another attempt at a solution is being made by Mahatma Gandhi. His approach to the problem, aimed likewise at the supersession of plutocracy, is very different. Reviewing the history of feudalism Lord Acton wrote : "When men found a way of earning their livelihood without depending for it on the good-will of the class that owned the land, the landowner lost much of his importance and it began to pass to the possessors of movable wealth." Now when men find a way of earning their livelihood without depending for it on the good-will of the class or the state that owns the instruments of production, the capitalist and the state will lose much of his and its importance and that importance will begin to pass back to the producers. Gandhi has found it. Lenin, acting on the suggestion of Marx and Engels, converted plutocratic ownership of the means of production into state ownership. But that ownership became important only when instruments of production attained a size and a price that precluded their ownership and operation by individuals or small groups. The capture of the state assumed overwhelming importance when it came to mean the capture of the ownership of the means of production.

Gandhi's procedure is to put into the hands of men instruments of production that are small, light, cheap and as efficient as modern technical knowledge can make them, which they can both operate and own, thus transforming mass production into production by the masses, the proletarian into the independent producer, incidentally abolishing the labour market. This way a point can be reached when capitalists will find themselves with large unprofitable holdings on their hands, and most of their importance gone. The present crisis in world society will have been by-passed. The state will shrink to its normal size, its pathological swelling will subside. Its normal healthy function as the servant, not the master, of man will be restored. This is the "withering away" of the state which Marx desired and Lenin hoped would come to pass, how or when they did not and could not know. One thing is certain. It will be, in the words of Gandhi, "infinitely superior to anything we have now." It is economic democracy. With social and political democracy, it makes a new social arrangement, completing the democratic pattern. Call it "total" democracy if you must. It is not totalitarian. Let us see how much nearer it brings us to our goal, to what extent it can make man, not money or land the measure and master of all things.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden		*Mill*
Bengal Cotton Estate	MARCH 1942 — 15%	SONARPUR
Tripura	" 1943 — 10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
	" 1944 — 10%	
	" 1945 — 10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For	one	year	@	4½ p.c. p.a.
"	two	years	@	5½ p.c. p.a.
"	three	"	@	6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb. Phone:—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Palestine—The National Home of the Jews

On reading the article "Squaring the Circle in Palestine" by St. Nihal Singh in the June issue of *The Modern Review* and the one entitled "Is America Fair to Islam," in the Foreign Periodicals section of the July issue, the reader has by now formed a fair idea of the Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine. With a view to furnish him with further elucidation about the affair we quote below relevant portions of "Hearings of the Inquiry Committee," published in the *Jewish Frontier*, April, 1946, from the speeches of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, who most eloquently and fervently plead before the Inquiry Committee, the justice of the Jewish claim to have a National Home and to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine :

Testimony of Dr. Chaim Weizmann

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Committee of Inquiry, needless to say, I feel a very great responsibility resting on me at this moment to try and explain to the Committee as best I can the problem which torments us for so many years, and which is causing considerable difficulty to those who are responsible for helping carry into effect its solution.

Not only the British Government, but all those nations which have been associated with the Government in approving the Mandate, in initiating the policy, in helping it on its way in the first stages, in a sense bear a certain responsibility. The fact that the League of Nations is already dissolved, or about to be dissolved —I don't know whether its final meeting has already taken place—doesn't absolve the nations of that responsibility, and I thought I might most respectfully remind you of it.

As a people, as a race, as a collectivity, the Jews are homeless, and this homelessness and the unchanging attachment of the Jews to Palestine did not begin with Hitler. It existed many, many years, many centuries before Hitler was ever thought of, long before this hideous tragedy had been enacted on us, the tragedy which would seem utterly incredible fifteen or twenty years ago.

About 6,000,000—I needn't go into it, it is sufficiently known to you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen—Jews were murdered in cold blood, and the number of Jews was reduced from 17,000,000, roughly, to something like 11,000,000 of whom I believe more than 6,000,000 today inhabit English-speaking countries.

The distribution of Jews today in round figures is, in the United States about 5,500,000, perhaps slightly less ; in the British Empire, 750,000, in the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In Palestine it is something in the neighborhood of 600,000. So together it is about 6½ million out of 11 million ; so roughly 60 per cent of the Jews find themselves in English-speaking countries or directly under English administration.

"Historical Connection"

Those statesmen who were responsible for the Mandate and for the Balfour Declaration were not dreamers. They were perhaps among the finest statesmen of that period. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, Clemenceau, President Wilson—all those who took part in the framing of this policy—they reckoned with this peculiar position of the Jews, which I have tried to paint for you, and I'm afraid, much too inadequately. They realized that the Jews have a right to collective self-expression, like everybody else—that the existence of a national home, if and when it is established and well-founded, would give poise and satisfaction and would render the Jew less unstable, even in the countries where he enjoys equality of treatment. He would feel collectively that he has found self-expression in Palestine.

They also realize that Palestine appeals powerfully to the Jews because there was an unbroken connection between the Jews and Palestine—unbroken for thousands of years, not only in the moral and religious sense, but literally a physical bond. With the exception of one or two periods—the period of the Crusades where the Jews were more or less wiped out, and the subsequent Mongol invasion of Palestine—there were always Jewish communities in Palestine and a certain amount of Jewish agriculture in Galilee. These communities were not sterile ; they were communities with a very considerable intellectual activity, which spread far beyond the confines of Palestine. And whenever there was the faintest possibility of going back, there was a movement, a literal physical movement, despite great difficulties. There was a movement from Spain, a movement from Turkey, a movement from Germany, from Poland, from England—always ships were carrying pilgrims to Palestine to come to settle there, to live there, sometimes to die there, and to teach the word of God, which spread far beyond the frontiers of Palestine.

This was realized and this was taken into account and this was embodied in the Mandate for Palestine.

Well, it may interest you that in a handbook published, if you please, by the Foreign Office, which cannot be suspected today of particular Zionist proclivities, in 1920, there is the following statement :

"The Zionism of the Bible is far anterior to the exile of Israel—even the first exile. It dates back to the pre-historic days of Israel in Egypt, and Moses was the first Zionist."

The Jewish Commonwealth

Now I know that I have touched at present on the most difficult problem, in saying that all we shall do in the transition period is merely a means to an end, the end being the Jewish State. I know that at the beginning of this great experiment, with which I had a considerable amount to do, we were told by those who initiated this experiment, by those who prompted it, "Well, we will call it a National Home. It is a somewhat vague term, but if you Jews use the opportunity which is offered to you it will eventually become a Jewish State." That was said to me repeatedly, that was repeated only recently by great British statesmen. And in spite of all that, all of these promises, not by just anybody but by responsible British leaders and statesmen, and American leaders and statesmen, the White Paper stands. We are still illegal immigrants in Palestine, we are hunted out if we come, and we have no free movement in this country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I recognize quite fully that what I ask for will meet with considerable opposition on the part of the Arabs, and I know there may be Arabs present, opponents or friends or whatever they are ; I think probably opponents, but there is no counsel of perfection in this world, and there is no absolute justice in this world. What you are trying to perform, and what we are all trying in our small way to do is just rough human justice, and I think the decision which I would like this Committee to take, if I dare to say this, would be to move on the line of the least injustice, and injustice there is going to be, and if you weigh up on the one hand how the Arabs have emerged out of this war—I do not begrudge it them—they have emerged with so many kingdoms, at any rate two kingdoms, four republics ; they will have six seats in UNO, one seat in the Security Council. To speak quite frankly, which may be forgiven, and at my age it may be permitted to be frank, I do not know if it is commensurate with what the Arabs did during this war. What is the number of their casualties ? Have they suffered so much ? If you compare it with our sufferings, with our casualties, with our conribution, I say there may be some slight injustice politically if Palestine is made a Jewish State, but individually the Arabs will not suffer. They have not suffered hitherto. On the contrary, economically, culturally, religiously, the Arabs will not be affected, not because we are so good—perhaps something may be said for the character of the Jew who has gone through hell for thousands of years, and it would stultify his own history if when he gets his slight chance he starts persecuting the Arabs. We know what it is to be a minority, we know it only too well. But there is something quite different. The Arabs have a perfect guarantee that, whatever Palestine may be, it will only be an island in an Arab sea, and the Arabs will not need to appeal or to have separate guarantees inserted in the Treaties ; the mere weight of their existence in organized States would prevent any Jew from doing them injustice even if he wanted to, and I am sure he does not want to. The position of the Arabs as a people is secure. Their national sentiments can find full expression, in Damascus, and in Cairo, and in Baghdad, and in all the great countries which will, I hope, some day build up an Arab civilization which will equal the ancient glories of these people. Palestine is to the Jews what Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus all rolled together are to the Arabs, and I think the line of least injustice demands that we should give Jews their chance, which, when carried out, will, I am sure, eventually lead to an understanding and to harmony between these two races, which are, after all, akin.

Testimony of David Ben Gurion

WHY JEWS COME TO PALESTINE

There are now some 600,000 Jews here, more than one-third born in this country, some of them living here for many centuries, not only in the towns. There are Jewish fellaheen, peasants who have lived here for centuries. . . . But the majority of us were not born in this country ; I am one of them. We came from all parts of the world, from all countries, and we came not only from countries where Jews were persecuted physically, as in Nazi Germany, Poland, Yemen, Morocco, Tzarist Russia, Persia, Fascist Italy. Many of us came from free countries where Jews were treated as citizens, and there was no persecution, like England, the United States of America, Canada, the Argentine, pre-Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, France, Egypt and other countries. Why did they come ? What is the common denominator which brought all these people, whether from Nazi Germany or from England, whether from Yemen or from Egypt ? That is what I want to tell you.

The first thing which brought them over, all of them, was to escape dependence and discrimination. I do not mean anti-Semitism. There was a great deal of talk in your Commission about anti-Semitism, and many of our people were asked to explain its origin. . . . It is for you gentiles to explain. But I am not concerned with anti-Semitism, it is not our business. I am concerned with the question why Jews have come to this country, and have come not only from countries where they were physically persecuted. They came because they felt it was unendurable to be at the mercy of others. Sometimes the others are excellent people but not always, and there is discrimination, not necessarily legal or political or economic, sometimes it's merely moral discrimination, but they do not like it as human beings with human dignity. They do not like it, and they do not see how they can change the whole world.

THE LOVE OF ZION

That is one reason why we want to come back here ; there is another reason. It is love of Zion, a deep passionate love, the love of Zion. There is no parallel to that in all of human history. It is unique, but it is a fact ; you will see it here. There are 600,000 of us here because of that deep undying love of Zion.

In evidence given to you in America, an American Arab, I believe it was John Hazam, said there was never any Palestine as a political and geographical entity, and another American Arab, a great Arab historian, Dr. Hitti, went even farther and said, and I am quoting him, "There is no such thing as Palestine in history." I agree with him entirely ; there is no such thing in history as Palestine, absolutely, but when Dr. Hitti speaks of history it means Arab history. Arab history was made in Arabia, Syria, Persia, and in Spain and North Africa. You will not find Palestine in that history.

However, Arab history is not the only history ; there is world history and Jewish history, and in those histories there is a country named Judea, or as we call it Eretz Israel, the Land of Israel. We have called it Israel since the days of Joshua, the son of Nun. There was such a country in history, there was and it is still there. It is a little country, a very little country, but that little land made a deep impression on world history, and on our history, because that country made us a people ; our people also made that country. No other people in the world made this country ; this country made no other people in the world. Today we are again beginning to make this country, and again this country is beginning to make us.

This country was the scene of many wars, of Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines and others, but it gained a place in world history, just as in Jewish history, because our people created here, perhaps a limited, but a very great civilization. This country made us a very exclusive people on one side and a universal people on the other ; exclusive in its attachment to its history, to its national and religious tradition ; very universal in its religious, social, and ethical ideas. We were told there is one God in the entire world ; that there is the unity of the human race, because every human being was created in the image of God ; that there ought to be and will be brotherhood and social justice, peace among peoples. These were our ideas ; this was our culture, and because of this, the country took its place in world history. We created here a book many books ; many were lost, many remained only in translation, but a considerable number, some twenty-four, remain in their original language, Hebrew, in the same language, Mr. Chairman, in which I am thinking now, when I am talking to you, and which the Jews in this country speak. We went into exile, we took that book with us, and in that book which was more to us than a book, we took with us our country in our hearts, in our soul, and these three, the land, the book, and the people are one for us for ever. It is an indissoluble bond. There is no material power which can dissolve it, except by destroying us physically.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India and American Opinion

In an article under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1946, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., bitterly complains about the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of facts in America over the British Government in India, straining the good relations between two white nations. The reader will form his own judgment as to his allegation of false propaganda by the Indians in America :

Any speaker endeavouring to present the British point of view about India to an American audience will receive a courteous and friendly hearing. He may be enthusiastically applauded if he is eloquent and forceful or if he has an attractive personality. But at questions time he is likely to become aware that, while some listeners, usually of the older generation, share his views and appreciate the gravity of the issue, a much larger, and sometimes clamorous, section is quite unconvinced, and derides any attempt to whitewash what is regarded as an outworn and discredited imperialism.

At the close of a crowded meeting in an American city, when the chairman thanked an eminent British speaker for his talk on India's problems, and politely invited him to come again, a voice from the audience piped up, "But not till you have given India freedom."

This typifies the widespread sentiment, especially among younger people, that Britain's control in India is wholly discreditable. The belief is that the British conquered India by force ; that they have ruthlessly exploited the country for centuries past and still systematically drain off its wealth ; that they have done little for the people's welfare ; have artfully fomented dissensions between Hindus and Muslims, and between the Indian States and Provinces, in order to retard political unity ; and that they now hold 400 sullen millions in slavery, refusing to grant the independence for which they are ripe. During the war the indictment was barbed with the thought that the lives of American boys were being needlessly sacrificed because an unfree India was incapable of a worthy war effort. Now the bogey is that unless British imperialist rule is speedily ended another and a far worse war, involving unwilling America, will assuredly break out in a few years' time between the coloured peoples of the Orient and their white oppressors.

The prejudice no doubt stems in part from the George III incident and all that followed. It reflects the basic American ideas as to democratic freedom, the inalienable rights of man, and the immorality of the government of one people by another, because government derives just powers only from consent of the governed. But the real issues of the Indian problem have been obscured, and ill-will against Britain has been fanned by subtle propaganda for political ends. The main object is to induce the United States Government to intervene and urge Britain to "give freedom" to India, or, in other words, to hand over the reins forthwith to the Congress Party organization.

There are two conspicious propaganda agencies in America which support the aspirations of the Indian Congress Party—namely, the India League of America and the National Committee for India's freedom.

The former was organized in 1937 in order to "interpret India and America to each other." It publishes a monthly bulletin, called *India Today*, which purports to "present a brief synopsis and interpretation of authentic and significant news from India." The character of this sheet can be appreciated from perusal of one of its issues. The prevailing themes are Britain's insincerity, reluctance to surrender tyrannical power, and subtle exploitation of internal cleavages.

In 1942, the League engineered the publication of a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* of September 29, proclaiming that India is America's business, and urging that President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang-kai Shek should recognize the interest of the United Nations in India's dilemma, and use their good offices to bring about the country's immediate independence. The advertisement was signed by fifty-seven Americans prominent in various walks of life, but no names of Indians appeared on the list. The idea, perhaps, was that the campaign would commend itself more to the American public if it were organized, conducted and controlled by Americans, the India League remaining in the background, and discreetly leaving in American hands all action which might have a bearing upon party politics in the United States. The list of signatories illustrates the diversity of interests, political, educational, ethical and journalistic, which were lined up in support.

India League speakers throughout the country, talented Indians and Americans in unison, continually hammer at the theme of Britain's obduracy and perfidy, and they have now captured the credulity of a large section of the American people. Americans are eager for information about India, its peoples and its problems, and anxious to know what role India is destined to play in the East, but quite naturally they are more ready to believe what a Congress Party Indian tells them about his country's politics than what the British may say by way of rejoinder. The Congress Party claims to represent all Indians who desire and work for independence, and asserts that all Indians are united against the British. The League leaders are therefore anxious to avoid verbal polemics with any Indian visitors to the United States, and sometimes bring strong influence to bear on such persons, even if they have come for purposes unconnected with politics, in order to induce them to disparage British rule.

The National Committee for India's freedom was founded in Washington in 1943. There is not much cohesion between the Committee and the India League, but they have a common purpose, to oust Britain from India. The Committee's publication, *The Voice of India*, is more substantial than *India Today*, but its tone is similar. The stated object of the Committee is to make the voice of India heard in Washington "just as the voices of all the other nations are heard there," in spite of the fact that there is an Agent-General for the Government of India in residence.

Congressman Coffee, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Committee on January 25, 1944, said, "I am proud as an American to identify myself with the cause of India's freedom, and also because it is a military necessity." It would be hard to imagine a

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF
Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)
Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad
(with 30 rare illustrations)
Price : Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World
The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.
Price : Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £ 1 or 5 Dollars.

The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British politician making a similar public utterance in London ; for instance, about betterment of the condition of the people of Puerto Rico.

At a similar meeting held in Washington on January 29, 1945, a resolution was passed in the following terms :

"This public meeting of the citizens of Washington, D.C., calls upon the United Stated Government to represent to the British Government, who are our allies, the desirability of the immediate release of the tens of thousands of political prisoners who have been imprisoned in India without any trial ; and further to follow up this necessary preliminary to help achieve India's constitutional freedom now, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We believe such action to be necessary both for speedy victory in the Far East and for the achieving of a lasting peace."

The agitation gained powerful reinforcement in 1944, through the strange leakage of a Report by Mr. William Phillips to President Roosevelt on the Indian situation in which he backed the Congress Party doctrine and disparged the Indian Army. Senator Chandler added fuel to the fire by quoting in the Senate what he said was an official cable from India to London about the incident.

The Committee and the League put forth their utmost efforts at the Hot Springs I.P.R. Conference, and at San Francisco, in order to bring the cause of India's freedom to the attention of the delegates.

Their protagonist was a lady member of the Congress Party, Mrs. Pandit, who was paying a private visit to the United States with the concurrence of the Government of India. She freely aspersed British rule and policy, and claimed also to champion the enslaved peoples of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies, thereby casting obloquy upon France and Holland as well as England.

Such obtrusive and tactless advocacy probably intended to alienate rather than to enlist sympathy in responsible quarters, but the campaign is trumpeted abroad by the authors, animosity is spurred, and the canker spreads.

Another activity was sponsored, in 1945, under the auspices of the National Committee, by Mr. Gobindram Watumull of Honolulu and Los Angeles, to collect data about Indians residing in the United States and to help the movement for immigration rights.

On the cultural side the new body is reported to be promoting the foundation of professorships and tutorships to be held by Indians at American Universities, and also of travelling scholarships to enable Indian students to come to this country in greater numbers. These are essentially laudable objects, but since candidates for both the tutorial posts and the travelling scholarships will naturally require backing from the Congress Party agencies, new outlets will be available for anti-British propaganda, and new facilities for enlisting impressionable youth.

The movement for American mediation in the Indian question is supported by many prominent citizens and influential bodies in the U.S. These include members of the extreme right ; persons with leftist or communist sympathies ; quondam isolationists and supporters of "America First"; religious pacifists who aim at the elimination of the colonial system ; idealists who would obliterate racial differences and group distinctions in pursuit of universal brotherhood ; and many others. The constitute the raw material from which a nation-wide impulse could be started, and for this reason the Indian issue now seems likely to become an element

DRINK
SNOW VIEW
DARJEELING TEA
Kamalalaya Stores L.

For
ALL
YOUR
REQUIREMENTS,
AND ON
ALL OCCASIONS
Let
KAMALALAYA
STORES, LTD.
MEET YOUR
DEMANDS
156A, Dharamtolla Street,
Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and perhaps an exploitable influence, in American domestic politics.

The agitation has, of course, received no official countenance or encouragement. The President and his spokesmen have at various times emphasized that it is not possible to 'confer independence' on any people; that advances in political freedom must be achieved by each nation primarily through its own work and effort; and that complete statehood can only be reached through periods of educational preparation and of training by the practice of more and more self-government.

But unfortunately no unofficial presentment of facts or argument seems to shake the concrete American predetermination of Britain as the Pharaoh of India, or alter the conviction that India and the Philippines are classic examples of the wrong and the right way to handle dependent peoples. No consideration is directed to the question whether, if Indians were to reach agreement about their future Constitution, they would regard as "freedom" such a set-up as the Philippines are likely to have when the promise of independence is implemented in 1946—hedged, as it must be, with reservations as to United States requirements in the fields of strategic defence, control of foreign policy, and economic relationship.

So a mirage of the Indian problem continues to attract the gaze of young America. Bad feeling against the British is engendered, with corresponding unpleasant reactions in the British Commonwealth.

Suspicion and mistrust beget invective and acid retort, and thus the friendship and co-operation between two great guardians of world peace may deteriorate. The peril is imminent and real. What can be done about it?

India's future destiny is a problem of political science which needs to be approached without emotional prejudice and to be studied in the dry light of history, with due regard to international relationships and the trend of human development. Issues are involved which will affect the happiness of a large part of the world's population. Grievous penalties might follow upon mistaken diagnosis or untimely experiment. Mistakes have been committed, and wrongs done, by the British, but they have led the peoples of India a long way on the road to nationhood, and whatever the merits or demerits of Britain's tutelage may be, American criticism of it may be pointed, as between brethren, but need not be venomous.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Abroad

The Voice of India, April, 1946, gives us the following information about anti-Indian propaganda by the British in American magazines:

The April issue of the *National Geographic Magazine* carried an article by Peter and Frances Muir under the caption "India Mosaic.' It is a pity that the authors chose to peddle their subtle propaganda through the beautiful pictures accompanying the article. Their political comments are reminiscent of Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*. They have catalogued and eulogized the blessings of the benevolent British rule that abolished suttee, built railroads, and, if you please, abolished famine. This, in face of the tragic fact that not long ago three million Indians perished in the Bengal famine—which the authors attribute entirely to the Japanese conquest of Burma and the curtailment of rice supplies from there, completely ignoring the fact that administrative incompetency has been blamed both by non-officials and officials for the aggravation of famine. They do not seem to be aware that a new famine is haunting India's perennially semi-starved millions. No one is blaming the British for deliberately

CABINET MISSION IN INDIA

By Prof. A. C. Banerjee and Mr. D. R. Bose

To be published shortly

READY FOR SALE

History Of India

Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.
Prof. A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S.
Complete in One Volume. Rs. 12-8

Post-War Banking In India

By R. M. Mitra, B.A., A.I.I.B. Rs. 3-8

HOLOCAUST Rs. 4-8

(Story of the Second World War)
By S. L. Ghose

READY FOR SALE

Eastern Frontier Of British India Rs. 10

By A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S.

Indian Constitutional Documents Price Vol. I Rs. 7
Price Vol. II Rs. 10

By the same author.

Hand Book Of Civics

By A. K. Sen, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.)
London. Rs. 6

A. MUKHERJEE & Co.

COLLEGE SQUARE.
Phone B. B. 380 : CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

creating famines, but is it necessary to hand them bouquets for the elimination of famines from India?

The authors play up the anti-Congress leaders like Jinnah, who is hailed as leader of ninety million Muslims; Ambedkar, as leader of sixty million Untouchables. And of course, Gandhi is referred to as a shrewd psychologist who adopted renunciation because it appeals to the Indian masses.

We regret that a magazine like the *National Geographic* should lend its pages for such insidious political propaganda. However, we recall that once the editors used an article on India from Lord Halifax, the British ambassador to Washington; in spite of its scholarly tone, its approach to the entire political problem of India was thoroughly British and not impartial.

Sir Frederick Puckle has contributed an article in *Foreign Affairs* of April, 1946, under the caption "The Pakistan Doctrine: Its Origins and Power." It attempts to analyze the relationships between Hindus and Muslims against the historical background. It recognizes that at certain periods attempts at synthesis of two religions and two ways of life were made, but by and large the attempts were unsuccessful. It seeks to explain, if not completely vindicate, the present demand for Pakistan in terms of the Muslim fears of Hindu domination, and in terms of the Muslim sense of superiority toward Hindus. According to the writer, "Historically Pakistan has a basis in the pattern which was emerging in India when British intervention checked natural developments."

We cannot here go into any elaborate analysis of the historical background nor explain the basic weakness of Sir Frederick's thesis. It is enough to point out that the writer does not anywhere let the reader know that there are vast numbers of Muslims, even in spite of Jinnah's vociferous campaign for Pakistan, who are not yearning for Pakistan. And significantly enough, Sir Frederick does not even hint that his own government and his own people were very largely responsible for accentuating the differences between Hindus and Muslims. It is they who introduced the system of separate votes for separate communities, who deliberately encouraged Jinnah as sole spokesman of India's ninety million Muslims, who, in fact, sought to crush the Congress and boost every sectarian element in India, with the hope that jointly they could be used to counteract the growing national demand for freedom. Pakistan is the inevitable result of Britain's policy of divide and rule. On the eve of their declared willingness to depart from India, the British have created there a situation that will take Indians years to disentangle.

Watumull Scholarship Awards

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles announces the award of twelve scholarships this year to the graduate students listed below who were chosen from among a large group of applicants.

1. *American History, Government and Foreign Policies*: Mr. Devavrat Nhanubhai Pathak, M.A., Bombay University.
2. *Agriculture*: Mr. Sankatha Prasad, M.Sc., Benares Hindu University.
3. *Education*: Mr. Salamat Ullah, M.Sc., B.T., Aligarh Muslim University.
4. *Education*: Miss Binapani Roy, M.A., Lucknow University.
5. *Economics and Sociology*: Mr. T. M. Joshi, M.A., Bombay University.
6. *Political Science*: Dr. Hanam Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow University.
7. *Home Economics and Nursing*: Miss Sushila Maneklal Kusumgar, M.A., Indian Women's University, Ahmedabad.
8. *Applied Physics*: Mr. Kantilal M. Gatha, B.Sc., Electrical Engineering, Benares Hindu University.
9. *Applied Chemistry*: Dr. Madhab Chandra Nag, D.Sc., Dacca University.
10. *Sanitation and Public Health*: Dr. P. R. Venkataraman, Ph.D., Bombay University.
11. *Education*: Miss Hari Valiram Vaswani, M.A., Benares Hindu University.
12. *Public Health*—Maternity and Child Care: Dr. (Miss) Ganga F. Lakhani, M.B.B.S., Punjab University.

All of the above are lecturers, instructors or full professors in Indian Universities, and will return to those institutions to teach for at least three years after studying here.

The foundation will arrange for the admission of its scholars into those American universities and technological institutes which offer the finest courses in the subjects the scholars have chosen for research. Since transportation is apparently easing up, it is expected that all students will be able to reach the United States early in the fall of this year.—(*The Voice of India*)

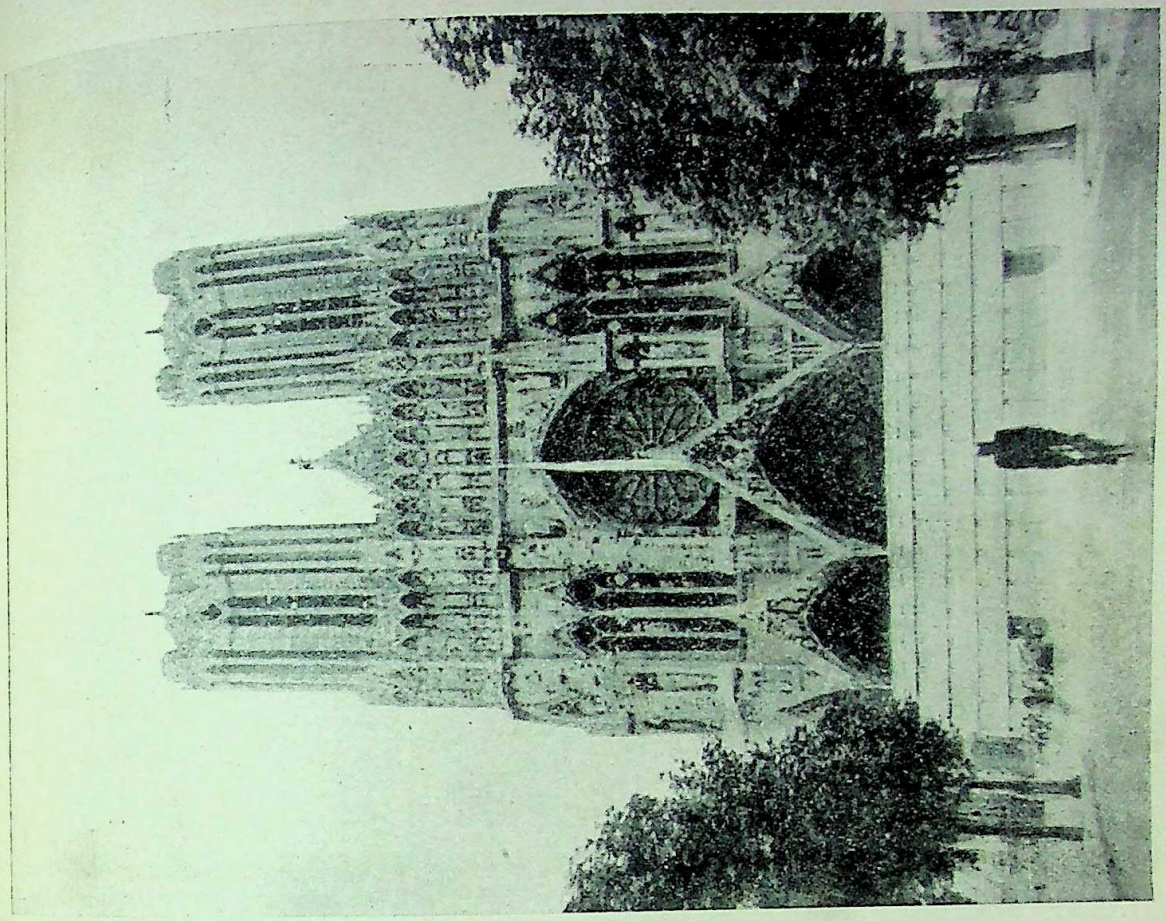


Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

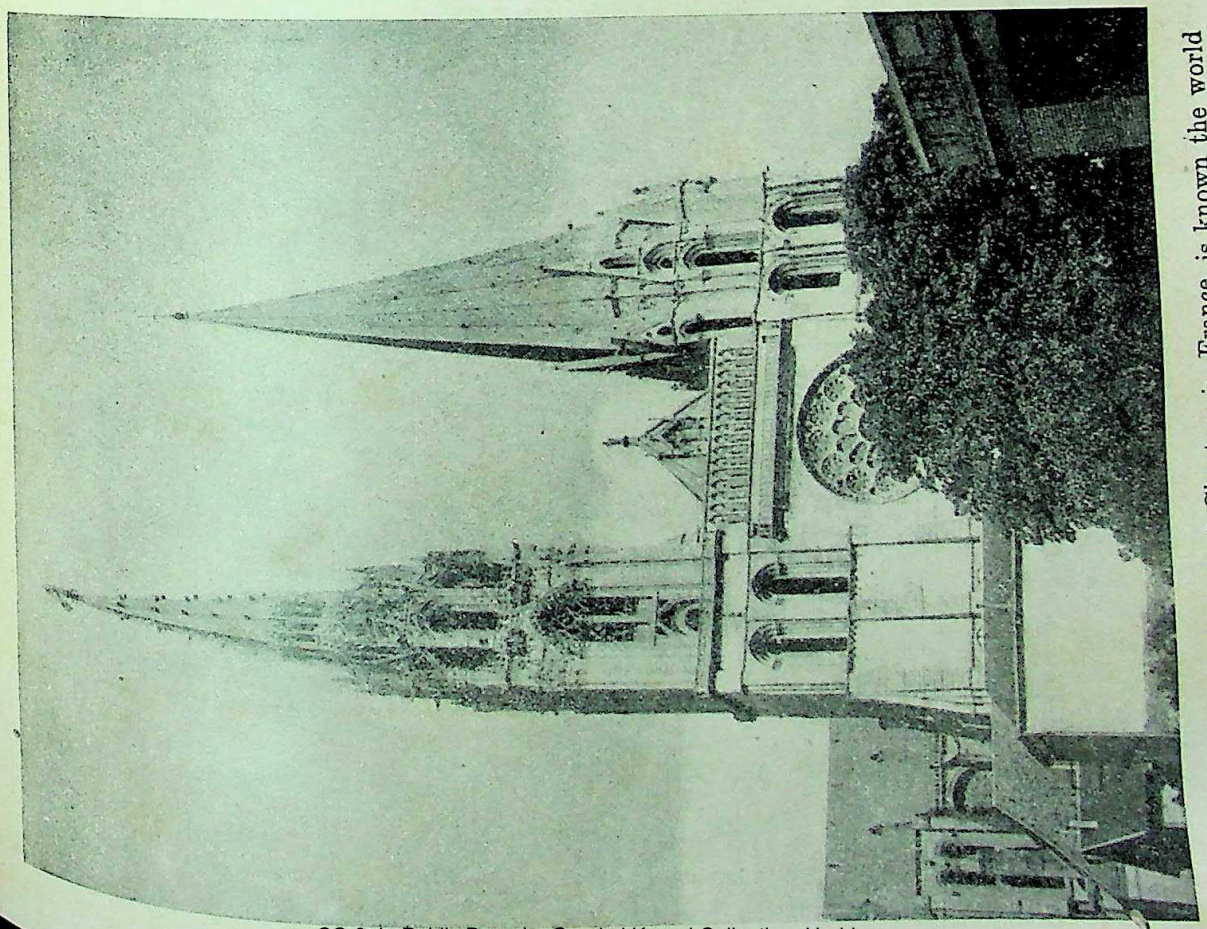
Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, PRABASI Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



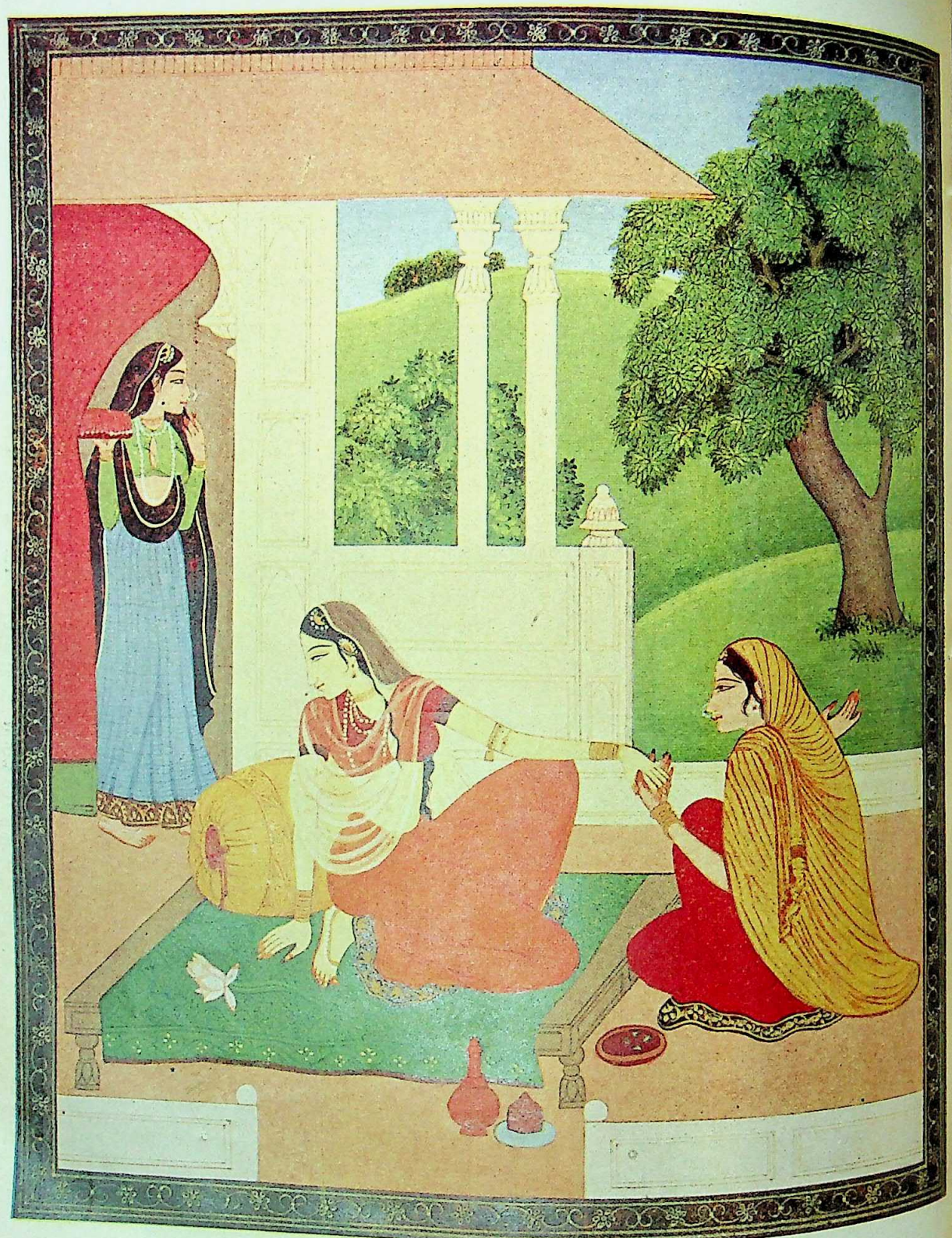
The famous Cathedral of Rheims, coronation church of French Kings



The 12th century Cathedral of Charters in France is known the world over as "The Jewel of Christian Civilization"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE LOVE-LORN LADY

By Tilak Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1946

VOL. LXXX, NO. 3 WHOLE NO. 477

NOTES

The Interim Government

India has taken the first hurdle in her race for independence, through the formation of the Interim Government by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Many difficulties, great and little, lie ahead, but none of them should be insurmountable if the Congress keeps true to its ideals. Needless to say, the most difficult task ahead will be to meet and unravel the communal tangles that are being continuously woven through the intransigence of the Muslim League. British Imperialism has left many legacies of evil import for this country but nothing so virulently poisonous as this revival of mediaeval religious animus. This virus was injected into the veins of Indian Nationals by Viceroys Curzon and Minto and developed into a deadly pest through the fostering of successive Viceroys and their bureaucratic officials until it became a raging plague during the regimes of Irwin (now Halifax) and Linlithgow, the real foster-parents of the Muslim League.

The Congress in the past has committed many errors and anomalies in dealing with the deadly evil of communal strife. the most heinous being its acts of omission. Instead of fighting this evil, the Congress has tried compromise, in between long periods of ostrich-like deliberate refusals to see the impending danger. The results have been disastrous, needless to say. The present situation, which is ominous, calls for extreme vigilance and firmness tempered with moderation. The real danger lies in overlooking the fact that the Muslim League is the last hope and the last throw of British Imperialism in keeping a stranglehold on Indian Nationalism. The League cannot exist without the active and powerful aid of British interests and, *per contra* British domination over the political and economic affairs can never be eliminated so long as the Muslim League is allowed to proceed along the path it has chosen. There is no hope that by merely postponing the evil day we shall ever get rid of this deadly disease that has eaten into the vitals of a large section of our compatriots. On the other hand, if the Congress starts back-sliding while in the Interim Government, there is no saying as to how deep in the abyss it will land the country. There must be no false ideas about "generosity," no theatrical staging of the "Prodigal Son" act. What is there to be generous about ? Every Muslim Indian is entitled to 100 per cent of his birth-rights, be he Muslim Leaguer or Nationalist. But every Hindu—including the Sikhs—Parsi, Christian or Buddhist, is likewise entitled to 100 per cent of his birth-rights. Neither Pandit Nehru nor Lord Wavell have any obligation to deprive Peter in order to placate Paul, and any settlement which is not on a truly democratic basis would be dishonourable and illusory. Let not Pandit Nehru be misled by the so-called "appeals to generosity" and the Devil's advocacy in the British press, at home and abroad. *Let him remember the role played by the British press in China during 1931-39.*

We conclude by extending our felicitations to Pandit Nehru on his formation of the Interim Government. He has chosen an excellent group of colleagues in whose hands the country's interests would be safe. There is the question of co-operation from the Permanent Officialdom who are not used to working always in the interests of the people. But there is the inherent discipline in the services and if the Chief Executive puts his weight behind the Cabinet decisions—and we see no reason to doubt that he will do so—then the work should soon proceed smoothly. The portfolios so far announced are :

External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations : Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Defence : Sardar Baldev Singh.
Home including Information and Broadcasting : Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
Finance : Dr. John Mathai.
Communications : Mr. Asaf Ali.
Agriculture and Food : Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

To Our Readers

We owe an apology to our readers for the late publication of this issue of The Modern Review. *The Postal strike, the deliberate hold-up in working and subsequent strike by the Press Employees Association of Calcutta placed great difficulties in our path during July and August. The terrible riots that followed put a complete stop to our work, situated as our office is in one of the storm-centres. Work was at a complete standstill until the 28th of August and even today we are working with a depleted staff and drastically restricted working hours. We hope to be able to take up the slack within the next few weeks, but in the meanwhile we must ask for some indulgence from our constituents.*—THE EDITOR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Labour : Mr. Jagjivan Ram.
Health, Education and Arts : Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
Legislature, Posts and Air : Syed Ali Zaheer.
Industries and Supplies : Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.
Works, Mines and Power : Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.
Commerce : Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

The responsibilities that this Cabinet will have to shoulder will be very great and very soon it will have to face momentous decisions. They are assured of the support of hundreds of millions of this country's nationals and this fact should enable them to meet all exigencies and emergencies without any hesitation.

The Calcutta Riots

The Muslim League Supreme Council met in Bombay and on the 29th of July declared for "Direct Action." 16th August was fixed as a day for the initiation of the movement. Fiery speeches containing thinly veiled threats of Civil War and drastic action against "Quislings" followed. The League Press and the League spokesmen started a tirade against the Congress in particular and Hindus in general. In Calcutta, the League papers started stepping up their programme of incitement causing great apprehension amongst all Nationalist circles.

Then followed the declaration of August 16th as a public holiday in Bengal and Sind, the two provinces where Pakistani Ministries were in power. In Sind, the Governor, being a veteran I.C.S. man, knew what would be the consequences of such a holiday, and further the Chief Secretary of the Province was a dutiful person. The holiday was therefore declared to be illegal and was cancelled without anything untoward happening. It is to be noted here that the Governor of Sind, who approved of this action on the part of his Chief Secretary, is far from being anti-Muslim League—indeed, on the contrary. The Governor of Bengal being a newcomer could not even imagine what was being planned and as for his advisers, e less said for the present the better.

The Nationaist members of the Bengal Legislative Council expressed great concern at this ominous move on the part of the Bengal Ministry and the Leader of the European group added his support to the voice of opposition. But the Chief Minister was unconcerned, since he was safe with his British-given majority, and as for the life and liberties of the Hindus in Bengal, what concern was that of the Muslim League? He uttered some airy remarks about the holiday being "a far better way of avoiding conflicts than persons going round and throwing stones at shops or dragging out people from trams, buses and motor cars and burning those and thereby enforcing their wishes," added a few lies about the Congress and then steam-rollered the opposition's motion out of existence. No promises were made, indeed no notice was even taken of the demand for the protection of the non-League section of the public in Bengal. Ever since the day when British bureaucracy, acting through its major-domo Ramsay Macdonald, had delivered the Province of Bengal into the hands of the Muslim League, oppression and enslavement of the Hindus of that province had been the main objective of the Pakistan Movement, and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy saw no reason to deviate from the programme. If anything untoward happened, the League spokesmen would, utter lies, or, if they were blue in the face, blaming the Hindu, like the Wolf blamed the Lamb in *Aesop's Fables*. The "Holiday-makers" would naturally escape punishment and their holiday enjoyment would be further enhanced through the booty they would amass through their gentle pastime of "hunt the Hindu." And since all true-blue Britishers would be pleased any way with this fresh Pakistani insurance against "Quit India," so why bother?

Meanwhile, the programme of incitement reached new heights. Pamphlets and circulars were distributed broadcast amongst the hirelings and the fanatic camp-followers of Mr. Jinnah. An extract from one such pamphlet will serve as a fair example.

> In our history the month of Ramjan is sacred to Islam and in the Koran this month has been held in the highest esteem. The Koran was revealed in this month and Mohammad was accepted as Prophet in this month.
>
> In this month of Ramjan, the first open war between Islam and Kaffers started and Mussalmans got the permission to wage Jehad against and *kill the Kaffers* and Islam secured a splendid victory. In this Ramjan month we were victorious in Mecca and *idol worshippers were eliminated.* In this month, the foundation of Islam was laid. According to the wishes of God, the All-India Moslem League has chosen this sacred month for launching this Jehad for achieving Pakistan.*

Lorry loads of Muslim Leaguers, some of them in green uniform, began going round the city and its outskirts shouting slogans of Jehad (holy war against infidels) and uttering war-cries of Pakistan. Non-Bengali Muslims were prominent in this parade, which became more and more intensified as the day approached.

The uneasy dawn of the 16th found large bands of "processionists" armed with long sticks, iron rods, bludgeons and sharp weapons parading the city all over with League flags. Any shop that was even partially open was immediately stoned and the shopkeepers belaboured. Vehicular traffic was forcibly stopped and the passengers beaten up. Sikh taxi-drivers were a special target and even lone cyclists did not escape. Any resistance merely increased the fury of the "peaceful processionists," looted shops, cracked heads and stab-wounds being the reply given to protests or remonstrances. *Police were significantly inactive, indeed the City was totally innocent of police protection.* The first case of violence was at Manicktola corner where a poor milk-man was assaulted, his milk spilt and utensils smashed up. A Hindu-owned sweetmeat shop nearby was looted, broken up and the shop-keepers assaulted. Similar occurrences happened all over the City, the Leaguers bludgeoning the non-Leaguers into submission without the slightest interference from the police.

Having thus succeeded in terrorising and driving the Hindus off the streets the joyous processionists then went to the *maidan* where a mammoth meeting was in session soon after mid-day. Pakistan flags and

---

* The above is an extract from an Urdu pamphlet published by Mahammad Usman, Secretary, Calcutta District Muslim League, and printed at Eastern Art Press. 12, Balai Dutta Street, Calcutta. Mr. Usman is in Calcutta at present.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jehad banners there were in plenty, but they were outnumbered by far by the long-sticks, bludgeons and daggers that the "peaceful processionists" carried with them. Fiery speeches were delivered inciting the listeners to a frenzy and a Jehad (holy war) was declared on the (Hindu) infidels. The vast gathering split into large mobs uttering frenzied howls and brandishing their weapons. These then streamed into the main thoroughfares breaking open Hindu shops and murderously assaulting the poor unfortunate Hindus they could find. The arrangements were perfect for the programme of loot, arson, rape and murder and truck-loads of goondas armed with dangerous weapons and incendiary material were rapidly sent to the more distant parts to reinforce the local hooligans. Soon the city was ablaze from North to South and from East to West. The telephone wires were jammed with frantic appeals for police-aid from Hindus of all sections of the city, *but these appeals were disregarded in toto.* Even where by chance there were some police, they seldom did lift a finger, excepting in certain instances where they bestirred themselves in gleaning some loot. In some cases the police present are alleged to have said that they had orders not to interfere in such political demonstrations. *It is possible that the higher European executive of the police had decided that the 16th August demonstration would be a golden opportunity to "learn" the Hindu to protest against police shooting and beating up school-boy processions.*

The Hindus of Calcutta gradually realized that denial of police-aid was part of the programme. It was not as if there were not enough force at the disposal of the authorities. Armed police and Anglo-Indian armed sergeants were there in plenty, sitting idle and twiddling their thumbs. And further there was a sufficiently large military force available at a minute's notice. *Indeed if malice, lust and cretinism had not prevailed and prompt action had been taken in the afternoon of the 16th then thousands of Hindu and Muslim lives and fifty to sixty million rupees worth of property would have been saved.*

The situation soon became precarious for the Hindus, all over Calcutta. The entire city was at the tender mercies of tens of thousands of armed ruffians mad for loot, rape and murder. Their Fuehrer had declared a Jehad, and thousands of gangsters had been imported to reinforce them. Further they seemed immune from the action of Law, for, the police had so far been mostly lookers-on.

After the initial panic had subsided, the Hindus in desperation began to gather together in defence groups and fierce resistance was given to the bands of desperadoes that were attacking the Hindu areas. Soon resentment at this black treachery began to mount high and in certain areas retaliation began. By night-fall of the 16th the city was transformed into an Inferno resounding with the cries of the dying and wounded and the fierce battle-cries of the attackers and defenders. Curfew was declared but no definite attempt at the restoration of law and order was noticeable. The sky reflected the glow of a hundred fires while the streets were almost completely blacked out due to the streetlamps not being lit. To cap all the telephone service broke down almost completely.

Mass butchery started with the early dawn of Saturday, while loot and arson spread like wild fire all over the city. The police had let the situation deteriote till it was completely out of control and yet military aid was not called for. As the day lengthened Hindu retaliation began to mount high, till by evening, the attackers became the attacked with determined bands of Hindus attempting to break through into the predominantly Muslim localities. It was only then, late in the evening of the 17th, that the League authorities asked for military aid for the police, which was instantly forthcoming. Military action began against the Hindus, for the protection of the Muslims, and many Hindus were shot down in the remote sidestreets, where no disturbance had taken place, during the early hours of the 18th. But this was stopped after strong protests were registered with the authorities. Meanwhile, the Hindus in Muslim areas were left mostly to their fate, though volunteer rescue groups began to function with the help of sympathetic military patrol officers.

The carnage continued for two more days until the military took matters entirely into their own hands and very large forces were employed in penetrating deep over a widespread area. The situation was brought under control only after the direction and control of affairs relating to law and order had virtually passed out of the hands of the League Minister-in-charge of Law and Order, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, and his henchmen in officialdom.

Panic continued and still continues, and hardly a day passes without some unwary Hindu or Hindus being stabbed in the back. Restoration of peace is nowhere in sight nor does there seem to be any organised attempt at it. Peace committees are being formed, it is true, but they are composed in the main of persons on whom people have little faith, if any at all.

There is not enough space in these columns to give fuller details of this horrible catastrophe, and indeed, full assessment of the damage, in lives and in property and treasure, has not yet been made. The casualties amount to between six to eight thousand killed and fifteen to twenty thousand wounded while the value of property looted and destroyed amounts to anything between five to seven crores of rupees, Hindu property, looted, damaged and destroyed, being nearly 90 per cent of the total.

The League spokesmen, from Mr. Jinnah downwards, are trying to place the blame for this horrible orgy of death and destruction at the door of the Congress. This was only to be expected as it follows the League pattern of planning. But if the matter had not been so tragic, one should have been amused by the ludicrous side of this brazen lie. If the Congress in Bengal had really possessed even one-twentieth of the capacity for organization attributed to it by such accusations by the League, then Nationalism in Bengal would not have been in the terrible predicament it has been placed in during the last ten years. Indeed, excepting for the press reports of the interviews of a few of the leaders with the Governor, the people of Calcutta had no reason to be even aware of the existence of the Congress during the first few fateful days. The League has unwittingly paid a great compliment to the Congress in general and the B.P.C.C. in particular, and the Congress should be thankful for it.

An Enquiry Commission has been appointed, and all nationalist organizations in Bengal should throw off their lethargy and discharge at least a fraction of their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

duty to the public, on whose loyal support they have been capitalizing. We have no hesitation in condemning all suggestions for boycotting the Enquiry Commission as being idiotic. Nothing might come out of it, but all the same the fullest possible bulk of evidence should be placed on record, and all steps should be taken to prevent tampering with evidence and the suborning of witnesses. Those who have suffered should be assured of support and thus helped towards throwing off their defeatist attitude.

Whole volumes might be written on the terrible happenings during the Great Riot. We have neither the time nor space available for recording them excepting for a few salient features. One is the strange apathy of the police towards Hindu suffering and the disinclination of the keepers of Law and Order to call in the Military, until the tables had been turned. Another point is the complete immunity that the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and, excepting a few rare cases, even the Indian Christians enjoyed during the riots. There was a minor attack on the *Statesman* offices, but that was probably a mistake committed by imported ruffians, who were probably checked as soon as those in command arrived on the scene. This immunity is significant since the Direct Action was stated to be directed primarily against the British by the League "High Command."

Hospital Admissions of Riot Victims on August 16

Much play has been made by the League of the supposed "fact" that "By about noon on Friday (the 16th August), the Mussulman injured formed the largest number in the Campbell Hospital, that by the end of the day more than 75 per cent of the total 350 admissions in the Medical College Hospital were Muslims. Of the total admissions on the first day in all hospitals of Calcutta—taking into account the first fifty admissions in each hospital—the Muslims were by far the larger number," etc., etc. Needless to say that like all statements of "facts" by the League, here also the premises are false as well as the deductions. Our information is that the three biggest hospitals show the following record :

Medical College : First case, brought at 7-15 a.m. —a Muslim carpenter. He was stabbed in Keshab Sen Street, a thickly populated Muslim area mostly inhabited by Muslim *goondas*.

Second case—a Hindu, brought at 7-35 a.m.

Total for August 16—435. Muslim 207; Hindu 176 and *unknown* 52.

Campbell Medical Hospital : On 16th August—first admission at 9 a.m. (Hindu); second, at 9-30 a.m. (Hindu); third, at 9-30 a.m. (Muslim).

Within 11 a.m. total cases brought 14—Hindus 7 and Muslims 7.

Total cases on 16th August, 132.—Hindus 67 and Muslims 65.

Carmichael Medical College Hospital : On 16th August—first admission at 7-45 a.m. (Hindu); second, at 8-30 a.m. (Hindu); third, at 9 a.m. (Hindu); fourth, at 9 a.m. (Hindu); fifth, at 9-30 a.m. (Hindu); sixth, at 9-30 a.m. (Muslim).

Total admission up to 12 noon on 16th August, 16. (Hindus 11 and Muslims 5).

Congress Resolution on Calcutta Riots

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on the Calcutta Riots. The resolution was released for publication on August 31 :

The Working Committee have read with deep sorrow reports about the recent happenings in Calcutta in connexion with the observance by the Muslim League of Direct Action Day on August 16 and on subsequent days. They deplore the serious loss of life and property and condemn in particular the acts of brutality committed against defenceless persons, especially women and children. The Committee offer their sympathy to the innocent sufferers of whatever community and party and call upon them to meet the situation with courage, forbearance and fortitude.

On July 29, the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution deciding upon direct action. In support of the resolution, inflammatory speeches were made, and subsequently speeches and statements and pamphlets by responsible members of the League and Ministers, and articles in some League newspapers have served to inflame a large section of the Muslim masses.

The Government of Bengal declared August 16 a public holiday in spite of protests, and thereby gave an impression that the observance of August 16 was enjoined by the Government and that persons not joining in the observance could claim or get no protection from the Government.

It appears that processionists carried big bamboo sticks, swords, spears, daggers and axes which they brandished when ordering people to shut their shops from the early morning of August 16 and mercilessly assaulted anybody who declined or hesitated to close his shop. Stabbing and looting started early in the day and guns are said to have been used by hooligans in many places. Murders in most brutal circumstances, looting and burning of houses on a large scale followed and lasted for three or four days, resulting in the death of several thousand persons and the looting and burning of property worth crores of rupees.

There was practically no police, or traffic police, to be seen on August 16 and even the precaution of sending foot and mounted police to accompany processions, as is done with Moharram and other processions was not taken ; even when police were available they rendered no help to peaceful citizens, and frantic appeals for help to officers in charge of police stations were not heeded and the people were told to save themselves as best they could. The curfew order was not enforced, even after it was proclaimed, for the first two nights. Although no transport was available to the public, hooligans used motor lorries. Petrol was freely used for committing arson. Houses and furniture and other articles were smashed or burnt and whatever could be removed was carried away. Dead bodies littered the streets and many dead and dying persons were thrust into manholes of underground sewers or thrown into the river.

The military were not called out till long after the havoc had commenced. In some places even the police participated in looting. After the initial orgy of murders, loot and arson, Hindus and others

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

retaliated and indulged in reprisals wherever they could and a large number of Muslims were killed.

It is satisfactory to note, however, that in the midst of mutual slaughter and inhuman barbarities, there were cases where Hindus gave shelter to Muslims in distress and Muslims gave protection to Hindus in difficulty.

The Committee are concerned to note that communal tension in other places has increased and conflicts resulting in murders have arisen. There is a general apprehension that this may extend and, unless checked in time, may become very widespread. It is the primary duty of every citizen to prevent this and of every Government to maintain peace and ensure protection to its peaceful citizens.

In view of the very serious nature of the riots, the like of which has never before happened in any part of the country, it is essential in the opinion of the Working Committee that a thorough inquiry be held by an impartial tribunal which can command the confidence of the public into the circumstances preceding August. 16, the incidents of that day and the following days and the steps taken by the Government, both before and during the riots, to meet the situation.

The Working Committee place on record their opinion that the Government of Bengal utterly failed to maintain peace and give protection of life and property to peaceful citizens.

The Committee realize that the wounds inflicted not only on the bodies but also on the spirit and self-respect of the people will take long to heal. Nevertheless, they appeal to them to forget and forgive and to utilize this terrible experience for re-establishing goodwill and friendly relations, which have been so rudely disturbed during recent times, between the different communities. The Working Committee are of opinion that the communal problem cannot be solved by intimidation and violence, but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration.

The "Statesman" on Calcutta Riots

The *Statesman*, responsible for expressing British opinion in Calcutta, was unsparing in its condemnation of the Bengal Government on whose shoulders the blame for the great carnage was squarely and fairly put. A few relevant extracts from its comments made on different dates closely following the event are given below. The *Statesman* can never be accused of Hindu leanings, foremost in the support of the British community in Bengal and their spokesman, this newspaper has always been a champion of the League, markedly so during the Cabinet Mission negotiations. In the light of the remarks, the hollowness, falsity and dishonesty of the statement made by the Muslim League can be easily gauged. On August 18 under the caption "Calcutta's Ordeal," the *Statesman* writes :

> The Government of Bengal has failed lamentably in judgment and executive ability. By forcing a general holiday on the public on the Muslim League's day of direct action it has brought about the consequences that many feared. Their fears were vigorously set out by the Opposition in the Legislative Council, and would have been vigorously set out and supported by a large vote in the Assembly *had the Chair not rejected an adjournment motion*. From early on Friday there was violence in the streets, which increased rapidly in the early afternoon as processions made their way to the big demonstrations on the *maidan*. Ruffians in the crowd armed with lathis knocked pedestrians and bystanders about, bands of ruffians ran about the city in lorries to assault people and smash up property.
>
> The full story of what happened cannot be told yet. The sum of tragedy known at the time of writting is over 270 killed, more than 1,600 injured, about 900 buildings on fire, much looting in many parts of the city. Direct action day has given the city two days of horror. Violence was feared, though not on so unrestrained a scale, when the Government decided on action that was certain to produce inflammatory language and communal clashes in the streets. There was, however, some assurance from those arranging the demonstration that it would be peaceful and orderly, though when a holiday was announced and explained as a precaution against clashes in the streets that might lead to larger disturbances it was obvious that Ministers themselves were dubious. That being so, it was incumbent on them to take precautions against a breakdown of civic order. This, it was expected, would be done. The degree of their failure to think and act rightly is visible all over Calcutta today.
>
> Police and firemen have had an overpowering task. In places the mob was so vicious that it would not let the firemen work. Calcutta is a large city ; its protectors against violence and disaster cannot be everywhere at once. *It was obvious from an early hour that some of those who were set on disrupting the city's peace were privileged.* The bands of ruffians rushing about in lorries, stopping to assault and attack and generally spreading fear and confusion, found the conveyances they wanted. On a day when no one else could get transport for their lawful occasions these men had all they wanted ; *it is not a ridiculous assumption that they had been provided for in advance.* Nor is it straining probability to believe that the groups and individuals who roamed the streets shouting about a Jehad, an observation we make from our own hearing, made things very much worse than they might have been. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M.R.*)

On August 20, the *Statesman* repeated what it wrote two days ago, and under caption "Disgrace Abounding," made the following comment :

> On Calcutta's horrible ordeal we gave verdict two days ago. Owing however to the difficulties of producing and distributing a newspaper in the stricken city, that verdict could not reach all our readers. We condemned unsparingly the Beng. Government for lamentable failure in judgment and executive ability.
>
> That verdict we repeat. The origin of the appalling carnage and loss in the capital of a great Province, we believe the worst communal rioting in India's history, was a political demonstration by the Muslim League. Bengal's is a Muslim League Ministry. No other major Indian Province possesses one. Sind hardly counts, being small and politically peculiar. Of all India's provincial Minis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tries, the Bengal Ministry, therefore, as the outstanding League Ministry, should have been the most scrupulous in ensuring that such a political demonstration caused no disturbance. Maintenance of law and order is any Ministry's prime obligation, and the obligation on the Bengal Ministry, in fulfilment of the League's declared policy of keeping *Direct Action Day* peaceful, was unique.

But instead of fulfilling this, it undeniably, by confused acts of omission and provocation, contributed rather than otherwise to the horrible events which have occurred. No balanced person would charge it with having deliberately planned a catastrophe of such magnitude. Nevertheless, in retrospect, its conduct before the riots stands open to the inference—not only by its political opponents—that it was divided in mind on whether rioting of some sort would be good or bad. Whatever truth such ugly inference may contain, the Ministry's utter, hideous failure to prevent what, for its own honour's sake and that of its party, it should have been at particular pains to avoid, is in any case blatant. It has fallen down shamefully in what should be the main task of any Administration worth the name. The bloody shambles to which this country's largest city has been reduced is an abounding disgrace, which owing to the Bengal Ministry's pre-eminence as a League Ministry, has inevitably tarnished seriously the All-India reputation of the League itself.

In a second editorial on the same day, the following remarks were made which indicates that previous preparations had carefully been made. Specific allegations of goondas having used even the Chief Minister's special petrol permits have also been made in the Calcutta press and as yet stand uncontradicted. The *Statesman* writes :

> This is not a riot. It needs a word found in mediaeval history, a fury. Yet "fury" sounds spontaneous, and there must have been some deliberation and organisation to set this fury on its way. The horde who ran about battering and killing with 8 ft. lathis may have found them lying about or bought them out of their own pockets, but that is hard to believe. We have already commented on the bands who found it easy to get petrol and vehicles when no others were permitted on the streets. It is not mere supposition that men were imported into Calcutta to help in making an impression.

On August 21, this newspaper again wrote :

> The present Muslim League Ministry's primary responsibility for the bloody shambles to which its capital has been reduced is, as we indicated yesterday inescapable. Whether, nevertheless, it can contrive to remain unaltered in office, is the question. Already, in view of the manifest administrative breakdown that has occurred, speculation turns naturally towards the provision for breakdown in the constitution under Section 93. Whether, in fairness, this Section should be applied is, however, unfortunately not at the moment only a provincial problem. It must depend partly on what policy the Congress party followed [illegible] Muslim representation in the new Central Government. But if Section 93 is not applied, and the present Bengal Ministry succeeds in remaining unchanged in power, [illegible] assuredly it would be held in active hatred and contempt, would be an object of sustained fear and detestation, in the eyes of disquietingly many of the Province's inhabitants—for the things done, and not done, in Calcutta this month cannot reasonably be expected to be soon forgotten. Such a sentiment widely entertained towards an established Administration throughout a populous Province, would be a matter of all-India concern.

On August 22, the *Statesman* once again returned to the charge and commented :

> The group of incompetents, or worse, who owe to their office necessarily bear primary responsibility for the communal carnage in Calcutta, a catastrophe of scope unprecedented in India's history, have been insufficiently seen or heard in these grim days. We mean the Ministry. The Governor has broadcast twice. Conferences have been held by the impressive galaxy of local officials. But the Muslim League Ministers, the men upon whom, because Ministers, and because the rioting arose from a Muslim League political demonstration, inescapably rests much guilt for the rioting's appalling result—the slaughter or wounding of anything up to 15,000 people, mainly the innocent poor of all communities, and gigantic financial loss—have not yet taken the initiative of meeting the Press, although the Chief Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, has made a broadcast on recent events.

We refrain from quoting the comments of other newspapers in and outside Bengal, for they too express the same sentiments. The remarks of the *Statesman*, a Friend of the League, ought to be sufficient to find out some part of Calcutta's public mind which experienced the horrors of the three-day carnage.

District Magistrate's Duty

"Had the District Magistrate of Abbotabad [illegible] midday on Sunday, July 28, taken a graver view of the possibilities of the situation, the subsequent events would not have happened"—this view is expressed by the Frontier Government reviewing the enquiry report submitted by the special officer, Mr. A. N. Mitchell, on the communal riots at Abbotabad on July 28. Mr. Mitchell's report has been published along with the Frontier Government's resolution on it. The Frontier Government have recorded the opinion that the District Magistrate had failed to discharge his duty as a public servant in refusing to receive a representation from the public.

The alleged rape on a minor Muslim girl by a Sikh shopkeeper on July 27 was the starting point of the trouble, says the report. Irresponsible actions and words for the most part of youngmen of the Muslim community intensified an atmosphere of fear and hatred. The ill-judged action of the Sikhs reacted on the excited Muslims. The lack of information available to the District Magistrate to which his refusal to receive view Sikh deputations contributed, resulted in less than the necessary precautionary measures being taken. The available police force was inadequate and overstrained. The border line between mischief and crime is always a narrow one and when necessary impetus was given it was speedily overstepped by the Muslim crowd. The

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ities paid for their errors by injuries and three Ayas at the Premier's authority—three units of the Army were flown to Kashmir. There was much planning ahead. It is eleven months' preparations and all that went with it—that is the direct cause of happenings since May 20, and not a few speeches delivered by anybody or some slogans shouted by a crowd. It is ironically irrelevant to discuss the merits or demerits of a speech and to ignore the patent and admitted actions of the Kashmir administration which inevitably led, and were meant to lead, to recent events. The climax of the Prime Minister's ruthlessness was reached after May 20 when men and women were dishonoured ; human beings were made to crawl or hop on one leg along roads and sweep them with their turbans ; places of worship were desecrated and an attempt was made to terrorize the people by methods of frightfulness."

It is not unlikely that Sheikh Abdullah's conviction will add a new complication to the already complicated States politics.

...ities.

It requires to be repeated in conclusion that an ...y anticipation of the trend of events by the district ...horities which would have been possible, had the ...rces of intelligence been efficient and an early dis...play of considerable military force in the absence of adequate police, combined with obvious goodwill of the leaders of all communities could have prevented all but the earliest individual assaults on the Sikhs.

It has been amply demonstrated that resolute and impartial action taken in time by the local authorities, especially by the District Magistrates, can prevent a lot of mischief either of a communal or of a criminal character. In the Bengal mofussil, which at the present moment a haunting ground for criminals and communalists, it has been seen that peace can be maintained even with the help of the existing force at the command of the local authorities.

Conviction of Sheikh Abdullah

Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Kashmir National Conference, has been convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. While pleading not guilty to the charge of sedition against him in court, he said, "I stand by whatever I have said or written in regard to the fundamental rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. My trial for sedition is something more than a personal charge against me. It is in effect the trial of the entire population of the State." The Kashmir Government have betrayed a lamentable lack of foresight. They have failed to realise that it is no longer possible to put down popular aspirations for self-government by the application of force.

Referring to the recent statements of policy made by the British Government both regarding India and the Indian States, he said, "It was an inevitable consequence that the old sanads, treaties and other engagements would go the way of paramountcy, and that the British Government being out of the picture, a new relationship would have to be negotiated between what is now British India and the States. The demand for the abrogation of the treaty at Amritsar was in effect, opposed by the clear decision of the Cabinet Mission. The 'Quit Kashmir' slogan symbolized and gave concrete shape to this demand for the termination of a system of Government which was in process of dissolution all over India. That cry had nothing personal about it."

Sheikh Abdullah said that the events of the last two months were the result of the Kashmir Government's policy of ruthlessness and not of his speeches. In his statement he quoted words said to have been expressed by the Kashmir Premier on May 20 to the effect that the State authorities had been "preparing for eleven months" and that there would be "no more vacillation and no weak-kneed policy." He plainly said, "The developments in Kashmir have led to a crisis. Eleven months' preparation for the Kashmir Premier's ruthlessness and all the careful thought that had gone towards the co-ordination of the military and the police had borne fruit. Strangely enough, the Premier of Kashmir had the clairvoyance to prepare for the effect of my speeches eleven months before they were delivered or before 'Quit Kashmir' was heard as a slogan. Even before those speeches, elaborate military preparations were made all over the Valley and—again

Jinnah on Arbitration

In an interview to the *Associated Press of India*, Mr. Jinnah commented on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's suggestion that the Muslim League should submit its case to arbitration, and said that "the proposal was ludicrous" and therefore unacceptable to the League. According to the League President, Sardar Patel was speaking in terms of contradiction. He complains, "On the one hand he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder but on the other he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times." Of all the recent statements issued by Mr. Jinnah, this one is the most characteristic of his attitude towards the outstanding national problems like grouping, claims of a minority, settling of controversial issues by impartial arbitration and his pet slogan of Pakistan. The statement is dated August 5 and was issued from Bombay. In view of its importance, it is given here in full :

> Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a recent speech on the Congress Working Committee's resolution at Delhi on June 26 and the A.-I.C.C. at Bombay on July 7, to quote his words, said, he 'accepted the full responsibility of the declaration. The Working Committee's resolution said clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16. It still stood by it. Certainly, it had the right to interpret the document.' This is misleading.
>
> The document embodied four main proposals. The first is the declaration which alone, he says, the Congress has accepted. The basic form and the grouping of the provinces in Para 19 of the document and the formation of the Interim Government, have not been accepted by the Congress. And this is clear from the letter of the Congress President of June 25 whereby the Congress rejected the statement of June 16 regarding the Interim Government and only accepted the statement of May 16 with reservations and with their own interpretations. This being a conditional acceptance was in fact and in law a rejection of the statement of May 16. The letter winds up by saying : 'We also gave our interpretation to some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views we accepted your proposals and are prepared to work with a view to achieving our objective.'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The resolution of the Working Committee proceeds to lay down that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central Government and for fully ensuring the right of a province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping.

Congress leaders have said at the A.-I.C.C. that they have not accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission as it was and that they have rejected the short-term plan of June 16, and now Sardar Patel has the audacity to say that the League has gone back on its pledged word. To whom did we pledge our word and to what had we pledge our word? One of the two major parties has not accepted the long-term plan and rejected the short-term plan and this was pointed out by me immediately by the Press statements I made at Delhi on June 27 and 29 and also by the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee passed on June 26 accepting both. I had pointed out that the Congress had not accepted the long-term plan and had rejected the Interim Government proposal. The Cabinet Mission had scrapped the Interim Government proposal and had gone back on their word. We, therefore, decided to call a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 27 and 28 to consider and to meet the new situation that had arisen, to which Pandit Nehru reported that the Congress would create many more new situations.

In the meantime, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, including Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself, made it clear in their speeches and public utterances in Bombay that the Congress had not accepted any of the terms of the statement of May 16 nor was it committed to anything. Further, on July 10, Pandit Nehru, the Congress President, made this crystal clear to a Press conference, and the Assam Assembly, in accordance with the instructions of the Congress High Command after having elected their representatives of the Constituent Assembly gave them a definite mandate to have nothing to do with 'C' group from the very start. Although there was very strong opposition to this from the representatives of the minorities, including Muslims, it was carried by an overwhelming Congress majority. Further, at a public meeting in Delhi on July 22, Pandit Nehru reiterated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and to serve their purpose and if they failed they would kill it.

This was after the debate that took place in Parliament on July 18. This left no doubt that the Congress was going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective as it has been repeatedly stated in the letter and the resolution of the Congress. It made its intentions clear that it was not bound by the grouping, nor was it confined strictly to the basic form of the document, and unequivocally asserted that it was free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union and add as many subjects as it may wish to the Union Government.

We know what is the objective and purpose of the Congress. The Congress believes that it has secured a declaration from the British Government of complete independence of India outside the Commonwealth of Nations and that this constitution-making machinery should be turned into a sovereign body, and the only thing that now remains for [illegible] is to frame a constitution on the basis of a [illegible] United India Federal Government.

Sardar Patel says that no individual statement or expression of opinion could alter the solemn resolution and the resolution is clear. But are we to disregard the pronouncement of the President of the Congress when he further clarifies a resolution? Then what importance are we to attach to individual pronouncements like Sardar Patel's?

Sardar Patel says: 'The League and the Congress pull in opposite directions. One wants to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a United India. It is clear that the two have no common meeting ground and that coalition between the Congress and the League is impossible for the organizations were holding views which were diametrically opposed to each other.

But when we demand Pakistan and division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan, our scheme gives freedom and independence to both the major nations —the Hindus and the Muslims—whereas the Congress and Sardar Patel are adamant and wish to establish a United India with a strong Federal Central Government, which means that 100 millions Muslims are to be brought under the yoke of Caste Hindu majority rule; it means freedom only for the Hindus and slavery for Muslims under a Hindu Raj. I echo: How can there be a common meeting ground on this basis for which, I have no doubt, many Caste Hindus passionately yearn and of which Sardar Patel dreams?

Having declared that we stand poles asunder, Sardar Patel advises me that I should change my approach and cease to be a communalist and become a nationalist—I suppose he means a Congress nationalist—and accept that the Congress represents all India on the imaginary footing that India is one country and one nation, whereas the facts are that the Congress is nothing but a Caste Hindu organization. But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should bury the Pakistan demand, disown the Muslim nation and appear before him in sack-cloth and ashes, and after that, when we have entirely thrown ourselves at the mercy of the Congress, we can have as many seats in the proposed executive as we like, as its creatures.

Sardar Patel is speaking in terms of contradiction. On the one hand, he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder; but on the other, he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times. This, of course, is not true. I have never designed to go to them. The truth is that three times in the course of the last eight years Mr. Gandhi came to me with a view to persuade me to accept the Congress demand which I could not. Does Sardar Patel want me to go to the Congress to persuade them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in his speech as a 'deflated cycle tube.'

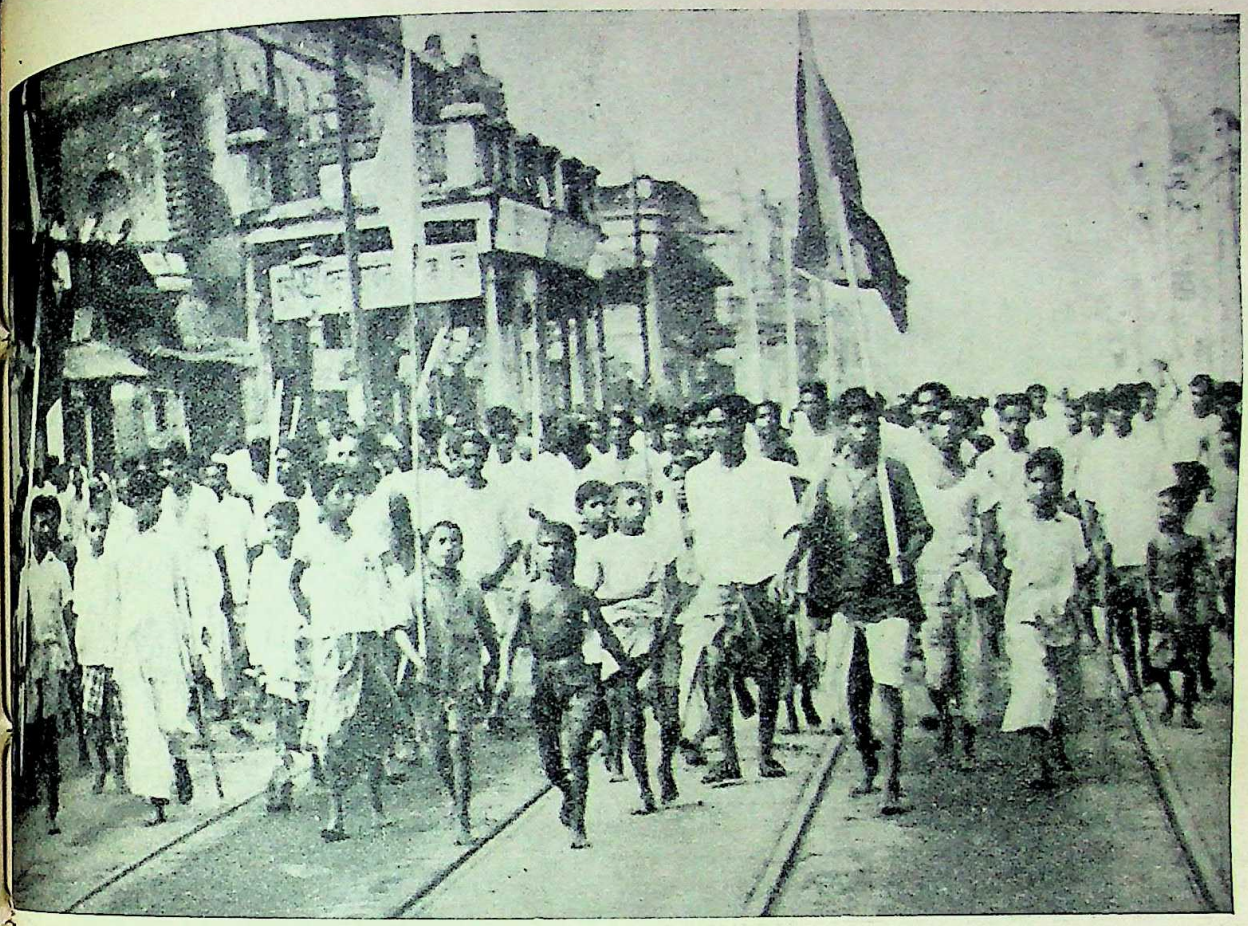
The last time Mr. Gandhi came to me, he came only in his individual capacity, to understand what the Pakistan demand meant, and I spent three weeks with him to convert him, but I failed.

This shadow talk is really intended to poison

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

(See Notes on Plate VI)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





(Top) 16th August, 8 a.m. "Procession" in Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.
(Bottom) 16th August, Noon: Mammoth meeting in the Maidan. (Photo: *Courtesy*, "*Saturday Mail*")

1 & 2. "Procession" proceeds North along Cornwallis Street past Gray Street crossing.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





3. (*Top*) 16th August, afternoon : Attack on Hindu concerns, Chowringhee (Photo : Courtesy, "Saturday
4. (*Bottom*) 17th August, afternoon : Retaliation. In Bowbazar Street

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



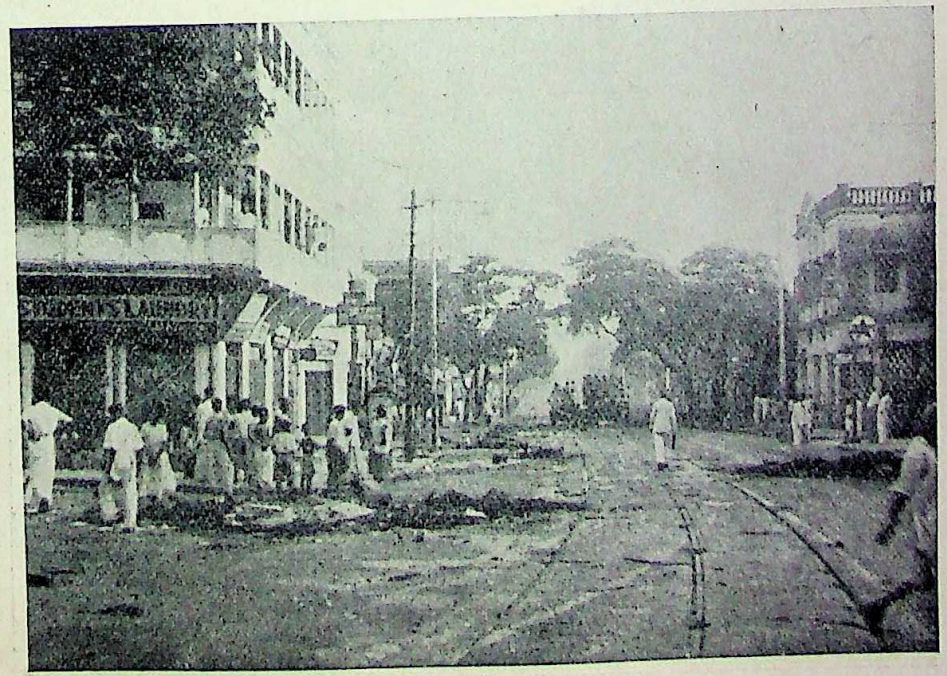
5. 16th August, afternoon : Chowringhee (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



6. 16th August afternoon : End of the looting (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



7. 16th August, afternoon : Collins Street (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



8. 16th August, evening : Wellesley Street (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)

Plate III

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



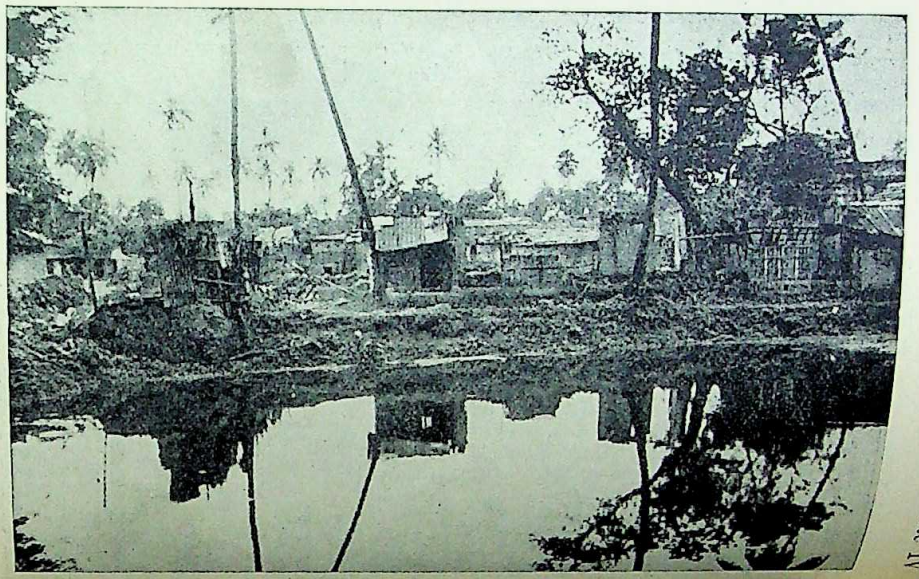
9. 16th August, early evening : Pollock Street area. Hindu shops looted and murdered Hindus left lying on the streets
(Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



10. 16th August, early evening : Canning Street area. Hindu shops looted and murdered Hindus left lying on the streets
(Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



11. 17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz



12. 17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz



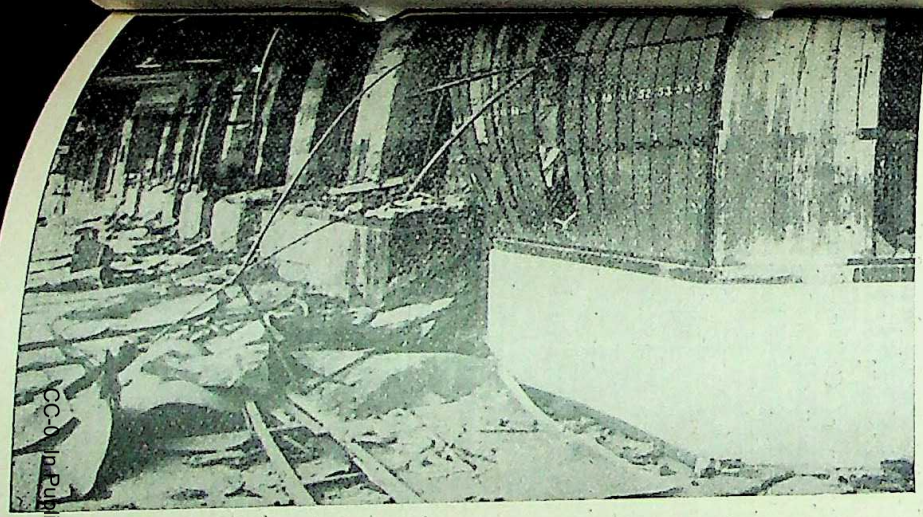


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

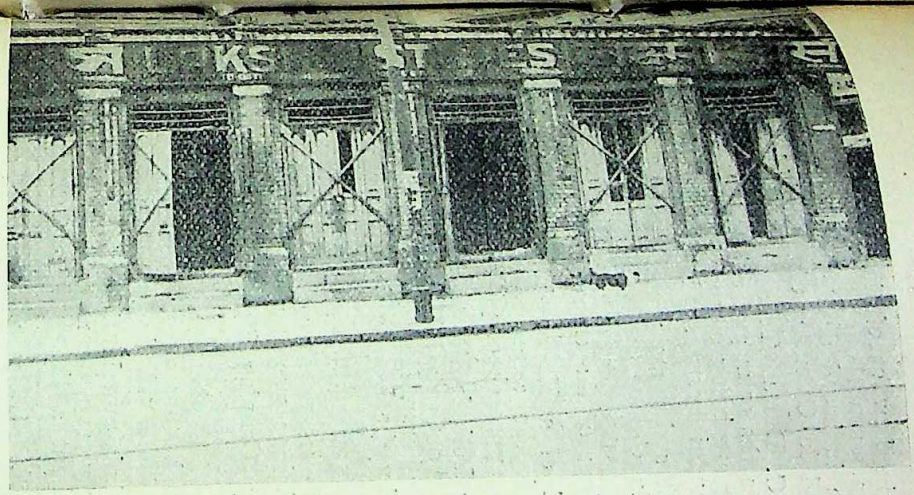
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

11. 17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz

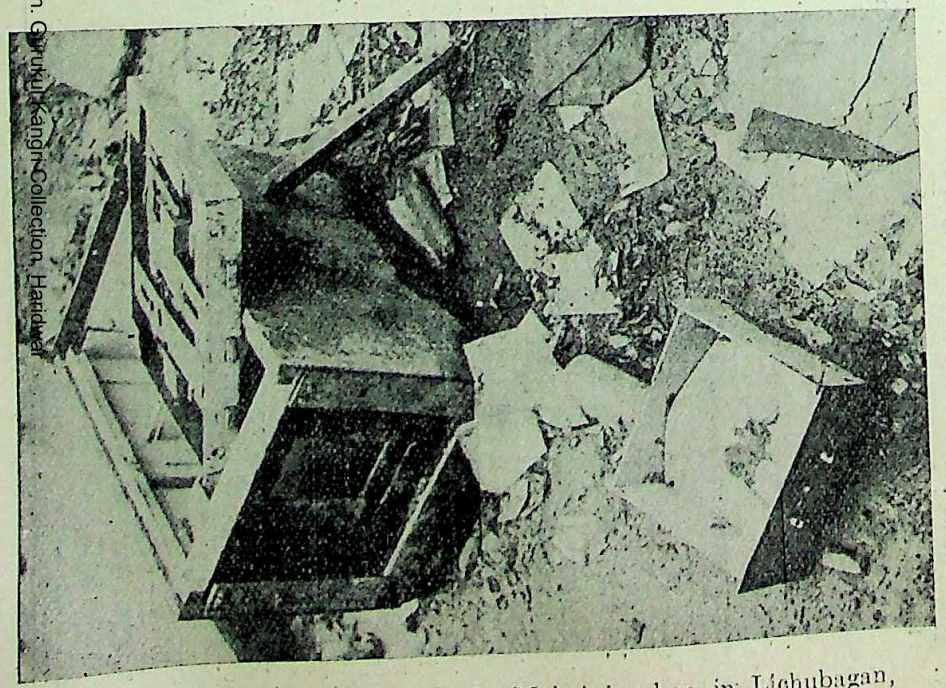
12. 17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz



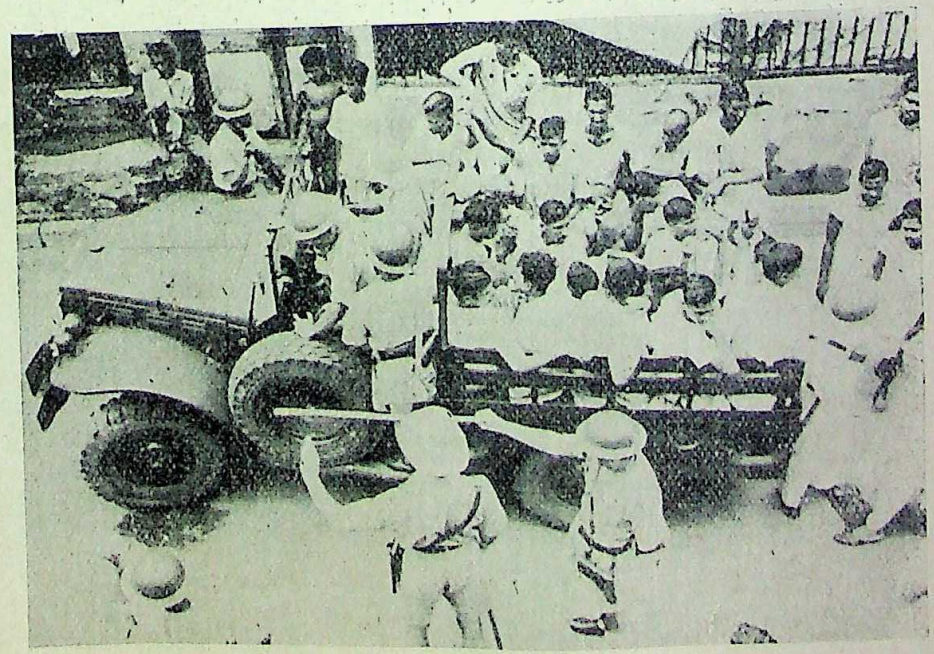
13. 16th August, afternoon and 17th : College Street Market shops including Dalia Stores looted, set afire and gutted



14. 16th August, afternoon : Lakshmi Stores on College Street-Harrison Road corner, looted, set afire and gutted



15. 17th August, morning : Hindu Mahajans shop in Lichubagan, Matiabruz



16. Muslim refugees sheltered by a Hindu citizen being removed by the Police

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



17. 17th August : Mithatala, Matiabruz. Looted and gutted Temple of Radha-Krishna

NOTES ON CAPTIONS

1. This "procession" went towards Shyambazar junction along Cornwallis Street on 16th morning attacking Hindu shops. Note the "peaceful' sticks and bludgeons, and the total unconcern and lack of apprehension, either of Police intervention or Hindu attack. So much for the Hindu preparedness theory !

2. Note the sticks, bludgeons, etc., and the utter lack of concern or apprehension. Rather satisfaction at having hunted and harried the Hindu in the morning without any consequences, is easily perceptible. Where is the Hindu ?

3. After the meeting the infuriated assembly splits up and rushes to attack the Hindus. Note the Jehad inscription on the banner, also the sticks and other weapons, and the total absence of fear and the absolute unconcern for Law. Where is the Hindu ?

4. The aftermath on the next day. Hindus retaliate. This photo was taken several days after.

5. The Bristol Hotel is a Hindu concern as is K. C. Biswas, Gunsmiths. Note the absolute unconcern on the face of the sightseeing Leaguers. No fear, either of the Law or of the Hindu even remotely affects them, even though the looting and murder is going on in broad daylight, and on the greatest arterial road in Calcutta, Chowringhee.

6. P. C. Dutta Tobacconists shop completely looted. Note the calm and collected way in which odd bits of loot are being gleaned. This in broad daylight in the Chandni Bazar off Dhurumtollah Street.

7. Loot and arson proceeding without any let or hindrance in Collins Street off Wellesley Street, near the Madrassa and the Islamia College. Note absolutely cool behaviour of the crowd.

8. End of a Hindu shop's goods in Wellesley Street. Mark the calmness with which the crowd watches the approach of police lorries.

9. The Pollock Street area is a few minutes easy walk from the Central Headquarters of the Calcutta Police at Lalbazar. Here loot, arson, and murder was committed by the League mob shortly after the meeting on the 16th with absolute impunity. The few Hindu shopkeepers and durwans who could not run away, being caught unawares, were butchered after a short resistance. Where was any Hindu provocation ?

10. The Canning Street area is the heart of Calcutta's business centre. Here also loot, arson and murder had full play after the resistance of the few Hindus, caught unawares, was overcome. Another refutation of the "Hindu preparedness" theory.

11. Lichubagan, Matiabruz. Photo gives the scene of particularly revolting mass butchery. Here a Muslim crowd of about a thousand crept unawares and surrounded the bustee with its sleeping and barely awake coolies, mostly from U. P. and Bihar. Over a hundred were butchered. Women were taken away as well.

12. Lichubagan. Another devastated bustee area in the same neighbourhood. Total number of corpses of Hindus removed by the police in Matiabruz approach 600. No Muslim was killed here. Another example of "Hindu preparedness"!

13. Section of College Street Market, looted and gutted and finally set afire by Muslim mobs on the 16th and the 17th. Rich Hindu shop *Dalia Stores* completely gutted.

14. Lakshmi Stores, very expensive shopping centre, completely gutted by ruffians, on the 16th, under the very noses of the police who were present in force. There are allegations of Police-helping in the looting.

15. Lichubagan. Hindu Mahajans Safe. An example of the real motive behind the "Direct action" move.

16. One of the innumerable cases of Muslim refugees, sheltered by Hindu citizens, being finally removed with police escort to a relief centre. *We regret we cannot present a photo of Hindus similarly sheltered by Muslim citizens. But we wish to put on record our personal knowledge of several such public spirited actions by respectable Muslims.*

17. Radha-Krishna Temple. This temple was looted on the 17th of August. The images of Radha-Krisha being covered with jewels, formed part of the loot of the "Direct Action" leaders.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the mind of the Hindus and Sardar Patel is only suffering from inferiority complex. At Simla, when it was arranged that Pandit Nehru and I should meet, I asked him where we could meet and he himself said : 'I shall come over to you.' When we met on May 11 during the conference time. I pleaded before him for one and a half hours and appealed to him to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but he was adamant. Before parting, I cautioned him that he should not be poisoned by taunts that he had come to my place and I was not willing to go to his place. The place really does not matter and it is too petty to trot this out in the manner in which Sardar Patel has done. I told Pandit Nehru that if after consulting his colleagues he wished to discuss the matter on the basis of Pakistan and gave me an appointment, I would gladly go to his place or to anybody else's.

Sardar Patel makes a passionate appeal ; after having made it clear that there was no meeting ground, he invites me to sit with the Congress as 'brothers' and join it to break the settlement of the Mission. Well, we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress if we are keen on freedom. And finally he says, 'When we have sat as brothers and if there is no agreement possible, let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by award of the arbitrator.'

This proposal is made again to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory, but the Muslim League is intransigent. Sardar Patel knows perfectly well, and I have pointed out more than once, that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims which is their birthright and it is not and cannot be a justifiable issue on principle alone. It is absurd to say that this matter particularly should be referred to arbitration. Even on practical grounds, who will select the arbitrators and who will enforce their award ? No country can run its government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. For this very reason, the Congress and the Muslim League had demanded Constituent Assemblies of the representatives of the people to frame the Constitution.

Is Sardar Patel really serious ? Then why talk of the Constituent Assembly and why not refer the whole matter regarding the entire framing of the Constitution to the arbitration of a few ?

Therefore, the proposal for arbitration is ludicrous. Sardar Patel knows better than anybody else that it could not be accepted both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

Sardar Patel has now become the champion of the British whom, he says, I have traduced, and complains that I abused the Congress. He does not specify what are those abuses. I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all India, including Muslims, which certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress. The Congress has made every effort to mislead people here and abroad aided by its vast and powerful Press organization and has accused me and the Muslim League of being tools in the hands of British imperialism ; while not a day passes when the Congress Press does not abuse the League and myself.

There are many inaccuracies in Sardar Patel's statement and they are merely intended as propaganda for the Congress and to mislead people abroad by passing off that the Congress took a conciliatory attitude whereas the League was intransigent.

The Congress had made its position abundantly clear in the resolution of the Working Committee which accepted the May 16 proposal in its entirety and rejected the invitation to form the Interim Government according to the terms of the June 16 proposals. The two proposals of the British Government, one relating to long-term and the other to short-term constitutional arrangements, have been kept distinctly separate. The Congress was within its rights when it accepted the former and rejected the latter. The long-term proposal is open to different interpretation, widely differing constructions on its more controversial clauses have already been offered. The clause relating to grouping has proved to be the most controversial. Mr. Jinnah has always pressed for compulsory grouping ; Congress wanted that grouping, if there be any, ought to be voluntary. The Cabinet Mission struck a middle course. The Constituent Assembly was divided by them into three sections and sitting in sections for the purpose of drawing provincial and if necessary group constitution was made compulsory. The formation of group was left optional to the members composing these sections. Pandit Nehru has made this position clear when he said, in his broadcast speech on September 7,—"We are perfectly prepared to accept, and have accepted, the position of sitting in sections, which will consider the question of the formation of Groups."

Mr. Jinnah has objected to Assam Assembly's verdict against Grouping and the direction it gave to the M.C.A.'s from Assam to vote against grouping. This resolution, Mr. Jinnah complains, was passed by a majority of votes the League members dissenting. Of all political leaders in this country, Mr. Jinnah should be the last person to complain against the tyranny of majority. He has been loud in complaining against perfectly democratic decisions by majorities in which Hindu, Muslim and Tribal groups participated, while he has always kept silent about the brute majority of League members, with British backing, which is grinding the minorities, specially the Hindus in Bengal and Sind.

Mr. Jinnah's aversion to any proposal for offering the communal problems to arbitration can be understood. Congress has, on many occasions, expressed its desire to offer the communal dispute to arbitration. Mr. Jinnah cannot do so because he has no case to offer except imaginary grievances against Hindus and his pretended fear of Congress domination. During the first series of Congress Ministries, he drew up a series of "grievances" of Muslims against the Congress, which even the then Conservative Government in power refused to entertain. He can make no better case today. It is, therefore, natural that he would shrink from any idea of arbitration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Will You Rule Like This ?"—Pethick Lawrence Asks Jinnah

The *New Orissa,* dated, July 7, published the following news :

> Lahore, July 6.—"Will you rule India like this, Mr. Jinnah, if Pakistan is established?" This question was put to the League leader by Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, during the course of joint interview between Congress, League and the Mission at New Delhi.
>
> The Secretary of the State was informed of the full details about the elections of Lahore Corporation wherein various sub-committees were elected by the casting vote of the Muslim League Mayor without including in the sub-committees any non-Muslim.
>
> There was no reply to this to justify the action of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers and Mr. Jinnah had to say that he would make enquiries into the matter. The revelation was made during the course of a private talk by one who happened to be a member of the joint meeting.

This is only one small instance of how political and municipal power is being exercised by the League. Instances can be multiplied by hundreds and thousands.

India and the Arab World

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle,* Iqbal Singh has emphasised the need of cultivating India's goodwill towards the Arab world. On his way to London, the writer met some Arabs on board the ship. With one of them, he had long conversation and he was able to ascertain from him what an average Egyptian Arab today thought of the relative virtues of the nationals of India, America, Russia and Britain. The Indians, the Arab observed, were good people because they were fighting the British. The Americans were no good though they had a lot of money. The Russians he had never met and his remarks about the British are unprintable.

How the Arabs have been duped with an illusive freedom has been graphically described in the following words :

> It has to be acknowledged that this British policy has not been wholly unsuccessful in its purpose. For if there is one thing worse than subjection it is the illusion of freedom. The origins of the Arab League as a regional political entity are, partly at any rate, traceable to this highly infectious illusion. Cynical observers of Arab affairs have irreverently suggested that the Arab League is the offspring of Britain's imperial indiscretions in the Near and Middle East. They attribute its paternity to Lord Lloyd and give Moyne (who was a Guinness, but by no means good) the credit of having been the midwife who brought the League to birth.
>
> This is obviously an over-simplification. Yet it is indisputable that during its formative phase, the conception of an Arab Federation was sympathetically fostered by the bright backroom boys of the British Foreign Office who saw in such regional grouping an ideal mechanism not only for stabilising Britain's influence in these regions, but also for expropriating the French from their Levantine possessions and keeping the Russians at bay. They, no doubt, visualised the Arab League as a kind of Little Entente of the Near and Middle East and hoped that, just as the latter served as a pliable tool of Quai d'Orsay in Central and South-Eastern Europe, so the Arab Entente would fulfil the role of a watch-dog for the British imperialist interests. They calculated that by playing on the vanities and weaknesses of the ruling Arab monarchs and middle class politicians, Britain could strengthen its position in the Eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea zones while at the same time pose as the champion of Arab resurgence. And these calculations proved to be almost correct.
>
> Almost, but not quite. For such is the logic of the present historical situation that even the most half-hearted and equivocal attempt to give expression to the idea of Arab unity is bound to come up sooner or later against the hard reality of Britain's imperialist stranglehold over the Arab countries. And this, in its turn, must inevitably stimulate the growth of militant trends in Arab Nationalism. This is precisely what has happened. From its very inception, a duality of outlook began to articulate itself within the Arab League. The dominant and official section of the League, it is true, continues to believe in diplomacy by means of whisky and buffet dinners and hopes to achieve Arab independence through adjustments and compromises with the Western Powers. At the same time, however, a radical wing has emerged within the Arab League which favours a fundamental reorientation of Arab policy and linking of the Arab Liberation movement with other anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Nehru's Popularity Among Arabs

The present Arab situation was explained to the writer, Mr. Iqbal Singh, by Mr. Edward Atiyah of the Arab office in London, who himself represents this new and healthy trend in Arab politics. The Arab League, he argued, was originally meant for the purpose of "regulating" the relations of the Arab countries with the West ; it was felt that a federation of Arab States would increase the bargaining power of the Arabs *vis-a-vis* Europe, which means principally Britain. Hardly any thought was given to the task of establishing relations with our Eastern neighbours and countries like Russia, China and India. However, the younger elements in the Arab political world are no longer satisfied with this narrow conception of Arab foreign policy. They intensely desire new definition of the loyalties and feel that the ultimate liberation of the Arab peoples is impossible without joining hands with other Asiatic nations struggling for freedom. It is symptomatic of this new tendency in Arab political thought, he added, that Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the most popular authors among the younger Arab intelligentsia today.

This process of reorientation of Arab loyalties is still in its initial stages. As the Arab peoples become progressively disillusioned with British promises, it is certain that they will look increasingly towards India and other Asiatic countries for friendship. However, it would be unwise to assume that the Arab countries will automatically become our close allies, that there is no need for effort and reciprocity on our part. In international relations even where there is complete identity of politico-economic interests, reciprocity is the very

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

essence of enduring alliances. Consequently, there is urgent need for taking active steps to establish direct contacts between India and the Arab world. So far, although the Congress has consistently declared its support and sympathy for Arab aspirations as a matter of theoretical policy, it has done little by way of establishing effective liaison with the Arab movement. It is imperative to adopt a more active policy in relation to our Arab neighbours.

The urgency of the need for the adoption of an active Arab policy is still further emphasised by a recent and dangerous development. During the past twelve months, Mr. Singh points out, attempts have been made by certain innocent dupes of the Muslim League in London to enlist the support of the Legations and Embassies or the Near and Middle Eastern countries for Pakistan by harping on the theme of Islamic solidarity. Up till now, their exertions have evoked little response, except from what Mr. Atiyah once described as the "lunatic fringe of the Arab movement." Official spokesmen of the Arab Office in London have told the League representatives in no uncertain terms that the Arab movement is fundamentally non-communal in form and secular in content ; and that while it has natural cultural interest in Indian Islam, politically it recognises only the Congress as the leader of the Indian Freedom Movement and will not be involved in questions which are India's domestic concern.

Arab Appeal to India

Under caption "The East Must Act Too." the Arab weekly in English *Middle East Opinion,* which generally reflects the Arab League viewpoint, has launched an appeal to India for an All-Orient Pro-Palestine Congress to be held in Delhi. The weekly writes :

We propose that this Congress be called immediately to consider the Palestine question and to devise ways and means for saving this Holy Land of the Orient.

We further suggest that the most suitable venue for this conference will be India. Besides her geographically central position in the Orient, India has always tried to help the oppressed people of the Orient and the world. What India did for Palestine, China and Spain is not a matter of remote past, and in the very recent days India's contribution towards the struggle of the Indonesian people cannot be overlooked.

Saying that the Arabs have not yet realised that we are living in an atomic age which has changed all those values of life and all political theories which were current coin in the 'pre-1939 world,' the *Middle East Opinion* adds, "If we see the Palestine problem from that angle, we will come to the conclusion that Palestine is at least an all-Orient question. The sooner we realise this the better."

After dealing at length with the Zionist problem and what it calls the 'growing tide of pro-Zionist sentiment' in America and Britain, the magazine calls on the co-operation and solidarity of all the peoples of the Orient to 'raise a barrier strong enough to withstand the Zionist onslaught.'

There are 400,000,000 Indians, Hindus and Muslims, 80,000,000 Chinese Moslems, 60,000,000 Indonesians, countless millions in Iran, Russia, Africa and immigrants in North and South Africa that do not flinch actively to express their whole-hearted support of the Palestine Arabs' cause.

This support cannot be better expressed than in an All-Orient Pro-Palestine Congress to be held in India, concludes the *Middle East Opinion.*

Raja Mahendra Pratap Back Home

Raja Mahendra Pratap, the celebrated Indian revolutionary, is back home after a continued absence of 32 years. The Raja is a scion of an old and very influential family of Jats. Mahendra Pratap inherited a very large fortune. He dedicated an estate worth about ten lakhs, by means of a deed of trust, for the establishment of the Prem Maha Vidyalaya. His activities outside India has been described by Mr. D. N. Bhargava, in an article published in the *Tribune,* Lahore, in the following words :

> Mahendra Pratap left India in 1914, soon after the first World War had broken out. Prior to this he had already visited Europe twice. On account of his anti-British activities during this war his entry into India was banned and the restrictions remained in force till a month back. During this period of long banishment the Raja saw many ups and downs of life, For some time the Raja had to struggle for his very existence, was without any place of shelter, and had no means of living. But during the first World War he mixed with some of the highest in Europe, was invited by Kaiser, remained with the latter as an honoured guest for some time and later on worked as messenger on behalf of Germany in Turkey and Afghanistan. During the first World War he kept himself moving from one capital to the other as a liaison officer and was responsible for exachange of letters among different heads of European States and Afghanistan. The Ameer of Afghanistan was persuaded to declare war against the British but all such efforts failed as in the year 1918 Germany was defeated and independence of Afghanistan was acknowledged. During this period, however, Mahendra Pratap cultivated intimate friendship with eminent personages of whom the Ameer of Afghanistan may be specially mentioned. He served the Afghan Government for a year or so and was awarded by Ameer Aman Ullah a sum of Rs. 10,000 as an honorarium.
>
> His political leanings subsequently underwent a great change and he realised during the course of interviews he had with a number of heads of States in Europe that the cause of India was nowhere safe. Everyone of them had a design of one type or the other to include India as a part of their Empire. Experience taught him that he was working all along on wrong lines. Mahendra Pratap devoted the rest of his time outside India in working for the purpose of universal peace, and for the establishment of a World Federation. In fact he began to call himself a servant of mankind, started a monthly journal in English named *World Federation.* He bore the entire responsibility of editing and publishing this paper regularly. Slender as his means and limited as his resources were he betrayed an unusual zeal, ability and patience, in carrying out this noble task. India is no doubt proud of this son of hers inasmuch as Mahendra Pratap took up a cause for the sake of whole of the world, to end the world wars—a cause which after the second world war United Nations

CC-0. Prabhu Dayal Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have now undertaken and are pursuing with so much persistence and doggedness.

Most of his later years in exile were spent in Japan where in collaboration with others and sometimes alone he continued working in his own way for the establishment of world peace, universal love and common brotherhood.

After the war, American authorities in Japan declared him to be a War Criminal and imprisoned him in Japan, but the kind and forceful intervention of Mahatma Gandhi was chiefly instrumental in obtaining his release and re-entry into his homeland.

He has an uncommon devotion and genuine respect for all religions and in his house in Japan and earlier at Brindaban he had a common room for worship where the Vedas, the Bible, the Quoran and Granth Sahib were all kept together.

He has toured round the world several times and is pre-eminently fitted for service abroad. He can very well represent India at any conference for the establishment of peace and to end all wars. The time is in fact fast coming when he will be called upon to shoulder any such responsibility.

Civil Liberty in Goa

Affairs in the Portuguese possession of Goa have of late come into limelight specially after the experiences of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Some publicity has been given to the suppression of civil liberties there. The Governor-General of Goa denied the allegations, characterised them as baseless, painted conditions there in dazzling colours, and in a letter to Gandhiji protested against what he had written in the *Harijan*. This letter was released for publication in the press. Gandhiji gave him a suitable reply and it was also published in an issue of the *Harijan*. Gandhiji stated that he had himself visited Mossambique, Delagoa and Inhambane and did not find there any government for philanthropic purposes. He was rather astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and beween the Africans and themselves. Gandhiji emphasised that what he saw and knew of condition of things in Goa was hardly edifying. The following portion of his letter to the Governor-General is sufficient to show what is happening there :

> That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.
>
> Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view. I suppose the report of the sentence by your court martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far-off Portuguese Settlement is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile ?
>
> Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. The inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to him for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as a stranger would excite laughter if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers whether they come as philanthrophists or as governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.
>
> You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system of caste, has been added by the Portuguese rulers.
>
> I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty and, if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such a Government.

American Friends of India Organisation

An *American Friends of India* has been organised by the veterans of the second world war who have "lived and learned in the India-Burma theatre." Mr. Harold Leventhal, acting chairman of this organisation, writing to Pandit Nehru on his election as President of the Indian National Congress, says :

> We, veterans of the American Army, who served in India, are fully aware of the greatness of your country and the trying problems with which your people are faced. We spent several years in India and in that time we made every effort to understand the country and its people.
>
> Since our return to civilian life we have organized American Friends of India in the desire to bring before the American people a truthful interpretation of what is happening in India, based on our personal observations and experiences in your country. We are fully aware that freedom can come to India only by the decisions of the Indian people themselves as represented by their major political organizations.
>
> We recognise in the Indian National Congress the most important freedom organisation in India and as such we are aware of its responsibilities. We hope that it will meet with ever-increasing success in carrying out its programme.
>
> We want the Indian people to know that among the thousands of American soldiers, who were stationed in India during the course of the war, there were many whose understanding of the problems of your country has made them sincere friends of India. We are obliged to your people and our aim is to tell the American people, the truth, and counteract the many lies about India with which they are fed daily.
>
> Close association with such organisations is badly needed by the Indian people at this crucial period of their history.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Aircraft Industry for India

The *Commerce* reveals that a ten-point plan to establish in this country a modern aircraft industry at an estimated cost of Rs. 130 lakhs in the first five years is outlined in a secret report to the Government of India submitted by the British Aircraft Mission which visited India in March last at the invitation of the Government and surveyed the possibilities of such an industry. It may not be out of place to mention here that the Grady Mission Report still remains a secret and has not yet been published by the Government of India.

The British Aircraft Mission consisted of Messrs. Cassidy and Barrett from the British Government's Ministry of Aircraft Production and two members of the Society of British Aircraft constructors. The main features of the ten-point plan are :

(1) The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore, should be selected as the first factory (the acquisition of this factory forms an integral part of the whole plan).
(2) The Directors should be appointed immediately.
(3) Action should be initiated to obtain a new executive.
(4) A time limit of six months must be imposed for re-staffing.
(5) The first instalments of the balancing plant should be ordered.
(6) An order book should be built up.
(7) All possible pressure should be exercised to secure orders for rail coaches as subsidiary.
(8) The Government should be prepared to place a pre-production order for 20 training aircraft, which would absorb labour for a year.
(9) It should also be pepared to take similar action with regard to advanced trainers in 12 months' time with a larger pre-production order if possible, and
(10) Start an apprentice scheme as soon as the factory is established.

The 65-page Secret Report suggests that there should be eight directors, four wholetime and four outside and the Managing Director should be a nominee of Mysore. According to the Report, three of the four wholetime Directors, who should be the real Executive, must be men with long aircraft experience and points out that at present, in India, no persons with the requisite experience are available. Hence it expects that non-Indians will be employed in the above capacity for ten to fifteen years. It is thus sought to convert the present directorate into practically an all-British one.

The Mission is hopeful that reasonable orders would be forthcoming to enable an aircraft industry to commence. In this connection it refers to the view of the Civil Aviation Directorate that the aircraft likely to be usefully employed in air transport in the ultimate period, 1961-65, are estimated to be 100 four to fifteen passenger carrying planes and 10 forty to one hundred passenger carrying planes. It estimates that the demand for private aircraft sales in 1961-65 will fall into three categories : demand for thirty miscellaneous commercial machines, sixty privately owned machines, and thirty machines required for flying clubs. The Mission states that the countries to which India must look to export aircraft and ancillary supplies are Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, and Malaya, and the use of aircraft in these countries combined might be estimated at 20 per cent of the volume for India.

The Hindustan Aircraft Factory was mooted by Mr. Walchand Hirachand with the aid of the Mysore Government when the Government of India had expressed its inability to extend its help to the project. Soon after, when the factory was started, Government of India acquired it on the usual plea of defence requirement. The Secret Report mentioned above comes just at the time when the conversion of the Hindustan Aircraft into a civil factory for the manufacture of aircraft constitutes one of the main items in the Government's present scheme of industrial expansion. British technical aid is welcome, but the National Government at the Centre should ensure that control of the industry does not pass to them.

Co-operation in U. P.

In moving for a grant of Rs. 25,20,800 for the Co-operative Department, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju outlined in the U. P. Legislative Assembly a scheme of multi-purpose co-operative societies which would help materially to promote voluntary collectivism among the cultivators of the province. Commenting on his scheme, the *Leader* says :

> The experiment of multi-purpose co-operative societies had much success to its credit in the years before the war in countries with such diverse conditions as Japan, Austria, Belgium and Saxony and Bavaria. For one thing, these societies have the merit of *not* treating the problem of credit as an isolated one. For it is of the essence of Dr. Katju's scheme that one and the same society should be entrusted with the supply of credit, seeds, manure fertilisers, ploughs, bullocks, irrigation facilities and the marketing of agricutural products. Dr. Katju also proposes to establish a provincial co-operative bank which, we hope, will be able to work in co-operation with the Agricutural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India. It is Dr. Katju's intention that the first experiments in these societies should be initiated at places near big *mandies*, such as Dehra Dun, Gonda, Basti and Ballia for rice marketing and Saharanpur, Moradabad, Chandausi and Tehar for wheat. In fact, what Dr. Katju is proposing is that the whole life of the village cultivator should be brought within the ambit of multi-purpose co-operative societies. Given direction, there is every reason to hold that they will prove to be an improvement over purely credit societies and that they will both help production and distribution on a voluntary basis.

Increasing dependence of co-operative societies upon Government for the solution of every problem and want of self-reliance have, no doubt, been the main causes that have retarded the progress of the co-operative movement in India. Absence of trained men among office-bearers conversant with the principles underlying the movement has also been largely responsible. The intention of the U. P. Government to open several schools for the training of co-operative workers is therefore surely welcome. But in Bengal it has been seen that there is another virus that has eaten into the vitals of the co-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Varanasi

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

operative movement in this province and has virtually killed it. Before 1937, when the communal tension was not so acute in Bengal, many of the co-operative societies flourished. A peculiar feature in the Bengal movement was that in the credit societies, most of the depositors were middleclass Hindus and the borrowers were generally the Muslim cultivators. The communally-minded borrowers took it into their head that Hindu money need not be returned. This attitude dealt a deathblow to the movement, flow of funds from the people dried up, the government were unable to keep the funds of the society fluid and the whole thing was lost. Peculiarly enough, since a very long time, the co-operative department had remained in charge of Muslim officials who never tried to counteract this dangerous poison which ultimately proved a menace to the cultivators themselves. The only source of cheap credit to them was thus sealed up. Had the movement been a multi-purpose one as to ensure a community of interest between members of both the communities, the result might not have been so disastrous.

Indians Overseas

Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, writing in the *Roy's Weekly*, tells in a few words the story of how Indian labour have come to their present pitiable condition in the British colonial countries. Our relations with other parts of the British Empire have so long been entirely under the control of the British Government. The final decision on all oversea matters lay with the British Government. In formulating their overseas policy, the British Government always looked first to the interests of their British employers, and very often even to the prejudices of other parts of the British Commonwealth. Wherever the interests of the Indian labour or settler came into conflict with those of their employers, the former were sacrificed.

With a National Government at the Centre, things are bound to undergo a change even during the interim period. The South African and East African Governments may now be pulled up and brought to their senses. It is now sincerely hoped that the new National Government will, in a short time, be able to solve many of the difficulties that Indians in British colonies and dominions are now experiencing. Time has now come when Indians overseas will be able to look to their own Government for the protection of their interests.

Tracing the history of the recruitment of Indian labour, Sir Raghunath writes :

> The present problem of Indians overseas has only a history of about 100 years. When slavery was abolished it was found difficult to have enough labour especially of an agricultural kind in countries which formerly depended upon Negro slave labour. The emancipated slaves were unwilling to work as paid labourers and the attention of these colonies turned to the vast reserve of labouring population in India and China. Applications were made to the then Government of India, which was at that time entirely controlled by the East India Company and the British Government, for recruiting labour to serve on many of the plantations in foreign countries. One of the earliest applications came from Natal whose sugar industry was on the point of a breakdown for want of adequate labour and the Government of India allowed Indian labourers to proceed there under conditions of indenture which more or less amounted to semi-slavery. The men recruited were illiterate and ignorant and did not realise what they were undertaking. Rosy prospects of prosperity were dangled before them and many of them left the shores of their native land to make their fortune in a distant land. The principal conditions of indenture were that they were to work for an employer for three to five years, their passage was to be paid and at the end of the period of indenture they had the option of their returning to India at the expense of their employer or to settle down in the country as free men with a certain amount of land. Most of these men, having burnt their boats when they first migrated, preferred, when the time came for them to make a decision, to settle down in their new land. And the prosperity of Natal which is called the 'garden colony' of South Africa is mainly due to the labour of these humble Indian labourers. Similar is the origin of the large Indian population in other parts of the Empire like British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya and even Burma and Ceylon, though in the case of the last three, their proximity to India encouraged many Indians of trading and professional classes also to go there.

Summing up conditions in South Africa he writes :

> It was in South Africa that Gandhiji first came into prominence by his campaign of passive resistance against certain oppressive measures of the South African Government. It would be too long to go into the history of all the incidents, negotiations and representations made by the Indian Government both to the Home Government and the South African Government, but the White population there, both Boer and British seem determined to deny to the Indians any rights or privileges whatsoever and any position that they may have secured as a result of their labours during all these years appears to be an eye-sore to the white communities. Every conceivable device has been used to deprive the Indian traders of their means of livelihood and every conceivable argument adduced to justify their repression. They have been segregated in locations and bazars on 'sanitary' grounds but no 'sanitary' facilities are provided for them. Licenses to own land, licenses to own or occupy houses, licenses to trade and so on have been placed in the hands of bodies upon which they have no representation, while their rivals have. It has been said that they lower the standard of living but the Union Government have failed to offer any inducement to Indians to improve their standard of living. Indians are segregated by every social means that can wound their human sentiments. They may not enter European theatres, cinemas, shops or hotels. They may not use lifts but must take the stairs. They are excluded from European schools and largely from Universities.
>
> Eminent South Africans, who call themselves leaders, seem determined to be led and swept away by the most ignorant and prejudiced sections of the community. Instead of being moulders of public opinion, they have become ready and willing tools of this prejudiced and pernicious public opinion. There

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...se be no question that the defenders of white ...ilisation in South Africa have their consciences ...ded in a hue that is many shades darker than the ...ours of the skins of the original inhabitants of that ...ntinent.

Provisions similar to those which the Ghetto Act ...s trying to impose on the Indians in Natal have ...been in force in some of the areas of the Transvaal ...for the past 40 years. In these parts of the Transvaal ...e Indians have been forced to live mainly in parti... ...lar areas reserved for them ever since the begin... ...ning of this century and the resulting conditions in ...the Indian areas of these Transvaal cities stand forth ...as a terrible warning of what is in store for the ...Indians in Natal, if the provisions of the Ghetto Act ...are accepted by them in any shape or form.

The protest of the Indian Government so far has ...not been effective due to its inherent meekness. ...Things are, however, expected to change now. The ...question is also going to be taken up at the U. N. O. ...Conference. An unconfirmed report states that Mrs. ...Vijaylakshmi Pandit may lead the Indian delegation ...to the U. N. O. Conference which will debate the ...Indian question in South Africa.

...dia and International Trade Conference

Participation by India in the proposed Inter...national Trade Conference so that she can take her full ...share in working out plans for the expansion of world ...trade and employment is recommended to the Govern...ment of India in a report submitted by the Trade and ...Tariffs sub-committee of the Consultative Committee ...of Economists, on the U. S. Government's proposals ...for the expansion of world trade and employment.

The Report states that an appropriate commercial ...policy for India should be shaped primarily with re...ference to India's own needs as a country on the eve of ...a rapid economic development which is necessary for ...the raising of the standard of living of her people ; and ...also take account of wider considerations and be ...adapted to enable India to take her place in the world ...economy on a co-operative basis with a view to assist...ing the constructive effort which is being made for ...economic harmony and all-round progress.

Pointing out that these two objectives are not ...inconsistent but complementary, the Report continues :

> To the extent to which India succeeds in raising the standard of living of her people, she will be making her greatest contribution to the recovery of world trade and employment. But the task of securing a rapid and substantial rise in India's national income necessarily involves the adoption of a programme of planned economic development and for this purpose, India must equip herself with all the necessary instruments of regulation, control and direction of trade and enterprise.

The American proposals, with their emphasis on the release from restrictions imposed by Governments do not seem to recognize this need. Emanating from a country like the U.S.A. and accepted in principle by the U.K. these proposals obviously reflect the needs and attitudes of advanced industrial countries and do not take sufficient note of the special difficulties and problems of undeveloped countries like India. Indeed, the difference between the outlook revealed in the proposals and the policies necessary for the economic uplift of undeveloped countries is so fundamental that misgivings have naturally been expressed as to whether the freedom of these countries to develop themselves would not be seriously curtailed by the acceptance of these proposals.

There is also a widespread feeling that India should retain full liberty to pursue a policy of vigorous economic deveopment unhampered by any international obligations of the kind proposed. While these feelings are understandable, we consider that it will not be in India's long-term interest to miss the opportunity of placing her point of view before a world conference both on behalf of herself and in the interest of other countries similarly situated.

Attention to certain special features of India's present economic position which re-inforce the general conclusion in favour of participation in the coming trade negotiations has also been drawn. As a creditor nation, anxious to ensure a smooth and speedy liquidation of her claims, India is vitally interested in the expansion of world trade on a non-discriminatory basis. The multilateral trading system is much more suited to her needs and will enable her to utilise the proceeds of her exports to some countries for the purchase of her requirements of capital goods in others. The success of India's expansionist programme is largely dependent on the prevalence of a high level of employment and activity in the rest of the world. The report, therefore, considers that India cannot insulate herself from economic developments in other countries and that any measures designed to mitigate fluctuations in world economic activity should have India's support.

The Report also draws attention to evidence of a genuine desire on the part of the sponsors of the proposals to fill up the lacunae in respect of the claims and requirements of undeveloped countries and quotes the resolution passed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on February 18, 1946, which states *inter alia* :

> The Economic and Social Council requests the Preparatory Committee to take into account the special conditions which prevail in countries whose manufacturing industry is still in its initial stages of development . . . .

The trend of all International Conferences *vis-a-vis* India so far has been that this country ought to remain a supplier of raw materials and agricultural produce to the world. At the discussions of many such conferences, opinion has been expressed that as the manufacturing industries of India are still in their initial stages, she should better confine herself to the development of raw materials and raw minerals. It is of some gratification to find that the Sub-Committee Report considers that the entire approach, specially of the American proposals, is of a negative character rather than a positive one. The American proposals lay down what countries should not do instead of stating what they should do to help each other. The Report affirms :

> We believe that if the basic objective of promoting world trade is to be attained, the proposals must be recast in a positive mould, and must, *inter alia*, place an obligation on the more advanced countries to assist the development of backward areas. The advanced countries can render such assistance, partly by providing the capital goods and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other means of economic development needed by the backward areas, and partly by being prepared to carry out the necessary readaptation of their own economies. We are convinced that there can be no sounder basis for international economic co-operation than a clear recognition of the need for doing everything possible to lessen the disparities in the living standards prevailing in different countries. Thirdly, it should be borne in mind that international trade is not, as seems to have been assumed in these proposals, an end in itself but a means to an end, the end being the maintenance of high and stable employment and an improvement in the standards of living.

In a world in which different countries are in different stages of economic development, free trade or freer trade will not necessarily be to the advantage of all. In fact, it may create new stresses which it should be the object of these proposals to avoid . . . The high degree of economic development attained by certain countries has been in no small measure due to the use of tariffs and other regulatory devices and it is only proper that the use of these instruments should not be denied to countries which have just started on the path of development.

The Report then goes on to examine the proposals paragraph by paragraph and suggest amendments. Among the important suggestions made are : "The Report does not accept the idea that full employment in major industrial countries alone would be enough to bring out full prosperity of other nations. For this purpose, it is equally essential that the purchasing power and standards of living of the people of primary producing areas should improve through, among other measures, the maintenance of their purchasing power."

India's Future Tariff Policy

On the question of tariffs, a vital problem for Indian economic expansion, the Report rejects the principle enunciated in the American proposals that any country should be called upon to agree to a substantial reduction of tariffs and to complete elimination of tariff preferences irrespective of its position. In the case of undeveloped countries, like India, it is necessary to take into account certain special factors which make it impossible for them to agree to a substantial reduction of tariffs and tariff preferences. With regard to India in particular, the following considerations are relevant and have, therefore, been suggested :

1. The protective duties in India are few in number and in every case are imposed after a judicious examination of the needs and requirements of the industries concerned. They are also subject to a review both in regard to their levels and duration.

2. The general level of our tariff is also moderate and would not admit of a substantial reduction.

3. Revenue duties provide a substantial proportion of the tax revenues of the Central Government and cannot safely be reduced without unduly curtailing the resources available to Government for its functions.

4. While India is prepared to surrender some of the preferences now enjoyed by her, such surrender should be effected only on a mutually advantageous basis.

As regards quantitative trade restrictions, the report while agreeing that such restrictions should be used as sparingly as possible, considers that suitable exceptions should be devised to permit their use for constructive purposes, that is, to expand production and employment with a view to increasing the purchasing power of the people.

With regard to the imposition of the very few protective duties that a handful of Indian industries enjoy at the present moment, her memory is not very pleasing. She had to fight tooth and nail to get the Steel Protection Act or the Sugar Duties passed. The policies followed by the Tariff Board in recommending protection have rather served imperial interests better than our own national needs. A complete re-orientation of the Indian tariff policy is now needed.

Another important field covered by the Report is the question of India's membership of the Executive Board of the International Trade Organisation. The Report states : "It has been proposed that the permanent seats on the Executive Board should be allotted to member states of 'chief economic importance.' The economic importance of a country for the purpose of determining its share in the management of the International Trade Organization should be judged, among other things, by reference to the following criteria : foreign trade, total national income, and population. To these, however, should be added certain other factors which are intangible, but are, nevertheless, real and highly significant. So far as India is concerned, it is necessary to lay stress on her economic potentialities and her place as the leading Asiatic nation. We think that India's position in an international organization should not be judged exclusively or mainly by reference to her existing status, but that adequate account should be taken of the possibilities of development which are indicated by the magnitude of her resources. Moreover, no international trade organization can function properly which fails to accord a rightful position to Asiatic countries, among which India occupies a leading place. We believe, therefore, that India is fully entitled to a permanent seat on the Executive Board of the International Trade Organization."

Chota Nagpur Land Problems

The following memorandum about the conditions of the raiyats in certain parts of Palamau District has been circulated by the Adibasi Jamin Bachais Sabha :

The great majority of the raiyats living within the areas of the Bhandaria and Ranka Thanas depend for their living on the cultivation of so-called *Uttakar* lands. Few are the raiyats who can afford to pay the high salami demanded for an ordinary raiyat settlement.

Now, according to Section 17 (i) of the C.N.T. Act, when a raiyat has occupied and cultivated land situate in any village for a period of twelve years, whether under a lease or otherwise, or whether the land held by him has been different at different times, he shall be deemed to be a 'settled raiyat' of that village ; and, by Sec. 19, every person who is a settled raiyat of a village shall have a right of occupancy in all land for the time being held by him as a raiyat in that village.

But in the above-named parts of Palamau, such rights as described above are completely ignored. The local rajas and landlords assume the right of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dispossessing without any legal proceeding the said raiyats even after a period of twenty years' occupation, and of transferring the lands thus seized whenever and to whomsoever they please. I quote an example : Baiju, of Yamoti, showed me his rent receipts for uttakar lands dating back some 20 years. He received suddenly an order to vacate half of these lands, which were then settled for a *salami* on some one else. Such high-handed procedure naturally spells ruin for a poor raiyat.

Raiyats in general are not aware of their acquired right of occupancy, but, even were they aware of it, not one in a thousand would have the means and the courage to risk the raja's displeasure by having recourse to the Law. Hence rajas and landlords ruthlessly exploit this helplessness of the raiyats and the law is, for all practical purposes, a dead letter. Consequently, enhancement of rent, commutation of cash rent into rent in kind, forcible ejectment, imposition of new praedial conditions (contrary to Sec. 101-b), are the order of the day.

Ever since rice has risen in value, the system called "Kan", or rent in kind, has been introduced by them. Here is an instance : in village Khajuri the raiyats paid formerly a cash rent of Rs. 4 for one bigha of uttakar land. Now, with the "Kan" system, the raiyats have to pay for the same bigha of uttakar land six maunds of paddy. Therefore, reckoning the paddy at Rs. 5 per maund, they now have to pay Rs. 30, contrary to Sec. 40 of the C.N.T. Act. Further, the raiyats are not given receipts for these payments in kind, so that they cannot produce documentary evidence of their payments and of their occupation of the land.

The conditions created by the "Kan" system are particularly harassing in the Ranka and Khapro estates. Chainpur estates, for all I know, have not so far adopted it. Another objectionable practice in the Ranka estate is a printed form given to raiyats taking a settlement. Here are some of the conditions : The raiyats may not change any 'ar' (field ridge), they may not dig a well or a tank, they may not cut an old tree or plant a new one, they may not build a house or shed, they may not sublease the land in any manner. A raiyat who infringes any of these clauses is liable to summary ejectment.

It may also here be pointed out that the tahsildars of the Ranka estate are harassing the raiyats beyond the limits of endurance and doing in the Raja's name, much that the Raja could not in all honesty countenance. The consequence is that every year scores of families have to emigrate to more hospitable climes, even to Sirguja where conditions are known to be far from ideal.

Lately the landlords have become more particular about settling yearly a new raiyat on every land, so as to forestall any accrueing of occupancy rights. It can easily be guessed that the net result of such a measure is that the raiyats lose all interest in the upkeep, repair or improvement of the land from which they are, year by year, liable to be evicted.

They ask for land with full proprietary rights. The Chota Nagpur and Santal Pargana Land Tenure systems have much to be desired. We hope the Congress Government of Bihar will pay due attention to these problems while resettling the resumed zamindary and other tenures with the tillers of the soil.

House Rent Control in Madras

The need for controlling the leases of residential buildings and their rents has become paramount in all the cities of India. During the past years, this was done with the help of the Defence of India Rules. Now that these Rules will shortly cease to be in force, provincial governments are busy in introducing legislative measures for the control of house rent. Of such measures, the Madras House Rent Control Bill deserves special attention. The main provisions of the Bill are as follows :

The Act will apply to the City of Madras, all municipalities within the Province and such other areas as may be notified by the Provincial Government in the *Fort St. George Gazette*. It shall come into force on the 1st October, 1946. It shall remain in force for two years ; but the Provincial Government may, from time to time, by notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette* extend the continuance of this Act for a further period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate two years, if in their opinion it is expedient so to do.

Every landlord shall, within three days after his building becomes vacant, give notice thereof to the Controller : Provided that this shall not apply to a building the monthly rent of which does not exceed fifteen rupees. If, within a week of the receipt of a notice under sub-section (1) by the Controller, the Provincial Government or any officer empowered by them in that behalf does not intimate to the landlord that the building is required by them for any Government purposes or for use by any public institution under Government control or any officer of the Government, the landlord shall be at liberty to lease the building to any tenant. If the Provincial Government require the building for any purpose, the Provincial Government shall be deemed to be a tenant of the landlord as from the date of the receipt of the notice under sub-section (1) and the terms of the tenancy shall be such as may be agreed upon between them : Provided that the rate of rent shall not exceed the fair rent that may be payable under the provisions of this Act.

The Controller shall on application by the tenant or landlord of a building fix a fair rent for such building after holding such inquiry as the Controller thinks fit.

In fixing the fair rent under this section the Controller shall have due regard (*a*) to the prevailing rates of rent in the locality for the same or similar accommodation in similar circumstances during the twelve months prior to the 1st April, 1940 ; (*b*) to the rental value as entered in the property tax assessment book of the municipal council, local board or the Corporation of Madras, as the case may be relating to the period mentioned in clause (*a*) ; (*c*) to the circumstances of the case, including any amount paid by the tenant by way of premium or any other like sum in addition to rent after the 1st April, 1940.

In fixing the fair rent of residential buildings, the Controller shall allow (*i*) if the rate of rent or rental value does not exceed Rs. 25 per mensem, an increase of eight and one-third per cent on such rate or rental value ; (*ii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 25 per mensem but does not exceed Rs. 100 per mensem, an increase of 25 per cent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on such rate or rental value ; (*iii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 100 per mensem, an increase of 50 per cent on such rate or rental value. Provided that in the case of a residential building which has been constructed after the 1st April, 1940, the percentage of increase shall be 12½, 37½ and 75 respectively.

In fixing the fair rent of non-residential buildings, the Controller shall allow—(*i*) if the rate of rent or rental value referred to in sub-section (2) does not exceed Rs. 50 per mensem an increase of 50 per cent on such rate or rental value ; (*ii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 50 per mensem, an increase of 100 per cent on such rate or rental value. Provided that in the case of a non-residential building which has been constructed after the 1st April, 1940, the percentage of increase shall be 75 and 150 respectively. In the case of building for which the fair rent has been fixed before the commencement of this Act, the Controller shall on the application of the landlord allow such increase in the fair rent as in the opinion of the Controller the landlord is entitled under this section.

The Bengal House Rent Control Bill may be greatly improved on these lines.

Re-drawing of the Provincial Boundaries

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has urged that the question of linguistic provinces should be taken up as "the first and foremost problem to be solved by the Constituent Assembly." He suggested that in the preliminary sitting, the Assembly should constitute a sub-committee for considering this question and appoint a Boundary Commission to report within two months upon the readjustment of boundaries to be effected before provincial constitutions were drafted. Dr. Pattabhi said :

> The problem of linguistic provinces is now more than 50 years old in India, being originally started by Sri Mahendra Narayan of Bihar, with Sri Sachchidananda Sinha as his later colleague. The Anti-Bengal Partition Agitation resulted in separation of Bihar in 1912 but Orissa's claims were neglected, although Orissa had started its agitation almost simultaneously with Bihar (Orissa had its salvation in 1935). The Andhras started agitation for an Andhra province soon after Lord Hardinge's dispatch dated August 17, 1911, ratifying the partition of Bengal had been published. For 33 years, at first independently of the Congress, very soon through the Provincial Congress Committee and later through both, agitation has been carried on and it even succeeded in securing the approval of the Madras Legislature and also of the Central Legislature.
>
> It would be wrong to say that the problem today stands where it stood. Much water has flown under the bridges in the Godavari, Krishna and Tungabhadra during these 33 years, and today the problem is waiting for the switch to be put on by the Constituent Assembly and the circuit of union completed. It was almost completed when the first Congress Premier of Madras recommended it to the Secretary of State in 1935. The Karnatak agitation came close in the wake of the Andhra agitation and had necessarily to assume the form of unification against the Andhra demand for separation. Karnatak is divided between three groups (one British and two groups of States). That is why unification has to come in.
>
> The claims of Sylhet and Silchar in Surma Valley, which are attached to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for Congress purposes but to Assam in regard to legislative and administrative matters, should also be judged right by the Boundary Commission. Kerala claims Kasargod taluka in South Canara District and Gudalar taluka of Nilgiri District as due to the Malayalees, while between Andhra and Orissa there are tracts of country in the adjoining areas claimed by both. All these are doubtless interesting complications, but they cannot prevent the solution of the main question of "linguistic provinces."
>
> An equally interesting question centres round the claim put forward by the Ambala and Jullundar divisions in the Punjab, which at one time belonged to the U.P., but were subjected to the penalty after the Mutiny of 1858 of being linked to the Punjab. Even today students from Ambala and Hissar are pointed to in Lahore as Hindustanis, as against the people of rest of the Punjab, who are Punjabis. The vast tract of country lying on either side of the Jumna, comprising 20 districts, is desired to be made into a separate province for reasons of culture and language.

The need for such a Boundary Commission for Bengal is vital. Not only Sylhet and Cachar, but Goalpara in Assam and Manbhum, Dhalbhum, Santal Pargana and Purnea in Bihar have a right to claim their inclusion in Bengal. The State Paper of May 16 places no obstacle to the formation of such a Boundary Commission. By a judicious redrawing of provincial boundaries, much of the present communal tension may be removed.

Employment in Commercial Houses

A normal limit of eight hours a day or 48 hours a week with a further provision for permitting work up to 10 hours a day or 54 hours a week subject to payment of overtime at one and a half times the normal rate with an hour's rest after four hours of continuous work —these, it is understood, will be the main provisions of a Government of India Bill which seeks to regulate conditions of employment in business houses and commercial undertakings in urban areas. A memorandum on the provisions proposed to be incorporated in the draft Act has been prepared for consideration by the Standing Labour Committee.

Before 1939, persons employed in shops, commercial undertakings, business houses, etc., were not included within the scope of labour legislation in India. Bombay was the first to enact, in that year, the Bombay Shops and Establishments Act. Sind, Punjab, and Bengal followed suit in 1940. Provisions of these Acts, however, did not extend to business houses and commercial undertakings and as such the provincial Acts are limited in their scope. A Central Act is now considered necessary to ensure uniformity in application and to bring in those establishments within its ambit which had been excluded under the provincial Acts. The Act is proposed to affect the following classes of employees :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Employees of commercial or trading establishments, office workers, commissariat employees of factories, persons employed in restaurants, theatres and other places of entertainment.

The following classes of establishments and workers may be exempted from the Act: establishments in which only members of an employer's family are engaged, staff of local authorities, establishments for the treatment of the sick and infirm destitutes or mentally unfit, intermittent workers such as watchmen, care-takers or commercial travellers or salesmen, employees of clubs and residential hotels.

The Act may have provision empowering provincial Governments to fix the opening and closing hours for any class of establishments covered by the proposed legislation.

Rest for one and half days in a week, 10 days holidays for continuous service of 12 months and payment of wages at regular intervals are expected to be other important features of the proposed legislation.

Prohibition of employment of children below 12 years of age with provision that the limit may be increased to 14 years in areas where there is compulsory education may also be provided in the Act. A limit of six hours' work a day with an interval of not less than an hour after three hours' continuous work will also be provided for children. They will not be permitted to work overtime.

Labour legislation in India had hitherto been exclusively directed to the amelioration of working conditions of the manual labour. Attention to the middle-class intellectual labour had long been overdue.

Labour Legislation in Bombay

The Bombay Congress Government seems to be in right earnest to ameliorate labour conditions. The Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 have gone a great way to improve the lot of working classes. Another piece of legislation called the Bombay Industrial Relations Bill, designed to cover a much wider field than the Industrial Disputes Act, 1938, has now been undertaken. The new Bill cuts new ground in the labour field, the Government seeks to achieve its declared object of facilitating the organisation of labour by creating a list of approved unions, removing for the purpose of registration the condition relating to recognition by the employer, bringing down the minimum membership for a representative union from 25 to 15 per cent and reducing the qualifying period from six to three months. An approved union is invested with substantial privileges, but it is also required to undertake a corresponding set of obligations in the interest of the stability of industry and the progress of sound trade unionism.

In the Industries Relations Bill, the provisions relating to labour courts are an innovation so far as this country is concerned. A remedy for the delay in the redress of grievances of workers resulting in strikes and lock-outs, will be found in the labour courts instituted under the new Bill to ensure quick decisions on disputes. Provision has been made under the Bill, for the setting up of joint committees of representatives of employers and employees and to securing speedy disposal of their day to day difficulties. This is a familiar arrangement in Britain and in several other countries and its adoption had been recommended by the Royal Commission on Indian labour.

India and F.A.O.

India has been represented at the Copenhagen Food Conference by a delegation led by Sir J. P. Srivastava. The opening of this Conference coincided with a day of great significance for India, namely, September 2, on which the first Indian National Government assumed office.

Sir Jwalaprasad, in his address, said that India will provide the first, and probably the greatest, test of the F.A.O. He described how during difficult war years, India coaxed surpluses from reluctant 'haves' and distributed them among 'have-nots.' In the three years since the Bengal famine, India has by the narrowest margins avoided the extremity of disaster. The terrible forebodings of the year 1946 have been very nearly neutralised through sheer administrative efforts of the Congress Governments of the badly affected provinces with very unsatisfactory foreign supplies. Outlining India's food policy, Sir Jwalaprasad said:

> The statement of Indian food and agriculture policy defines the objectives, indicates the targets, outlines the programme and prescribes the priorities. It is, of course, in general and familiar terms, but it contains one new and striking feature—acceptance by Government of responsibility for providing enough food for all—the 400,000,000 of our people—and food of the right kind. Our Government's aim will be not only to remove the threat of famine but also increase the prosperity of the cultivators, raise the levels of consumption, provide balanced diets and create a healthy and vigorous population.
>
> India's policy provides the framework for a plan, not one plan only but many plans, which must be co-ordinated and translated into balanced efforts. We know that our plans must immediately become measures which will produce in the shortest possible time an increase of cereal resources amounting to 6,000,000 tons a year and of other foodstuffs aggregating nearly 90,000,000 tons.
>
> The course before us is formidable, but we are not still waiting at the post. We have set off to a flying start in emergency measures already taken during the war, among which are many which fell under each of the ten heads of priority that we have selected, namely, supply and conservation of water; conservation of soil and proper use of land; increased production of manures; distribution of improved seed; protection of crops and stored grain; control of malaria; development of fisheries; increase of milk production; establishment of demonstration and distribution centres, and training of workers.
>
> Our greatest needs are for machinery, manures and technical manpower—and possibly the greatest of these is the last.
>
> We cannot, therefore, easily spare many of our experts to work exclusively for F.A.O., but we should like to feel that our technical men will be working for India, and are at the same time working for the United Nations and that their experiences are always at the disposal of F.A.O.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Imperialism Fosters Famines

World food politics has begun to take a new turn. The F.A.O. and the U.N.R.R.A. are seeking to succour the starving and undernourished peoples of Europe and Asia. But these are middlemen organisations supplying food from outside to the needy nations. There is yet no world authority ordering or controlling the production and distribution of food. Both the F.A.O. and the U.N.R.R.A. are voluntary organisations and the people who supply the food are under no compulsion while the people who receive have to accept supplies not as a right but as an act of grace on the part of the victors of war. In this distribution, preferential treatment between continents, and also between countries have been openly made on political grounds. This attitude of the victor nations cannot serve as a base for a new world order and a permanent peace, and it will not satisfy Asiatics. Hundreds of millions of Asiatics have been living on the verge of starvation for many decades. Lately Mr. Herbert Hoover reported that the gap between requirements and supplies is still so wide that forty million will remain unsatisfied, in plain language they will starve.

Bharatjyoti published an article written by Mr. A. J. Siggins in which the writer has discussed the Imperialist food politics. He says :

> The greatest hypocrisy of all time is the alleged "Fight Against Famine" now being staged in Washington.
>
> The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, of which Sir John Boyd Orr is Director-General, promises to be as big a racket as the late unlamented "Geneva Racket." All they can think of at their conferences is how to carry food to the vast concentration camps. Nobody has suggested a two-way traffic. In Britain and U.S.A. exports and imports to maintain their wealth and standards of living are the main concern of the governments. Even the 4,500,000 bales of wool from Australia must be brought to Britain so it can be made up and re-exported. There is plenty of food in Australia, North and South America and even in New Zealand. But there is a wheat shortage in South and East Africa as well as a maize shortage. Labour must work the gold, coal, diamond, copper and other mines of Africa instead of establishing a sound basic economy.
>
> It is always exports and more exports that the "trustees" of the colonial empires demand. And that is all the European powers have demanded of the Far East and the Middle East. It was all the Dutch demanded of Java and all their islands. It was all the Belgians, Portuguese and French demanded. And all they still demand.
>
> If Europeans do not break down the corrupt, evil system which is responsible for the concentration camps in which two-thirds of mankind are confined they will make war certain for posterity. Perhaps they will see the break-out in their life-time. Perhaps it will come inside of ten or five years.

Sir John Boyd Orr says that there are critical years ahead and there will be a world shortage for perhaps five years. He speaks as an Imperialist who believes that coloured peoples should be kept in concentration camps.

Judging from the experiences of the post-war months, Asia should immediately cease to look to America and U.K. for succour and should build up her own F.A.O. Siggins says :

> Starving people must no longer be at the mercy of strikers in America, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Europe or elsewhere. All starving people and all those whose standard of living is below that which Englishmen demand for themselves must have a right of access to what Englishmen are withholding from them. There is no more justification for the withholding of land on which they can live from starving and under-nourished Europeans and Asiatics than there was justification for withholding food or water or any of the essentials of a free life from the inmates of the concentration and prison camps of Germany and Japan.
>
> That is what India, as a great world power, will put to the world. And behind her she will have a hundred per cent of the decent people of the world.
>
> The obsession that exports are essential to maintain British credit and therefore these must take precedence over the carrying of food to save human lives must be dissipated. Human life comes first, and after that comes the creation of goodwill.

National Government's Drive Against Bribery and Corruption

Immediately on assumption of office, the Indian National Government have directed their attention to the enemies of public life—the bribe-takers in Government service. Railway servants have come first on the black list prepared by them. To stop bribery and corruption in railway services the National Government are taking strong measures and steps are being taken to make bribery a cognizable offence. This is revealed in a Press Note issued by the Railway Department, which says : "The Interim Government have passed orders that the departmental clearing up process should be intensified and that a stern warning to all railway employees should be issued immediately."

At the instance of the Government, the Railway Board will shortly set up special sections, both in the Railway Board and in Railway administrations, which will be charged solely with the rapid disposal of complaints and enquiries.

Government have also under consideration new legislation to make bribery a cognizable offence. They recognise the immediate necessity of eradicating bribery and corruption and contemplate setting up machinery which will successfully bring to book both the offenders and their abettors.

Of all the evils brought by the war, corruption is the foremost. The Indian railways have been no exception to the general rule. Government are aware of the fact that this evil cannot be eradicated in a day, but they are also determined that there shall be no delay either in enacting legislation or setting up proper machinery for dealing with corrupt practices. Under the new legislation, which is to be brought up before the Central Assembly in its next session bribery will become a cognizable offence. Under the new law, both the taker and the giver of the bribe will be equally liable for arrest by the police.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANTIOCH PLAN OF EDUCATION

By Dr. M. N. CHATTERJEE,

Professor of Social Science, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Chicago

What is Antioch? It is a progressive, co-educational, liberal arts college, situated at Yellow Springs, Ohio, U.S.A. It was founded in 1853 with Horace Mann, the father of the public school, as its first president. In 1920 Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, a distinguished engineer who later became the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, introduced the present program, which included several features since adopted by a number of other colleges.

As Antioch sees it, society expects its colleges and universities to accomplish three things :

(1) In addition to "conserving and transmitting the wisdom of the past," to understand how the past evolved stage by stage into the present, so that we can build upon past achievement, avoid mistakes and blunders of the past as well as use past knowledge to help solve present problems. Are these cosmic or man-made ?

(2) To keep vigilantly on the search for new truth : in the sciences, in the humanities, in social organization. To recognize that physically the world has become small, but intellectually the world still remains very large. All the peoples of the earth have been thrown together, and ways and means must be found to understand and appreciate one another for effective living on the human plane.

(3) To furnish society with young men and women who are not only intellectually but emotionally educated for vigorous, realistic, and constructive leadership. "Democracy" is not a thing but a method, which calls for intelligence, goodwill, maturity and self-control. To help young people learn the attitudes and techniques of democracy is probably one of the most important elements of education for our time.

One cardinal feature of Antioch administration and teaching staff is that the student should reasonably expect of college :

(1) Encouragement to take a hand in his own education developing initiative, and some idea of how to go about taking this responsibility, without having continually to be told and directed by assignment and examination. This is important if education is thought of as a lifetime process, rather than just a few years of school.

(2) A curriculum in which the main focus of interest is the world today—how did it get that way and where it seems to be going.

(3) A good set of educational tools—ability to speak and write so that others can understand him, to use elementary mathematics and statistics, and to dig facts efficiently out of libraries and other places of hiding. Not less important, health habits that will keep his own body and brain an efficient tool for working and living.

(4) Some systematic idea of what the human race has already found out about the world both quantitatively (mathematics and physical sciences) and in terms of values (social sciences, the arts, philosophy, and religion).

(5) The thrill of intellectual discovery, and some feeling of mastery as he makes a more thorough study of one branch of knowledge, such as engineering, or literature, or political science.

(6) Some definite idea whether he is best fitted to contribute to society as "doctor, lawyer, merchant or chief", and the basic skills and attitudes necessary for pursuing the career he chooses.

(7) The opportunity to develop *and practise* personal responsibility and progressive ethical standards, a philosophy of life which answers not only such queries as "what kind of life do I want to live?" but also "what pattern of life is best for society and how may I contribute toward it ?"

In order to accomplish these aims and fulfil these expectations, Antioch approaches the student in three different ways. He is at one and the same time a sharer in an intellectual adventure (the curriculum), a producer of goods and services (through co-operative plan), and a citizen of democracy (Community Government). In all these roles, he is given as much personal help and counselling as he seems to need or wants.

The Antioch idea was evolved by Mr. Morgan out of his experience of many years of practical engineering work when he had hired young engineers by the hundred ; he had found that many did not know how to apply their theories to actual cases, or how to supervise men, or how to see the implications of what they were doing in any other terms than those of engineering. At Antioch College he developed a program designed to produce men and women, in engineering and other fields, who had solid understanding of theory, competence in reality, and social vision.

Just recently an Antioch College senior wrote :

> "Many an engineer who has had the technical ability to build machines has failed because he lacked the business sense to market them, the social sense to put them to their best uses, or the knowledge of handling his employees in order to get his machine built. Besides this practical value of an all-round education, there is the appreciation of what life has to offer. A man whose mind is practically a machine itself, cannot appreciate the values of good music, good books or human relationships. And an engineer who knows how to build machines, but does not take into account the effect such machines may have on society, may do more harm than good to the world."

At Antioch a student's course is divided roughly into thirds : one-third is general background courses which include the physical and life sciences, literature, social sciences, government, philosophy and art—the basic equipment to approach both human and world problems. No living man can escape participation in all these areas with impunity. Another third is professional field courses for specialisation. The final third is electives.

The student carries all three types of courses through freshman to senior year. Thus he has his whole college period in which to develop an understanding of the world around him, cement lifelong habits of cultural study and participation, and explore professional fields and achieve competence in the one of his final choice.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

How does the Co-operative Plan work?

Antioch students work in scientific laboratories, in museums, in schools, factories, broadcasting studios, government bureaus. Their work may be anywhere in Maine or Missouri, New York, Washington D.C. On the jobs, students are regular employees, receiving the customary wages for their skill and type of work. The kinds of jobs which students hold vary greatly according to interest, background, and degree of training. Comparatively inexperienced people at the beginning of their college course are the largest single group of students available for employment. They are, however, a specially selected group, not only for intelligence and ability (Antioch students come from the top third of their high school classes and compare on nationally standardized tests with college and university groups of highest academic standing in the country), but also for personal qualifications indicating probable success on co-operative jobs. Even before the interviews and placement conferences at Antioch, before a student is admitted to the college, a great amount of selection has been done on basis of references, evaluations, physical examination, autobiographical sketch. Thus an employer who hires an Antioch student may get a more highly selected risk than he would from his own personnel department.

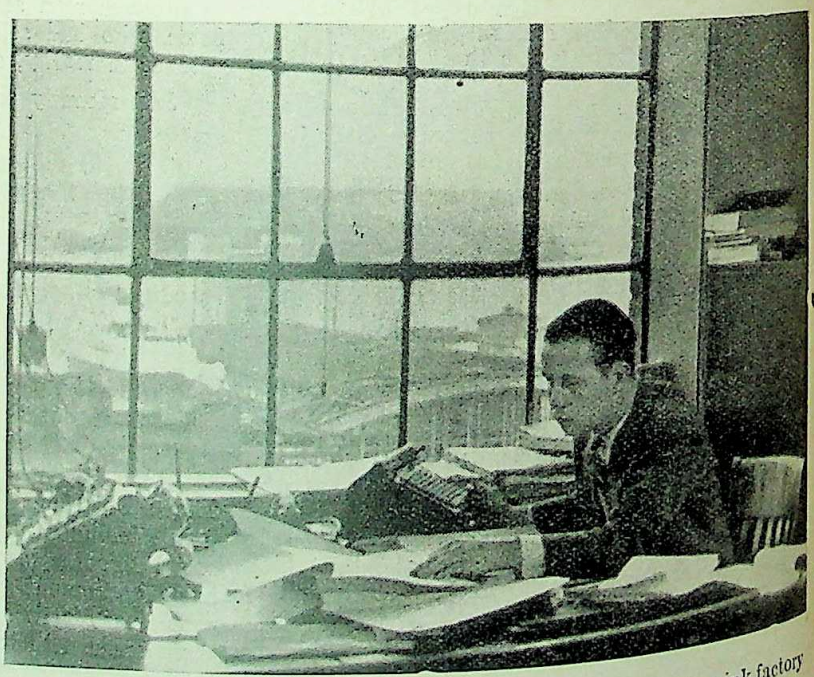


Antioch students in big broadcasting studios. This is a sample of co-operative job in the field of radio-journalism

The Co-operative Plan is sometimes called the alternate work and study plan. After admission, a student either stays in the college for eight weeks or he is sent on a job for the same period. After the end of this period they exchange places that is one who has been in the college goes to work and the one who has been working comes for his class-room education. That is called the first division. During the second division a student stays on his job for twelve weeks and comes back to school for the same period.

The operation of the plan seems complicated but it is very simple. A specially trained staff of seven men and women at the college directs the co-operative plan, secures most of the jobs, and does extensive counselling.

When an employer opens a job opportunity to students, a College representative, a member of the staff mentioned above, through personal conference and correspondence gains as thorough an understanding as possible of the qualifications, duties, and working conditions of the job. Working closely with both students and supervisors, he recommends for the employer's approval a student whose background training, and personal qualifications seem to fit the job, and whose interest is such that he wants to apply for it. That student, once accepted by the employer and placed, holds the job until he returns to school, and is replaced by an alternate selected for comparable abilities, interests, and training. It is expected that the two students will cover a single job for a year or more under the normal operation of the plan. In undergraduate



An Antioch student working in the laboratory of a big printing-ink factory

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

give vocational orientation and personal development. In upperclass years the placements bear more relation to career choices, and to long-range employment possibilities after graduation.

Immediate jobs await most Antioch students when they finish school. Ideally jobs will look for them instead of graduates looking for jobs. In 1939, 54 out of 56 young men, 30 out of 35 young women, stepped right into positions for which they had been trained, many with employers who had watched them at work.

Fundamentally, the co-operative plan is designed to be educational. It is study too, as much as the time a student spends on the campus, although it is study from new material rather than from books. During each work period, students write thorough reports about some phase of what they have learnt. These might be directly about the job experiences, or a longer view of the whole career which he or she has in mind, or a study of some aspect of the community in which the student has been living, the way people think, the ethical standards that guide them, the cultural facilities they have, even the economic geography or geology of a region.

How are jobs and students matched together? Usually jobs have a connection with a student's life interests. They help him to explore among possible careers, to test his interests, or to develop personal qualities which will make him more effective whatever he does in life. As the student advances, his job usually ties in with his academic field of specialisation and his tentative career interests. No two students have exactly the same sequence of jobs. With three girls interested in social work one might start as a nursery school assistant or a clinic receptionist. Another might do clerical work in a social agency. The third might even work as a sales girl in a large department store, or as an escort in Henry Ford's Dearborn Village, because she and her personnel counsellor had decided that she needed experience in meeting people before she was put in charge of their welfare. Later with maturity and experience they will be placed on more responsible jobs in their field.

Academic standard of the College is high. Antioch graduates are accepted by all graduate schools on a par with graduates from other colleges and universities.

Each year approximately 300 leading business, industrial, and professional organizations in twenty states employ Antioch students on the co-operative plan. The farsighted, progressive business or professional man enjoys an equal share with the Antioch faculty in educating young men and women to take responsibility and to become better members of society. He discovers promising candidates for his permanent organization (many students return to co-operating employers after graduation). He can select employees for his training program from students already carefully chosen for leadership, seriousness of purpose, and intellectual capacity. He secures superior co-operation and application from these students because they themselves have chosen the job as an important part of their total educational experience.

Democracy at work in Antioch College.

The governing body of the college is the Administrative Council composed of both faculty, students and representative of the Alumni. Two students are elected by the entire student body to represent them at the Council, and the third one is the Community Manager who is an ex-officio member of the Council. In addition to this there are faculty committees in which also students are represented. For these committees students are chosen by the Community Manager in the same way as the professors are chosen by the Administrative Council. This means that nothing can happen, no measures can be taken by the Administration in which the students did not have a voice.



An Antioch girl working in an aircraft factory

Antioch is both a college as well as a community. The college part is academic while the community is living. The community has a much wider scope than the college. The whole faculty and student body work through the Community Government which is an elected body of both students and faculty, more of the former than of the latter. Through it students and faculty explore together the possibilities in community living. Together they plan all social activities, determine and uphold standards of conduct, supervise the community bookstore, bank and laundry and dry-cleaning services, the intramural sports program (there is no inter-collegiate sports at Antioch), a motion picture series, a concert series, etc. A network of committees is responsible for these and many more activities, and every student serves on one or more of the committees which most interest him.

Community Government started by Mr. A. E. Morgan has now been made an integral part of Antioch and its scope increased by the present president Mr. A. D. Henderson. It is of considerable educational value. It helps give students the habit of carrying out principles into action. It helps them develop leadership, initiative and tolerance, and helps them acquire the ability to work with a group and to see a project through. Mr. Henderson sums up what Antioch

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

program offers in these words : "The fundamental thing about our plan is that it develops maturity and a sense of community obligation. It gives students a chance to explore vocations and themselves, to make decisions based on experience rather than on hearsay or romantic misconceptions. All students must work, all have equal opportunities, equal responsibilities. In today's world, this basis of democracy is all-important."

Despite its breaks with traditional educational program, Antioch holds firmly to an old-fashioned motto :

"Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

These were the last words of its first president, Horace Mann, whispered to his entire student body grouped around his bedside on the day he died in 1859.

——:o:——

GOBIND BEHARI LAL—AN EMINENT SCIENCE WRITER IN THE UNITED STATES

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

Gobind Behari Lal is one of the distinguished Indians in the United States. He has made good in his special field of popularising knowledge of intricate scientific subjects through the daily and weekly press. He has received international recognition for his ability. He is a credit to India and the following brief information about him should be of Indian national interest.

Mr. Lal came to the United States in 1912. Before he left India he had his M.A. from the University of Punjab and was an instructor of English and Physics in Hindu College at Delhi. As a patriotic youngman, inbued with the idea of Indian freedom, he came to the United States to carry on higher studies in Social Sciences, so that he would be able to serve India more effectively. For nearly three years Mr. Lal carried on graduate studies in the University of California at Berkeley ; while assimilating all that is best in American life and American form of government. He was not merely a book-worm but he was devoting, during his student days, the best of his energies to further the cause of establishment of a Federated Republic of the United States of India. This was the story of Mr. Lal some 30 years ago. Let this be recorded as a mere foot-note to Mr. Lal's career that to work for an unpopular cause was not an easy thing for him ; and he had to go through privations and difficult days for the cause he loved and cherished. But these trials and tribulations steeled him and with great tenacity he adjusted himself to new conditions and has created a place for himself in the field of American journalism.

II

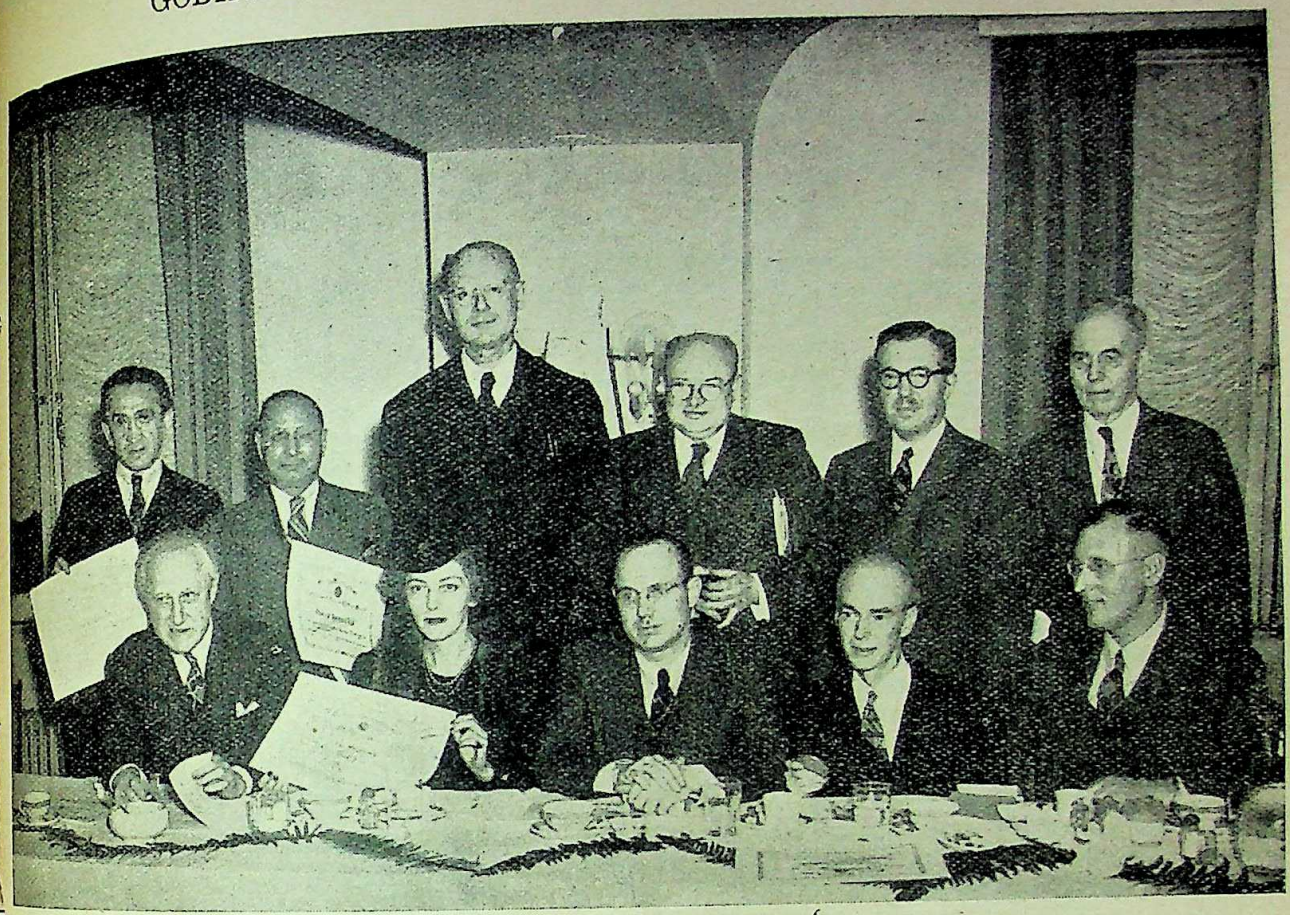
Mr. Lal started his journalistic career about 1921 as a special feature writer of various San Francisco papers—*The Call, The Bulletin, The Chronicle*. In 1925, when he became a regular member of the staff of *San Francisco Examiner*, he was already one of the pioneers in the field of systematic reporting of development of Science through daily press. In 1926-1927, he wrote a series of scientific articles, based on interviews with great scientists—Prof. R. A. Millikan, Prof. A. A. Michelson, Prof. Albert Einstein and others—which received national attention. In 1930, Mr. Lal's article on cancer research received world-wide publicity and recognition ; and Mr. William R. Hearst, the head of Hearst group of papers, presented him with a check of $500·00 as a special award for meritorious services. This was a unique incident, because never before in the history of the Hearst Press, Mr. Hearst did such a thing. Mr. Lal's work received full recognition in 1933, when he was made the Science Editor of the Hearst Press and International Service and was sent to New York to take charge of the distinguished assignment.

In the United States when a journalist receives a Pulitzer Award he receives the highest recognition in his field. In 1937, five American Science writers received Pulitzer prize *jointly*. Mr. Lal, as the Science Editor of *International News Service* was one of them and others were Howard Blakeslee, Science Editor of the *Associated Press* ; David Henry Dietz, Science Editor of the Scripp-Howard newspapers ; William L. Laurence, Science writer of the *New York Times* and John J. O'Neill, Science Editor of *New York Herald Tribune*. Mr. Lal later on received further recognition when he was elected as President of the National Association of Science Writers which is a special organization of the profession and which enjoys immense prestige. Today Mr. Lal is not only associated with the International News Service, but is the Science Analyst of the *American Weekly* which has a paid up circulation of 9,000,000 and is estimated to be read each Sunday by approximately 30,000,000 Americans.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is the foremost national scientific organization in America. Its activities cover every branch of Science and it honors its distinguished members with various forms of recognition. Recently with the fund made available from the grants of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the association has established an annual award or awards to be given to a person, or group of persons, who has done the most distinguished work during the year in the field of popularisation of science through the Press. This award is to be known as *Science Writers' Award*, which is in the form of a medal, bearing the figure of George Westinghouse embossed on one side, the name etc., of the recipient on the other. On the 27th of March, 1946, the opening day of the annual meeting of the association held at St. Louis, Mo, which was the first post-war meeting of the organization, the first award of the Westinghouse Medal for distinguished services rendered by Science writers was made to thirteen most distinguished and some of the pioneers of the profession : 1. Howard W. Blakeslee, Science Editor of the *Associated Press* ; 2. David Henry Dietz, Science Editor of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers ; 3. *Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor of Universal Service, International News Service and Science Analyst of the American Weekly* ;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Winners of Distinguished Science Writers' Award
Standing from left to right : 1. William Laurence, 2. Gobind Behari Lal, 3. Frank Thone, 4. Watson Davis, 5. David Dietz, 6. Howard W. Blakeslee
Sitting from left to right : 7. Waldemar Kaempffert, 8. Jane Stafford, 9. Robert D. Potter, 10. John J. O'Neill, 11. H. Nicols

4. Watson Davis, Director, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 5. Waldemar B. Kaempffert, Science Editor, the *New York Times* ; 6. William L. Laurence, Science Writer, *New York Times* ; 7. John J. O'Neill, Science Editor, *New York Herald-Tribune* ; 8. Thomas R. Henry, Science Editor, *Washington Star*, Washington, D.C.; 9. Frank Thone, Science Writer, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 10. Jane Stafford, Science Writer, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 11. Robert D. Potter of the *American Weekly* Staff ; 12. Herbert Nicols of *Christian Science Monitor* and 13. Major Van der Water.

Thus India may be well proud of the achievements of Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, recipient of a Pulitzer Prize and an award from the American Association for the Advancement of Science and an ex-president of National Association of Science Writers.

III

As a seasoned and far-sighted Indian patriot, Mr. Lal believes that the future of a free India will largely depend upon the progress of scientific education among the people, which will be one of the most important means for the development of Indian national efficiency in every sense of the word. Therefore, since the establishment of the Watumull Foundation, by Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Watumull, which has one of its objects—the promotion of national efficiency of India and better understanding between the United States and India—Mr. Lal has actively and effectively served the foundation as a member of its American Advisory Board.

Mr. Lal is convinced that the surest way of spreading scientific education in India is by creating facilities in India for training the highest type of scientists and also by over-hauling Indian educational system in such a fashion that rudiments of science and their practical application must be taught in secondary schools which will be the foundation of higher scientific education in the colleges and universities. He also thinks that sending thousands of Indian university graduates to Great Britain and the United States for so-called higher scientific education is a form of squandering funds which have been ultimately contributed by the poor tax-payers of India. The amount that is needed to maintain five or six Indian students decently in the United States will be sufficient to engage one first class professor from the United States to be associated with an Indian University who will be able to train hundreds of deserving students in India. This process will give better and democratic opportunity for higher training of the best of India, even thodgh they may come from poor families. Mr. Lal thinks and advocates that India should send the foremost and most promising scientists to foreign countries to acquire all that is not taught in India and they should teach them in Indian universities after their return home. Furthermore, immediate steps should be taken to equip various Indian universities with most up-to-date laboratory facilities for research and higher studies. Indian universities must be transformed as institutions of higher learning, no way inferior to the best of the universities of the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This task can be accomplished, according to Mr. Lal, and I wholeheartedly agree with him, through united efforts of Indian National Government, Indian scientists, Indian industrialists and Indian journalists, the latter are to create national public opinion in favor of scientific education and diffusion of knowledge of scientific subjects among the masses.

Under the most adverse circumstances, in a foreign land, through his own attainments and efforts Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, who is recognised as one of the first six science writers of the United States, has proved beyond doubt that worthy sons and daughters of Mother India can hold their own in competition with those more favorably placed, on the basis of merit and efficiency. The achievement of Mr. Lal should be a source of inspiration for the younger generation of India and it may induce some Indian journalists to specialise in the field of science-writing.

New York,
May 19, 1946.

———:O:———

OUR EDUCATION*

By Prof. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.Sc., (Cantab)

Education really means, or ought to signify, preparation for life. The question at once arises, preparation for what kind of life ? And for whom ? The answer can be indicated by a study of social structure and educational organisation consequent on it.

The early Greeks, for example, who had originally been democratic tribal folk, gradually developed into people living in small principalities ruled over by oligarchies. The ruling groups among them did not grow food nor work as craftsmen. This was done by farmers and slaves. The job of the ruling class was to be good soldiers and officers, and to make and administer law. In accord with this social setting we find that the traditional Greek curriculum of youth in the time of Aristotle consisted of (*a*) training in military arts and general physical culture; (*b*) music, poetry and rhetoric; and (*c*) mathematics. As the practice of industrial arts was connected with slavery, it found no place in the education of the ruling class.

In ancient Hindu India of the Smriti Age the avowed purpose of education was to develop the mind and build up the character of the Brahman and Kshatriya leaders of the social organisation—besides imparting to them special training for their job as thinkers, teachers and warriors. Children of artisans and cultivators who actually tilled the land were not admitted to these centres of higher education.

In both these cases, the ruling class sought, through education, to perpetuate the existing social order in their time. There was also an attempt to develop the mind and body of each individual of the ruling group.

In modern times, when the English traders seized power in the different provinces of India, they needed men to help them in their work of commerce and administration. At that time, in England itself power was still in the hands of the landed gentry, and some rich businessmen. As a well-known historian remarks, those in authority "strove to keep the poor in ignorance and to maintain the authority of the established church." It is, therefore, not surprising that in the early years of British rule in our country, nothing was done beyond arrangements for securing assistants who could perform the less important official duties. This is stated to have been the object of founding the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 and the Benares Sanskrit College in 1792. Some liberal Englishmen, however, wanted a spread of the Christian religion and culture in this country and sent missionaries. The intellectual leaders of our country,—notably the great pioneer of modern Indian culture—Rammohun Roy—realised however the importance of spreading scientific knowledge to reorient the mental and cultural outlook of the intelligentsia. They wanted to create a new order of society, on the basis of a synthesis of our older civilization, integrated to the modern scientific or realistic content of culture.

This second and very different outlook on education—of building up a new culture, and society—has persisted among some of our great educational leaders. Vidyasagar, for example, stated the necessity of stressing, in education, the realities based on scientific researches as opposed to metaphysical speculation. The East India Company was, however, in no mood to spend money on education, beyond their own requirements. The rapid growth of their political power and the need of a more systematic organisation however made some readjustment necessary. The Indian revolt of 1857, forced the British ruling class to realise that changes were needed. The feudal lords in India having lost their importance, it was necessary to placate the newly risen middle class intelligentsia. In 1861-62 we find that non-official Indians were for the first time taken into the Councils of the Provincial and Central Governments. Indians were also appointed in the Civil Service. During the regime of the Liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, the upper middle class in this country, consisting of zemindars, lawyers, businessmen and educationists organised themselves to be able to press their demands with greater force. In England itself the extension of the franchise from 1832 to 1868, made inevitable by the rapid growth of her industrial organisation, had brought about changes in the public attitude towards education. During 1870 to 1880, these led to the introduction of compulsory education in Great Britain. In our country, as a repercussion of these changes in the British Isles, there was expansion of education in general, in the towns as well as villages and the old Panchayet System of local Government was partially revived. When, however, nationalist leaders like Gokhale tried to legislate for rapid expansion of primary education in rural areas and introduction of compulsory education, the officials who constituted the majority in the Council, threw out the proposals. There was no transfer of power nor any organisation of a system of national education.

In England, since 1880, the structure and content of national education had been brought more and more into line with the requirements of a highly industrialised country under a capitalist regime. For the same reason, the educational system of India under British rule had remained suited to a colonial country pre-

* Presidential address delivered at the ... Conference, Guntur, January, 1946.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

posed by the imperial rulers to be held indefinitely in subjection as a source of cheap raw materials and labour. When, in 1919, some transfer of power was made, as concessions to the greater political consciousness of the masses, primary education was seriously taken up. Although the Hindus and Muhammadans had come together during this period, and the political ferment had reached the masses, there was no clear-cut ideal of future society in the mind of the leaders. It was left to be a "Free India." The great problems of rights of the peasantry and of workers in industry were not seriously taken up. With the spread of some education in the villages, as well as among the urban poor, there was growing consciousness among the masses and these questions obtruded themselves more and more on the notice of political leaders. The process was accelerated during the political movement of 1930-31 and it was realised by the Indian National Congress, as the premier political organisation of our country, that a statement of the future rights of peasants and workers in a Free India was essential. This was done at Karachi in 1931. Since then, there has been a clearer formulation of the charter of rights at Haripura and recently in the Election manifesto. There have, however, been gaps in these declarations which are due to a lack of detailed knowledge about the condition of our own people especially of workers and peasants and of a clear vision of future society. I shall consider some of these briefly. Unlike the period 1919-21, the Muhammadans, except in the Frontier Province had to some extent kept aloof from the political movements in 1930-33, as the Congress had in the intervening period failed to meet their special requirements. When the charter of rights was drawn up by the Congress, the basic reason for this divergence was overlooked. This difference in outlook came clearly to the surface after the election of 1937, when education in rural areas had been pushed vigorously by the Congress, the League and the Coalition Ministries. The well-known Lahore resolution of the Muslim League sums up their position.

The tribal people who number about 20 millions at a modest estimate, and the socially backward castes in the Hindu community have also their special needs and problems. These also have found expression through their various organisations.

As I have stated before, a comprehensive charter of rights was drawn up by the Indian National Congress in 1931 and further elucidated later on. It was in the fitness of things that a scheme of National Education should be drawn up by the Congress and a National Planning Committee set up for an economic programme, at about the same time. The changes in the world situation, and the much greater political development of the Indian masses, have also brought forth from the Government of India various plans of Post-War industrial development and Post-War educational expansion. The Educational Plans that have been put forward may be examined in some detail. The Wardha Scheme was formulated first and should therefore be examined before the Sargent Scheme. The main feature of this scheme is best set out in the terms of the resolutions of the "Wardha National Education Conference in 1937. They are (*a*) that free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale ; (*b*) that the mother-tongue be the medium of education ; (*c*) that the Conference endorse the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should as far as possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child ; (*d*) that the conference expect that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers." The Indian National Congress at its Haripura session endorsed the first three resolutions.

In drafting the syllabus, the Committee entrusted with the work clarified the principles underlying the proposed system of national education.—"Socially considered the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated by all children of the nation will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual workers and intellectual workers. Economically considered the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and also enable them to utilise their leisure advantageously. . . . The scheme envisages the idea of a co-operative community in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of all children." These are undoubtedly fine principles for educational planning. The Committee note also that "the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities." The Committee, however, stated that "this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of running expenses." Also in the "main outlines of the seven years' course" spinning and weaving occupy the place of honour on top of the list and it is expected to be made a compulsory subject in all basic schools in the lowest forms. A reference to the reports on Basic Education issued by the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh makes it clear that spinning and incidental work was the main craft introduced in the Basic Schools almost everywhere ; also wherever careful accounts were kept, it was obvious that the schools did not bring an income of more than a small fraction of the expenses. The only exception was the case of the school at Sevagram. It should, however, be remembered that the yarn spun in this school was sold at a subsidised rate which it is not possible to obtain in the open market or on an all-India scale. The pupils were also made to work on it for 3 hours on an average each day. It has been suggested that the Government should pay the subsidy when such schools are organised for compulsory primary education all over India. I have calculated the amount of it needed for 5 crores of children ; it is Rs. 50 crores per annum besides expense on a Khadi department. This burden will naturally have to be borne by the tax-payers who are the parents of the children. It should also be pointed out that in laying so much stress on spinning the sponsors of the Wardha Scheme are going against the sound general principles formulated by them, *viz.*, that the craft should be rich in educative possibilities and that the central handicraft should be chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. In our country nearly three-fourths of our people are agriculturists. To be exact, the figure is a little over 70 per cent. But less than one per cent of our people are spinners or weavers. These are serious defects in the Wardha Scheme of National Education, in the matter of content of teaching. The principles laid down are however sound. They are in fact very similar to those formulated by the great American educationist, John Dewey for linking education to the social and economic background of the child.

A far more serious defect of the Wardha Scheme is the basic philosophy that underlies it. The entire

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Basic Scheme has no plans for meeting the needs of industry ; there is also no mention of University education or higher research as part of the national plan. This scheme of national education is in fact based on belief that the future of Indian civilization lies in a village economy based on the present primitive agriculture and the equally archaic spinning wheel and cottage industry linked with it. I am myself a wearer of Khadi ; but I do it because it is one hundred per cent Swadeshi and every pice given for it goes to our people. For the time being, until we build up industries and better modes of production, it is a useful cottage industry which I have recommended for adoption in certain areas in famine-stricken Bengal, for rehabilitation. But that does not mean that our intellectual development should be linked to and limited by this ancient mode of production. I may add that the Indian National Congress by its appointment of a National Planning Commission, including many eminent scientists, has expressed its belief in a different type of future Indian society.

The so-called Sargent Scheme drawn up by a Committee of Indians and Britishers carefully considered the Wardha Scheme and have retained its valuable principles regarding stress on handiwork and what they term "learning by doing." They have, however, overlooked the importance of craft centering which Gandhiji stressed in his scheme. Unless a man learns to think and develop his mind in association with his future profession in life, he is likely to give up exercising his brain later on in life. Nor will he have the same respect for his work as for other occupations like educational work or the so-called learned professions where the mind had to be kept at a high level of fitness. Modern agriculture and modern industry offers endless scope for real culture. They are no longer the primitive means of production which made their followers humble individuals who had no need to think but to do a little muscular work.

The Central Advisory Board of Education can, however, claim the merit of having drawn up a fairly comprehensive plan for the different stages of education commencing from Nursery Schools, passing to Basic Junior or Senior Schools, and then discussing technical education, adult education and university education. There are also chapters on Training of Teachers, Health of the School Child and the formation of an Employment Bureau. The entire plan however lacks reality for a very simple reason. It seems to have been drawn up in a partial vacuum, without considering other aspects of the life of the nation. Thus we read, "while the extent and character of the post-war demand for technical education must remain problematical, it is possible to make definite proposals as to the lines on which it should be organised." The weakness of the report is summed up in this sentence. The lines on which various types of schools can be organised have been adapted from the systems found to be sound in practice in England. This is quite all right,—as far as it goes and it is only a small way. For national education is not a matter of a paper programme. While primary education and part of the post-primary state can be generally planned on the assumption that all children between certain ages will be made to go to school, educational planning as a whole can not be carried on such a vague basis. The Central Advisory Board are aware that it is necessary not merely to educate but to place in employment the youth at the end of training. Hence they have recommended the organisation of an Employment Bureau on lines similar to that obtaining in England. But in an independent country where every adult is an elector, unemployment has to be tackled somehow by the people in power to maintain their position. In a dependent country, the power remains with rulers who cannot be dislodged by a simple vote. The copying of the English national system of education with suitable adaptations regarding the content of teaching cannot convert the scheme into a National Scheme of Education for India. The first requisite for that is planning for Economic Reconstruction ; the Educational Plan has to fit in with this scheme. As a matter of fact, the people who showed the way in planning—the people of U.S.S.R.—did not indulge in such piecemeal plans. Their plan was total *i.e.*, for all departments of life. Unless this is done, the organic unity of the social and economic structure is upset and there is maladjustment. The reason why the Sargent Plan, in spite of its beautiful appearance on paper, reveals weakness in operative details is due to the fact that the Imperialist rulers do not intend to industrialise India to any serious extent. They are aware that some industries must be built up and agriculture improved to a certain extent if British manufacture is to find a bigger outlet in this country. At the same time they feel that there must be adequate safeguards against proper industrial development in India ; otherwise India with her resources might easily become self-sufficient and cease to be a market for British goods. But if industries do not develop, then the scheme of education based on the British model will not fit into the national life. So far as compulsory primary education is concerned, it may come. But even here there is a difficulty about expenses. If India is not industrialised, *i.e.*, not made much more productive than now, the people cannot have enough surplus over and above their bodily requirements, to spare money for such widespread education. Hence the progress must be slow. Hence the Central Board of Education envisage that the scheme will come into operation full two generations later. The authors do not of course give this reason for the extraordinary period that they consider necessary for this educational development. Lack of suitable teachers is put forward as the principal difficulty. Against this argument it may be noted that the percentage of education and literacy in India is about the same now as it was in Czarist Russia in 1917 just before the Soviet Revolution. In the Asiatic dependencies of the old Russian Empire literacy was then less than one per cent on an average. There was, therefore, much greater lack of teachers in these areas than in India at present. Nevertheless in 1939, in spite of a period of tremendous turmoil for the first five years, literacy in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan was on an average well over 70 per cent. Primitive tribes in those areas, about whom we still teach from existing text-books written by British or American authors' are now running modern industries and teaching advanced subjects in local Universities in these regions. I shall give you another example much nearer home. When the Swaraj Party under the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das secured an absolute majority in the Calcutta Corporation, the question of primary education of the children of the city was taken up as the first item on their programme of constructive work. Deshbandhu put me in charge of it and asked me to see that we introduced compulsory education as quickly as possible. Under the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ge, the limit of attendance on a voluntary basis has to ...be reached before compulsion can be applied. This limit ...s taken at about 60 per cent of the number of children ...of school-going age. Many educationists were doubtful ...whether we would get suitably trained teachers for such ...rapid expansion. It was undoubtedly a problem. The ...solution which I adopted was as follows : We appointed ...as teachers men who had passed the matriculation ...examination from any recognised University or from the ...Congress National Schools of 1921-23 or had knowledge ...of academic subjects of this standard, and preference ...was given to those who had shown initiative in National ...Welfare work. A Training College was organised on a ...somewhat special basis. The classes were held in the ...evening and a certain proportion of the teachers ap...pointed were sent to these lessons. They worked in the ...daytime in our schools where our trained Inspectors as ...well as the staff of the Training College went to guide ...them by helpful criticism. Additional lessons were given ...in the evening classes. In this way in six years' time we ...arranged for the teaching of all children of primary ...school-going age in Calcutta, attending on a voluntary ...basis and at the same time continuously improved the ...standard of teaching. Our schools were inspected by the ...Government officials who were not by any chance ...biassed in our favour and also by foreign visitors. The ...quality of teaching was admitted by all of them to be ...very high and Mr. H. N. Brailsford who went to visit ...one of our good schools in 1930 remarked that it was ...better than the school where he had studied in child...hood. He noted in his work *Rebel India* about this ...school, "If all India could pass through such schools, ...the next generation would solve any problem that is ...soluble." I may add that at the All-India Educational ...Conference held in Karachi in 1933 I pointed out how ...by a slight modification of the Calcutta method, the ...problem of lack of trained teachers in India can be ...solved. I have given you these details to indicate that ...if we plan for an attainable objective and are really ...earnest about it, and treat it as a research problem, we ...can reach it. In Calcutta we made up our mind to do ...a certain thing, and then we set about how to do it ...best. The Sargent Committee have started at the wrong ...end. They have considered the present supply of trained ...men and calculated on this basis a rate of progress ...which is comparable to the speed of a bullock cart. ...Naturally they want 50 years to reach their objective.

To plan a National system of education we have to take stock of our present position—not only in education but in other matters. You know probably that "the Government of India themselves admit that we do not produce sufficient food of all kinds to meet the requirements of a balanced diet in minimum quantity for the 400 millions of India."* Yet over 70 per cent of our people are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. But America with barely 12 per cent engaged in agriculture produces enough food for herself and for export. The well-known physicist, Dr. Meghnad Saha has pointed out by another set of figures at how low a level of production we are now. All commodities have to be made by human, animal or some other kind of labour. Now science has enabled man to harness electricity and steam as well as oil to produce power to labour on his behalf. The total production of commodities in a country will be proportioned to the total consumption of power in the country. Also the total production of commodities i.e., production as a whole measures the wealth of the people. The amount of power—electric, steam, etc., or otherwise produced and consumed in this country comes to barely 120 units per capita whereas in the advanced countries of Europe and in America it varies from 2000 to 3000 units. It is no wonder that the average Indian standard of life is so wretched absolutely and compared to western countries.

Turning back to agriculture, on which 70 per cent of our people depend, you will find that the average holding of land is uneconomic all over India, except in the Punjab. Very little chemical manuring is also done, as none are produced in this country and foreign products unduly increase the cost of cultivation. It has been computed by some of the members of the National Planning Board, (and our own estimates are similar) that half the people must be shifted from agriculture to other productive occupations if agriculture is to be paying. The other productive occupations are industry and the social services. For industry you require a long-term planning for production of electric and thermal power and of its use in factories. But hydro-electric power, the most potent and cheapest source of electric power, needs a preliminary survey of rivers and their rate of flow and the volume of water drained from catchment areas. Unfortunately the Government of India have never paid any attention to this matter. A well-known British engineer, Sir F. Spring, who constructed one of the biggest bridges in the East,—the Hardinge Bridge over the Padma in Northern Bengal—remarks : "Heretofore there has been no pretence of organising any . . . research in connection with the engineering of canals and railways of India," although as the same writer points out, expenditure on such research reduces the 'first cost of public works and ensures their safety.' The reason for such neglect has been pointed out earlier. The British rulers are not interested in our welfare, and in the past did not desire India to be industrialised at all. Such projects can, therefore, be taken up only when the power comes into the hands of people interested in the welfare of the Indian people.

A mere transfer of power is not however enough. In connection with agriculture, I have pointed out that holdings are everywhere uneconomic. I should add that the average cultivator very often has to supplement his earnings from his own land by share cropping. The superior landlord who may be a non-cultivating owner takes an undue share of the harvest from the peasant proper. The position is worst in the areas of Permanent Settlement. I have carried out a survey of the economic conditions in Bengal, and I can tell you that two-thirds of the peasantry there thus live from hand to mouth. In the Madras Presidency I believe the position, before the Bengal famine, was not better than in our province. Apart from shifting a large proportion of agriculturists to industry, it is essential that the cultivator proper be protected from the superior landlord. Even in the Punjab, where there have been for about 20 years better land laws than in other provinces of India, the poor peasant does not get adequate protection from landowners and peasant moneylenders. Therefore, when a transfer of power takes place, we should ensure that the zemindars and money-lenders do not have any important share of it.

The same remark applies to the case of industrial workers. It is true that we must organise industries to relieve pressure on land. But the industrial worker as he lives now is no better off than the peasant. His work

* Kharegat Committee Report.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is monotonous ; he does not realise that he is part of a vast system of integrated work that should be the glory of modern times. Unfortunately, he is treated by the capitalist owners like a bit of another machine—only to be used for the production of goods and not to have any share in its consumption. Gandhiji has rightly stated that violence is involved in modern industrialism. But violence does not lie in the use of machine and the powers of nature as hand-maidens of Man. It consists in the forcible appropriation by a few owners of the surplus production that comes from the co-operation of many individuals—not only in the particular factory where one kind of goods is produced, but with workers elsewhere who have grown and supplied the raw material or built the machines. Our great leader Gandhiji believes that owners and such wealthy people can be persuaded to behave as Trustees of the national wealth in their hands. My experience of them however has been that they do not have any faith in such a theory. In connection with a recent strike near Calcutta, I pointed out to a Director and certain of his influential friends that in the Industrial belt round Calcutta labourers were half-starved. A sample survey carried out under my supervision in 1945 has revealed that as against a balanced daily diet including fish and milk and weighing 19 chittacks as drawn up and recommended by the Government nutritional expert Dr. Aykroyd, the workers are now getting 16 chittacks mainly consisting of cereals, lentils and vegetables. I mentioned these figures, but it left them unmoved. Then I stated Gandhiji's theory of Trusteeship. I was bluntly told that they as businessmen did not believe in it. You will, therefore, realise that in this sphere also it is essential to safeguard that transfer of power does not take place to any serious extent to the hands of the small group of rich bankers and businessmen.

I would like you to pause for a moment and consider what issues have come up in connection with our discussion of National Education. We have seen that a National system of education is intimately bound up with National Planning as a whole. We have also had to conclude that the necessary economic development of our country, essential for the success of any real scheme of National Education, cannot take place unless there is National Government. It has also become apparent that the National Government must not be run in the interest of a handful of zemindars, bankers, moneylenders and business magnates. As the Indian National Congress stated in its famous resolution of 8th August 1942, the National Government must devote itself to "the welfare of the workers in fields, factories and elsewhere to whom all power should essentially belong." If, therefore, you want a truly national system of education, which will enable you to live happily in a free and prosperous India, you must bear these ideals in mind, and work for their attainment. I am a Congressman myself and I have therefore laid stress on the ideals set out by the Congress ; and also because it is the premier political organisation in India. There are however other organisations like the Communist Party or the Muslim League who believe in similar ideals and have formulated programmes of action based on such ends in view. Many of you may owe allegiance to different political parties including the Congress. But if you agree in your major objectives, it should be your duty to work together for their attainment. If you are a true well-wisher of your people, you should not try to secure the triumph of your particular group or of your party, and unhappiness will come in the near future. Your aim should be to draw up a programme for the welfare of the people and demonstrate its correctness in theory as well as in practice to your rivals. This is the way of unity and successful endeavour, and I cannot stress it too much at the present time when our political life is torn apart by strife among different organisations. The students of Calcutta d monstrated the possibility of unity of Congress, League, Commu and others when facing bullets in Dhurrumtolah. May I hope you will achieve it in all national welfare work? I am aware that the conditions are very difficult just now for a realisation of these ideals. But in such circumstances there is only one remedy—to proceed patiently with what you know to be right and to refuse to be provoked into unseemly wrangles with your opponents. If things seem to be too bad, and you feel too sore with the unjust treatment meted out to you, just think of the heroic fighters for freedom who have died or are still languishing behind prison-bars—people who have given their entire life to inspire in others the courage and tenacity that alone can win us freedom.

I shall conclude with a reference to another problem which is inseparably associated with education. There are in our country people of various types of culture and living in various levels of culture. A uniform system of national education, with the same contents in teaching, cannot meet the requirements of all of them. I have already mentioned the 20 million tribal folk in our country. Their education must be of a different type from ours of necessity. Their cultural outlook is different and our job is to educate them to fit into the modern world, without destroying the valuable elements in the pattern of their culture. The case of the educationally backward communities is not very different. Both these groups will need our special help to enable them to take their rightful place in a free India. Take again the case of followers of Islam. It is not generally realised that religious education is considered by them as an integral part of school teaching. The cultural pattern of the life of a Moslem is also to some extent different from that of a Hindu. If you ignore these differences and try to formulate a single plan for schools for all communities, you will come up against unexpected and bitter controversies like those which arose in some parts of the Central Provinces over the Vidyamandir Scheme. It is not suggested that education of the different communities should be carried on in segregation from each other. On the contrary, it is essential to study the cultural requirements of all the different groups and make adequate provision for the same—better to unite them. A good deal of suspicion and bitterness has been created between different communities and social groups, as represented by their different political organisations owing to this failure to appreciate the existence of differences in culture which are present in the midst of the geographical unity of India. There is no doubt that proper National Planning to be successful must include the whole of India. But this unity will have to be of a different and higher order than that imposed on us by our Imperialist masters. It should be a voluntary association of the people of different cultures and languages living in fairly well-defined areas in different parts of India. As you are aware, the failure to solve this particular problem has split out the country into several warring camps. Unless the nature of the problem is recognised, and it is carefully studied and then attacked, a great deal of disaster

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOLK MUSEUMS IN INDIA

By ADRIS BANERJI

Introduction

In my paper on "A Plea for Local Museums" I had occasion to regret the neglect of folk elements in our culture. I may emphatically assert that a true evaluation of Indian culture is only possible when its constituent elements have been properly assessed. But in our public as well as government museums, a greater emphasis is laid on the finer side of our civilization, to the total neglect of the humbler, with the result that our interpretations lack that balance and authority which sense of proportion could have brought to its aid. I want to point out that our public and national galleries have so far devoted themselves to the classic elements. Their lofty halls and spacious rooms are filled with the specimens of the aristocratic origin. Even in archaeology there are folk elements. Let us recall the sudden advent of the Mauryan art with its Western Asiatic traditions, with which an imperial convert embellished the sacred places of his adopted church. When this exotic art makes its exit, we find the neglected and contemptuous folk elements appearing to augment the glories of Barhut and Sanchi. Nevertheless, there is a profound difference between the two. While Barhut gloriously breathes of primeval jungles, Sanchi has a mature art with the swagger and superciliousness of the suburbs. We archaeologists gave a death-blow to the aristocratic pedestal of archaeology, when we diverted our attention from coins, gems, seals and sculptures to humbler pots and pans with the result, that these pioneers have been sneeringly called *Thikriwalas* by curio-dealers and old-fashioned Curators.

Folk Museums Defined

The aim of this paper is to advocate the cause of "Folk Museums." Individual elements of the folk culture have received attention from gifted personalities, such as folk songs by Satyarthi in *The Modern Review*; "Pat Paintings of Bengal" by Ajit Ghose. Yeoman's service was rendered by the late Mr. G. S. Dutt by founding the *Bratachari* movement for the cultivation of folk songs and dances, which became an all-India movement before the advent of the Armageddon. Folk museums are of two kinds—'open-air' and 'indoor.' By folk museum open air museums are meant by me, in which rural houses, together with domestic utensils, their scanty furnishings, smithies, cowsheds, shoemaker's shops, grinding machines, pestles and stones, costumes, conveyances, musical instruments, wells, ponds, dykes, ploughs, ovens, kitchens, roads, would be all there representing the rural life of India in all its aspects. Elsewhere I had referred to the desirability of models. But these can never create that atmosphere, that variegated colourful life of Indian villages of different provinces, which is likely to meet a visitor's eye, when he passes from the well-defended villages of Afridis and Yasufzais, to the still more solidly built but less martial-looking villages of the Punjab, the tiled homes of the Ganges valley, mud and wattle huts of Bengal, thatched cottages on stilts in the Dooars and Assam. Greater would be the sense of satisfaction of the villagers when he passes from the opulent village zamindars' houses of Bengal, to the commodius stone-built houses with their peculiar Himalayan charm of the Lepchas, Bhutiyas, Garhwalis, etc., with contrast offered by the spick and span Santal homes with their sunken floors. The houses themselves will furnish us with the second type of museum as some of these will undoubtedly have to be furnished with furniture typical of such specimens. These will bear that profound influence on the growth of public taste and cater to public knowledge about our regional social customs, living and faith about which so little is known. Thus Madras villages will all have a snake stone before them, which will be absent in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Bengal. Again the observation and appreciation of the regional industries will bear far greater influence on our growing industries as in north European countries.

Folk Museums Elsewhere

The utility of 'open-air' museums had been appreciated long ago in north European countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark. A brief account of these may not be irrelevant. In Sweden, they have originated out of a spontaneous movement known as *Hemeygdsvard* or *Hembygasvardr Orelse*. These are called *Hembygds Museums*. They were results of the efforts made by an amateur folklorist—G. Hylton Cavellias, who first realised that a nation's emancipation lies not in third-rate copies of national activities elsewhere, not in the magnificent collections of natural sciences, etc., elsewhere, but in finding their own soul—in the recording, preservation and exhibition of the various aspects of their life. But the greatest name in this respect is of Artur Hazellus, with whom the foundation of the famous 'open-air' museum is associated. In a few cases the folk museums in Sweden have undoubtedly been the contribution of the intelligentsia; but, the majority were established by the farmers and the rural class, and their character and contents vary according to the needs of a particular place. At Elsingborg the people have turned an old manor house into a museum of art, antiquities and ethnographical objects of the neighbourhood. In some instances the whole of an old village has been preserved—the inhabitants having voluntarily relinquished their rights and moved on to a new place. Another type which is best suited for India, is a sort of landscape museum, with all sorts of buildings put up at a convenient place complete with farmers' dwellings, smithies, turneries, parish churches, wagons, horses, ploughs and other agricultural implements, complete with shed; sometimes with a real museum, roads, canals, pasture lands, etc. On scheduled days, folk dances, songs and ceremonies are held. In an industrial city like Eskiltuna an old workshop has been turned into a museum with objects associated with the city's industrial development—a history museum of a novel kind. These museums are not merely the result of a few antique-minded people, but monumental evidence of a nation's determination to keep alive their age-old customs and traditions, in spite of progress; refusing to be swept away with the tidal waves of modernism, nevertheless accepting the best that modern civilization has to offer. Mammoth collections of art objects and scientific curiosities housed in palatial halls, with all that adventitious aids can do to create atmosphere have been very thoughtfully left to the metropolitan cities. They exhibit their zeal for the proper interpretation of their national life, pattern of their culture and devotion to their traditions, and the immemorial social customs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Unwittingly, they have helped the scientist and the historian immeasurably, and placed the cause of museums on a fresh, original and higher level of thought and purpose.

The Necessity in India

With the industrial development of India in its full strides, the Indian population is now suddenly exposed to a whirlwind of modern industrialisation, with its associated restlessness and lack of tradition, and its nomadic existence. The machine age, which is to take away from man its last claim to rationality and turn them into mere automatons of a soulless master, is likely to affect the life of Indian masses. He has to lose his sense of individuality, his individual rights, and to merge himself in a machine of collective responsibility, living and thinking ; where his habits and powers of thinking, and energies are to be exploited, for a purpose with which he will have little sympathy like the Newcastle miners or the Manchester labourers. The pattern of Indian rural life has changed, and is likely to change more. That honesty, simple faith in God, piety, simple and peaceful living, have disappeared from our country life. The placid equilibrium of sane, balanced life no longer exists there. With the disappearance of the agricultural basis of the country's economic life, a more revolutionary change is likely to take place. Already, disease, ignorance, ill-health and furtherence of political interests have changed that placid village life. Apart from this great necessity, the environment, races, and varying conditions prevalent in this country, have always cried out for such institutions, which will lay more stress on the correct interpretation and assessment of India's eternal life, which *cabinets de curiosite* can never perform towards the education of popular taste. To make the world understand India and Indians understand their own country. Indians are not a single nation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with his scientific background has pointed out : "India from ancient times, was not a nation, but multi-nation state." On its broad wide bosom, various nations and races in various stages of culture have found abiding peace. The Negritoes (were they *aborigines* ?), the Dravidians, the so-called Aryans, the Greeks, Scythians, Persians, Parthians, Huns, Turks, Mughals have entered with pride of victory, to be merged in course of time with its teeming population. Its lofty hills, and wide valleys, its big rivers, and seemingly endless plains have nourished them, permitted them to maintain their individualities, and to live on it peacefully in mutual respect, till political passions and ambitions have torn them asunder. It is necessary to conserve, to record, to exhibit these local differences, to appreciate the fundamental unity among them; from the rude primitive tribes, like the Bhutiyas and Lepchas, the Todas, the Mundas of the hills the Bhils, the Santals, the Hos, etc., to the cultured Marathi, the Madrasi and the Bengali ; from barter to the Tatas ; from hand-woven cloths to Ahmedabad mills.

The mechanisation of transport is bringing revolution in design and modes of travel in this country very rapidly. Nobody in this country has any thought for old conveyances—those which have wooden bodies are generally utilised for fuel. Thus in the interiors of Nadia district 20 years ago, the present writer found carts with well-built bodies and series of windows in which a couple of persons could sleep easily. At Chakradharpur in Singhbhum district of Bihar, there was another conveyance called 'Pus-pus' which used to be drawn by men or bullocks. The old *tanjams*, the various grades of *doli*, *palqis* are all going out of use. Even in the motor transport, the body design of lorries have undergone considerable transformations. The river transport system has fared no better. Already the steamer companies have done considerable mischief in East Bengal. The old *bajras, chhips* have disappeared with their colourful designs. In Bengal, a new problem presents itself. The wholesale destruction of boats due to the fear of enemy invasion in 1941, and the Bengal famine causing death of the technical hands, is likely to affect the design of new boats which the Government will distribute to revive the normal state of the country. The new boats with western notions of buoyancy will miss those original features which grew out of the environment and culture complex of the region.

The quality of Indian craftsmanship in rural areas has received international recognition. But the various industries far from being organised on a firm basis live on an uncertain market. Twenty years ago in Tanjore, the handicraft of making models of famous South Indian temples existed, the present writer possesses two ; but for want of consistent patronage it died an unnatural death. In Mysore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Bankura, fine wood carvers still exist, even now, along with ivory-inlay workers. They have been sustained by unrecorded technique, the knowledge having been passed from generation to generation. For these crafts there must have been a long range of tools as well as specialised types, all these have remained unrecorded. The Government schools of arts and crafts and western machines are the greatest enemies of these. They also have an uncertain patronage. These products are seldom on public view except in local markets, and then the source of their origin remains unknown to prospective purchasers. A central folk museum might bring them together.

A Central Museum

In any scheme of organisation a central museum becomes imperative which would be the nerve centre of all operation. No doubt those persons, who hold that for development rigidity at the very commencement may lead to the defeat of the purpose, are correct to some extent. But a strong policy (not multitudinous policies) is a greater necessity to ensure sound health of the new movement. A central spot convenient from points of view of space, cost, transport, should be selected. It must have features which to some extent can successfully reproduce the rugged features of the Frontier, well-irrigated plains of the Punjab, monotonous dune coloured plain of the Ganges valley ; the verdure of Bengal and Orissa ; Madras with its eastern ghats ; and the rolling downs of Deccan uplands, as meet the eye when travelling by the Poona-Ahmednagar road. The regional differences will make our villages lack the fine trimmed hedges of Swedish hamlets and the quiet lanes of the English countryside. All differences are deep and constitutional. The accessibility and series of invasions have never allowed that free scope to rural India, that freedom of living in peace which was the lot of those countries. Forced by circumstances, unstable governments, internecine wars, which even now they can never shake themselves free.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Here we must found our national folk museum and recreate *the best* in our rural atmosphere. First attention must be given to the building styles, original to the region itself. The various sections must be accompanied by their natural arts and crafts, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, pots, and pans; ornaments, costumes, conveyances, booths, the inevitable bania, the mosque, the temple, *tols* and *maktabs*, methods of irrigation, smithies, cowsheds, turneries, fishing nets, ploughs, hoes, scythes. The *salwar* from the Punjab, the *chuneri* of U.P., the colourful saris of Bengal, Madras and Maharashtra; costumes throughout the ages, present in itself a great problem. One day we may have the privilege of walking through the palisaded *asura* village, through Vedic, Mauryan, Gupta, Gurjara villages to Mughal townships and finally to a model modern village; from the primitive huts of the Todas, Bhils and Santals. to an ultra-modern village home of post-war construction.

Regional Units

The steel frame of diversity of climate, flora and fauna has imposed upon India the necessity of regional museums. The linguistic and other differences between the districts are often neglected. Unlike England and Sweden, the country has not been immune from invasion and periodical isolation. Nor access from one region to another was so easy, as in France or England. All these have contributed directly to regional cultures, whose proper evaluation would be the function of these local institutions. The first requisite in an 'open-air' museum is the typology of the houses. The houses of well-to-do peasants should be selected and not that of a zamindar. The zamindar too will undoubtedly have his share; because unlike western Europe, the Indian landed gentry have no common culture. Their *achara* differs. In selecting the houses, attention should be paid to the design, we should strike more for the indigenous, before western ideas infiltered from the city. The next would be the agriculturist's home with its natural accompaniments. These selections would result in the establishment of regional building styles with regional materials—the first great service that 'folk museums' will contribute towards the appreciation of material resources of the country. The inevitable objection would be that such costly schemes are not possible. Let me asseverate that India now possesses many rich men in almost all districts, their interests should be roused. The political leaders too can accept purses and donate them for the purpose. Secondly, all museums be they regional or central, should from the commencement, have a definite policy of gradual development. The reality in the buildings would be added by natural furnishings, and the atmosphere would bring more supporters. Costs can be minimised if voluntary workers can be enrolled. Why should not the Kasturba Memorial Committee, established for the rural uplift purposes devote their energies towards this end? Why not people like D. N. Majumdar try to create something which would be a permanent memorial to rural India? The National Planning Committee may take up this matter. The fate of India is inextricably mixed up with rural population. The fundamental wrong with 'Pre-war India' was its neglect of the countryside, which has led to unimaginable deterioration in the morals. Just as you cannot draw a cart with one bullock, while provisions exist for a pair, so urban India alone cannot save the country. The soul of rural India must be salvaged from the deep chasm. The pattern of Indian village life has changed and will change but we may make an honest endeavour to record them.

———:O:———

BERNARD SHAW— THE PLAYWRIGHT

By HESKETH PEARSON

From the time of Shakespeare onwards, for some three hundred years, the British drama was moribund. Now and again a masterpiece appeared, such as Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* or Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* or Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*; but it is broadly true to say that from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth the theatre was kept going by great actors, not by great dramatists. The genius of Shakespeare and the rise of Puritanism were responsible for the dearth of good playwrights during the seventeenth century; the first swamped them, the second suppressed them. The lampoons of Henry Fielding, which resulted in the establishment of a censorship by his chief victim, Sir Robert Walpole, account for the fact that, for the next two hundred years in England, imaginative writers left the stage alone and concentrated on novels.

Just as the Restoration dramatists, with Congreve at their head, took their cue from France, so did the later Victorian dramatists; and when Bernard Shaw arrived on the scene the English theatre was dependent on cheap melodramas, adaptations, and plays which were modelled on the artificially constructed plots of two French writers, Scribe and Sardou. From 1895 to 1898, Shaw as a dramatic critic, ceaselessly attacked the fashionable drama of the age, championed Ibsen, prepared the way for his own comedies, and incidentally wrote some of the wittiest and most provocative essays in the history of journalism. His attack was successful. The so-called "well-made" play gave place to the drama of ideas, and the Shavian Theatre was firmly established in the early years of the present century.

Social Satire

At first, of course, the London managers would not look at Shaw's plays. Instead of the *denouements* and stale situations and commonplace sentiments to which they were accustomed, he gave them social satire, unconventional philosophy and brainy dialogue. One of his early plays was booed, another was censored, a third failed. Still he pegged away, and when his chance came in 1904 at the Court Theatre (under the management of J. E. Vedrenne and Harley Granville-Barker) he produced his own comedies, trained his own actors and created his own audiences.

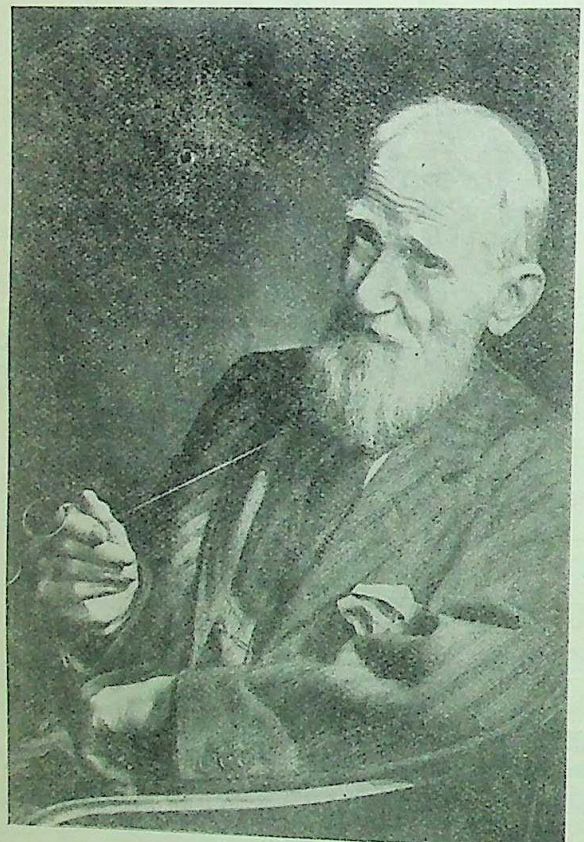
After that the London managers clamoured for his plays. But the critics, uninfluenced by the box-office considerations, were not so easily persuaded, and for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more than a generation many of them went on repeating that his plays were "not plays," an attitude he derisively encouraged by calling them conversations, discussions, history lessons, and so on.

What made his work seem so novel was that he revived the classical technique of play-writing, applying it to modern problems : he adopted the methods of the Greek dramatists in order to deal with the topics of the hour. While the essence of his plays is as original as Shaw himself, their novelty lay in the fact that he used the theatre as another man would use a newspaper, a pulpit or a platform ; many of his comedies are half-sermon, half-debate, and every conceivable subject is discussed, from love, marriage and family life to religion, science and politics, his laboriously acquired knowledge of social conditions and his creed as a socialist informing most of them.



George Bernard Shaw

Being an inspired dramatist, not a manufacturer of entertainment, he did not plan or plot his plays in advance. While engaged on them he never saw a page ahead and never knew what was going to happen. The forms they took were inevitable, though he worked as carefully at the writing of them as the most industrious craftsman.

His first plays, which he labelled "unpleasant," dealt with slum landlordism, jealousy and prostitution ; then came some "pleasant" plays, two of which, *Arms and the Man* and *You Never Can Tell*, are now recognised as classical comedies. There followed *Three Plays for Puritans*, which were written to prove that the popular subjects of sex and adultery were not the only interesting themes for dramatic treatment, and to preach the folly of punishment and revenge. Easily the best of these was *Caesar and Cleopatra*, which, by initiating a natural and humourous treatment of historical figures, has widely influenced modern drama and biography.

Creative Evolutionist

After that Shaw abandoned his efforts to suit the stage and wrote simply what suited himself. In *Man and Superman* the long third act contains his creed as a Creative Evolutionist. Politics in *John Bull's Other Island*, the Salvation Army in *Major Barbara*, the medical profession in *The Doctor's Dilemma*, marriage in *Getting Married*, parents and children in *Misalliance*, phonetics in *Pygmalion*, followed in quick succession ; and the political implications in religious persecution were set forth in his most perfect drama, *Androcles and The Lion*, which appeared in 1913 and was dismissed by the critics as blasphemous and in bad taste.

During the 1914-18 war he wrote *Heartbreak House* in the manner of Tchekov, and began his testament to the human race, *Back to Methuselah*, in which he postulated the necessity for the prolongation of human life to at least three hundred years, the reason being that until men and women could expect to live much longer than they do at present they would not seriously attempt to better their conditions. His fame as a dramatist was fitly sealed in 1924 with *Saint Joan*, which was a world-wide success ; and though he wrote eight or nine plays after that, none of them is on a level with the best work he produced before 1926, when he reached the age of seventy.

Traditionalism

Apart from the peculiarity of genius inseparable from their creator, Shaw's plays are chiefly notable for their traditionalism, though when first they appeared the critics thought them widely original and undramatic in form, the performers thought them completely lacking in good 'acting' parts, and the audiences did not know what to think. Actually, he used the technique of Euripides and Moliere, he revived the idiosyncratic differentiation of character seen in Shakespeare, he provided the actors and actresses with enormously effective parts, such as had not been created by a British writer for nearly three hundred years, and he restored the long rhetorical speeches which are an important feature of primitive dramaturgy. As a result, his is the only considerable repertory of classical plays and parts in the English language since the early years of the seventeenth century ; and his famous onslaughts as a dramatic critic on the reputation of Shakespeare were largely due to a desire to clear the ground before settling down to the job of supplying the modern stage with a living drama, just as his only comparable predecessor had animated the stage of a different epoch.

The two great playwrights cannot be compared, because Shakespeare was solely concerned with the portrayal of human beings and the expression of the human soul in poetry ; while Shaw was mainly concerned with ideas and philosophy, with making people think and giving them a faith. It is the difference between a pure artist and a prophet. But Shaw, too, was an artist, and many characters in his plays were admirably presented. What observation could do, his observation did. He saw people with exceptional shrewdness, and could exhibit their characteristics vividly, but he had not Shakespeare's mediumistic power of feeling and living his creations, and a great deal of Shaw's own common sense is given to some of his characters where it is utterly out of place.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CITY OF CALCUTTA UP TO THE 19TH CENTURY

By Prof. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI

This city of Calcutta, with its palatial buildings, macadamized and asphaltic roads, modern transports, day and night services of electricity for various purposes, filtered water, activities of trade and commerce, is considered at present, from the standpoint of population, as the second city of the British Empire and the eighth in the whole world. It now attracts men from all parts of the civilised world. The gradual increase in population has urbanised the adjoining suburbs of the city and as a result its municipal area has expanded. But very few of us have a clear conception of the historico-geographical development of this important city.

In recent years, due to the endeavour of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, some developments of this city have been planned on the scientific basis. In Western countries such developments are being effected in conformity with not only the political and the economic conditions but also the geographical aspects of the area. Filthy *bastis* in the midst of high buildings or houses of low heights beside the tall ones still form a great contrast and become a sore to the eyes.

History

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the political condition of the country gave an impetus to Job Charnack to construct factories here on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Thus he laid the foundation-stone of the present city. It was then a marshy land with raised grounds encircled by shrubs and bushes, the abode of jackals, reptiles, and other wild animals. A few huts formed villages in those raised spots. Along the eastern bank of the Ganges, Sutanati, Kalikota and Gobindapur, covering roughly the area from the present-day Baghbazar to Burrabazar, thence up to Esplanade and thence to Hastings, formed the three important villages each being separated by spill channels that flowed from the Ganges to the salt lake (*Dhapar Math*) that lay in the present-day eastern part of the city. To the south of Gobindapur, flowed the Adiganga that carried more volume of water through the police stations of Sonarpur, Baruipur, etc. It separated Gobindapur from Behala of to-day which was then a thickly forested tract with marshes here and there.

Job Charnack first settled at Sutanati. It ought to be remembered that on the western bank of the Ganges, from the present-day Hooghly to Shibpur, several foreign establishments of commercial importance cropped up from the beginning of the seventeenth century. When the Danes settled at Serampore and the French at Chandernagore, the English East India Company started at Hooghly a factory which they had to abandon due to the hostile attitude of Saista Khan, the *fouzdar*. Saista Khan compelled them to leave Hooghli. The English under the leadership of Job Charnack rowed down the river with their bag and baggage till they reached Sutanati. That was in the first part of 1690. But this time they could not stay here long as Saista Khan sent his men to move them as far down as Hijli near the mouth of the Ganges (the Hooghli). In the meantime, the situation changed. Ibrahim Khan, the newly appointed Moghul Governor of Bengal, granted the English facilities for re-establishing factories at Sutanati. This established the first settlement of the future city of Calcutta, round about the then Great Tank which is the modern Dalhousie Square, amidst dense jungles, patches of arable and grazing lands and marshy tracts. The great tank supplied water to the English, while the natives used to drink the water of the Ganges and of the wells. The selection of Sutanati for the establishment of the English factories in Bengal and the consequent settlement close to the great tank having natural barriers against sudden attack by the enemies, and waterways as means of transport shows that the topographical features were not overlooked when political condition harassed the would-be rulers of India.

Political Background

In 1698, when the English settlement grew up round about the present-day "Dalhousie Tank" the English got three villages, Sutanati, Kalikota and Govindapur on lease for an annual rent of Rs. 1,300 payable to the Moghul Emperor. The name Calcutta might have been derived from Kalikota. The English for their own safety constructed a fort on the site corresponding with the General Post Office of to-day. Due to the rapid expansion of their trade, the English rose into power and obtained further 38 villages, comprising Belgachia, Surat, Ultadanga, Simla, Baghmari, Arcooly, Chowringhee, Entally, Chitpur, etc., on lease for a total annual rent of Rs. 8,000. This time the English used to collect revenue from and govern the entire area leased out. Then came the historic day of June 16, 1756, when Nawab Sirajuddulah defeated the English of the Dalhousie Tank and occupied houses and the then fort. The English escaped in boats down the Hughli to Falta. In the next year, came Clive who defeated the Nawab and founded the British Empire in India. His first operation was the selection of the site of the present Fort William in the jungle area of the village Gobindapur. The completion of the fort in 1778 secured safety for the re-settlement of the English in Calcutta. Then began migration in the "tiger-infested" area of the south-east now called "Chowringhee." By the end of the eighteenth century, 20 garden houses were constructed there and a road called "Road to Chowringhee" was built up. The "Burying Ground Road" was the name of the "Park Street" of today, which was unsafe because of dacoits. There stood the English burial ground that still exists at its eastern end. The Park Street derives its name from the "Deer Park" that was guarded at night by a squad of sepoys. The development on the eastern part of Gobindapur was rather slow on account of the creek which was, at one time, broad enough to navigate large boats from the river eastwards to salt marshes. Eventually the creek was silted up and obliterated. The "Creek Row" preserves its memory and follows its original course.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Important Buildings and Parks

From the map of Lt.-Col. Will, it appears that the English, in the eighteenth century, lived in a compact mass round about "Tank Square." Omichand was the only Indian, whose residential quarters stood in that locality. Business quarters were centered in areas of China Bazar and Radhabazar of today and also along the "Cosaitola Road" now known as Bentinck Street. In those days, Clive Street was lined with residential quarters and it formed the eastern bank of the Hughli. Along the riverside, there was a long promenade "King's Beach Walk" for Europeans. For their evening walk, there was another fashionable park "Perin's Garden" near the mouth of Chitpur Canal. On Sundays, they used to attend prayer at St. Anne's Church built in 1709 near the north-west corner of the Dalhousie Tank. In 1756, the said church was destroyed by the Nawab and in 1784, St. John's Church was constructed. The Mission Church in Mission Row built in 1772, is still the place of Protestant worship. St. Andrews' Church was opened in 1818 at its present site, *i.e.*, at the northern end of the Old Court House Street. In the eighteenth century, there were a few play-houses of which "Calcutta Theatre," built in 1775 at the corner of Clive Street and Lyon's Range, "Chowringhee Theatre," opened in 1812 at the junction of the Chowringhee Road and the Theatre Road, and the "Sans Souci" of 1841 at Park Street on the site of St. Xavier's College, are worth mentioning. Other important buildings in those days were—the Council House which stood to the west of the present Government House ; the Town Hall which was built in 1813 out of the funds raised by lotteries for the improvement of the town ; the Mint that was originally near the present Imperial Bank Buildings, the present Mint building being constructed in 1824 ; the Writers' Buildings that in 1776, were the barrack-like lodgings for the clerks of the East India Company, while the present-day ornamental structure was built in 1820.

Thus, up to the eighteenth century, the greater portions of Kalikota and Gobindapur were compactly occupied by the Europeans, while Sutanati was inhabited by Indians, where isolated huts, hamlets with jungles and paddy fields round about them could be seen. Two quarters having great contrasts, developed in those villages. There was no metalled road in either of the regions but in the English quarters, roads, with wide open drains at their sides, were built up for their easy travel and drive. There were Theatres or Parks only in the English quarters but similar development in the Indian quarters was not made till as late as the middle part of the nineteenth century. The only Indian temple in the European quarters was the temple of Govindaram in the Chitpur Road of today, which was destroyed in 1737, by cyclone.

Shelter

From old records, it becomes clear that the progressive growth of the town dates back to the early part of the eighteenth century. With the attainment of power in Bengal, English trade in this part became more stable, English merchants thronged up in numbers opened mercantile firms that attracted men from the adjoining places. Hence there was a progressive increase of population from the year 1710 to the year 1900.

Year	*Total Population*	*Europeans*
1710	12,000	
1752	117,744	250
1821	179,917	400
1837	229,714	3,005
1850	415,063	3,295
1866	377,924	7,534
1876	429,535	11,224
1881	433,269	9,335
1891	500,892	13,611
*1901	577,066	10,071
		9,567

The above figures, recorded from census of India 1901, Calcutta, Vol. VII, Part I, show a steady increase of population, though there were decreases in European population in 1876, in 1891 and in 1901. This European population comprises the English, the Danes, the Portuguese, the French, etc. The population of foreign nations other than the English in India began to decline the more the English grew into power. The fall in European population may thus be partly due to the retirement of other European Traders and partly due to the Boer and Afghan Wars. The last census may have been affected by the outbreak of Plague in Calcutta.

Number of houses in the eighteenth century

Year	*Pucca*	*Kutcha*
1706	8	8,000
1726	40	13,300
1742	121	14,747-14,450
1756	498	14,450
1794	1,114	13,657

(Perhaps in these figures thatched huts have not been included.)

Progressive development of houses in the old town in the nineteenth century

	Houses		
Year	*One-storied*	*Upper-roomed*	*Total*
1821	8800	5430	14230
1831	—	—	15303
1837	—	—	14623
1850	5918	7170	13073
1866	7318	8704	16022
1872	—	—	20443
1876	7037	9859	16896
1881	6879	11105	17984
1891	—	—	21613
1901*	22175	16399	38574

	Huts		
Year	*Tiled*	*Thatched*	*Grand total*
1821	15792	37497	67519
1831	19419	35354	70076
1837	20304	30567	65494
1850	48314	—	61392
1866	43575	—	59567
1872	18421	—	38864
1876	22860	—	39756
1881	20667	—	38651
1891	24191	—	45804
1901*	49007	—	87581

The most striking event since 1794 in the progressive development of houses is (by an Act of 1837) the abolition of thatched huts in the city. Abolition was due to the frequent occurrence of fires. In 1780, such a fire destroyed the entire inhabited portion from Sealdah to Colingah along the Circular Road. About 15,000 straw-

* Figures of 1901 have been included in order to form an idea of the probable corresponding figures in 1900.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thatched huts were destroyed. It ought to be borne in mind that there was no firebrigade in those days. The prohibition of thatched huts caused up to 1866 an increase in the number of tiled huts. Subsequently there was a gradual increase of pucca houses, the maximum number of houses being reached in 1901.

Expansion of Pucca houses in the old town in number and altitude

Year	1-storied	2-storied	3-storied	4-storied	5-storied
1850	5918	6438	721	10	1
1876	7037	8636	1187	34	2
1901	6879	9618	1426	59	2
1911	22175	12976	3104	298	21

The old town bore one five-storied building in 1850 and the number, becoming two, remained static in the nineteenth century. In the next century, the sudden rise in number may be due to more than one factor. It ought to be recognised that there was a general tendency for the construction of high altitude houses in order to accommodate the heavy population in the limited area.

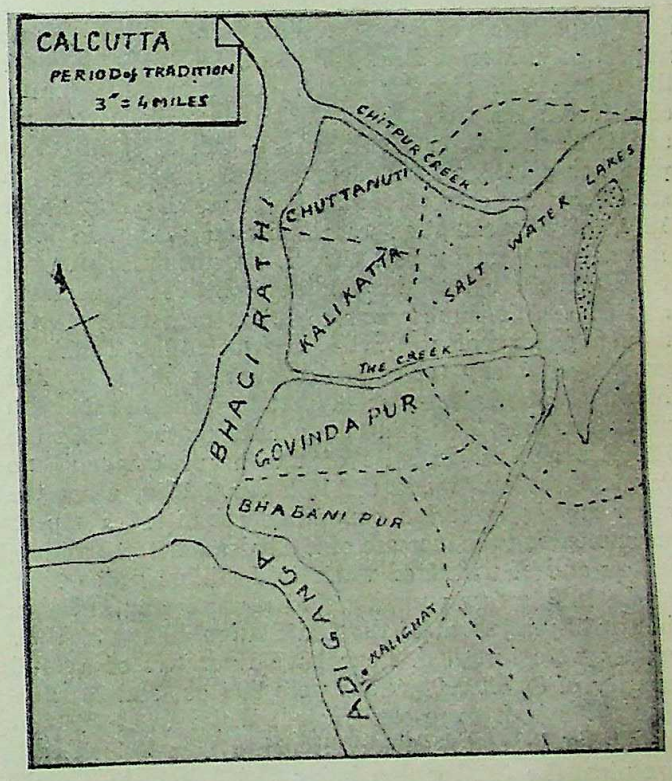
Roads

In the eighteenth century, general conditions in the town were not satisfactory. There were no good roads nor was there any arrangement for lighting at night. People going out at night had to take torch-bearers to light the way. For the maintenance of peace and order, there was no police. It was in 1876 that the town was divided into six wards, each having one or more police stations. Each police station was composed of several mouzas i.e., small villages. Of course, the introduction of police system in the town was made long after the improvements that were being carried out by the Lottery Committee from the early part of the nineteenth century. The Committee raised funds by means of authorised lotteries, that helped it to excavate new tanks, fill up old ones, open new roads and streets, construct new bridges, etc. Kyd Street, Free School Street, Amherst Street, Wellesley Street, College Street, Cornwallis Street, etc., were opened under that project. In 1858, the first pavement was made along the Chowringhee Road in front of the residential houses by filling up the open drains. At the western end of the present Dharamtollah Street, there was, at that time, an untidy Bazar and the present Sir Surendranath Banerjea Road was not a thoroughfare but an ill-kept lane. On the Chowringhee Road, most of the houses were residential; only a portion of Bengal Secretariat Offices was housed in the building of the present Government School of Art, and in the Indian Museum building was opened the old High School which was removed to Darjeeling in 1863 and the Indian Museum was opened in 1875. The most important activity of the eighteenth century was the excavation of a three-mile long ditch from Chitpur Bridge to Entally in order to protect the town from the sudden inroads of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas in 1742 attacked Hooghli and then marched upon Mukwa Tannah Fort held by the English on the other side of the river, near the present Botanical gardens. The ditch excavated was called the Mahratta Ditch. The ditch would have extended westward up to the riverside at Hastings but for the retreat of the Mahrattas. In course of time, the ditch was filled in by filth and garbage and along its line, the present Circular Road was built up in the form of a semi-circle.

Drinking Water

The river-water, well-water and water from reserved tanks were utilised for drinking purposes up to the middle of the nineteenth century. There was no other arrangement for the supply of water. In 1790, the Dalhousie tank was deepened and extended in order to supply water to the English Colony round about the tank and to the garrison of Old Fort William. Between 1805 and 1836 the Lottery Committee for the improvement of the town, excavated Cornwallis Sq., Wellington Sq. and Wellesley Sq. tanks. It also dug up Mirzapore and Soortibagan tanks and filled up some old ones.

In 1820, at Chandpal Ghat, a small pumping plant was set up for raising water into open aqueducts. Water thus lifted was distributed by gravitation in the streets of Old Court House, Dhurrumtollah, Chowringhee, Park Street, Lall Bazar, Bow Bazar and part of Chitpore, etc. The water supplied was used for street watering and for replenishing public tanks.



From the report of the Fever Committee, it is found :

> "Good tanks and clean well-repaired wells were rare. Hindu inhabitants used Ganges-water. Some of them collected river-water in February and stored in jars for the summer season. The poorer Hindus and Mahomedans used tank-water. Europeans used either water from the great tank or rain water stored in Pegu-jars. Messrs. Scott & Thomson, for the manufacture of soda-water, used water from the Laldighi, filtering the same through sand and charcoal beds."

The need for the supply of pure and wholesome water to the town was first recognised by legislature in 1848. In 1853 and 1854, the Commissioners spent Rs. 5631 and 5775 in repairing waterworks at Chandpal Ghat.

The analyses of Hugli-water were elaborately done

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by Dr. Macnamara between December 1861, and January 1863. Water was taken at the centre of the stream 6-ft. below the surface at three stations—opposite Cossipore, Palta and Chinsurah. It was found that water drawn either at Palta or at Chinsurah, on settling and filtration, would be pure and wholesome for drinking. The Palta Station was selected as it is nearer and there is also a fall of about 11½" per mile. The works were designed to supply 6 million gallons of filtered water per day to a population of about 4 lakhs. The works consisted of a pumping station with three 50 H.P. engines at Palta, by which water was lifted into large masonry settling tanks. The filtrate, collected in a central well, after gravitating through twelve sand-filters, gravitated through a 42-inch cast iron pipe (discharging 8 million gallons per day) into an underground reservoir at Tallah. Another pumping plant at Tallah, distributed water partly to consumers in the adjoining areas and partly to another reservoir at Wellington Square, where another plant distributed water to the consumers in the rest of the area. The reservoirs at Tallah and Wellington Square had capacities of one million and 6¼ millions respectively. Messrs. Brassy Wythes, Aird & Sons, under the supervision of a P.W.D. engineer, Mr. Smith, constructed the works. In 1870, all the principal streets and lanes (about 385) had been piped, total length of pipe being 111¾ miles. There were 300 stand-posts in streets for the easy access of the public. By the end of 1870, daily consumption was 4½ million gallons. In 1871, it was suggested by Mr. Clarke, the then Secretary of the Corporation that the number of filters be increased and an additional reservoir to maintain a reserve of 6 million gallons of water be constructed at Tallah to guard against any temporary damage at Palta. By 31st March, 1872, the number of premises connected with pipe-water was 3702 and daily consumption rose to 7,156,488 gallons. In spite of this heavy demand, no development was made till 16th June, 1880, when the water supply extension committee submitted a report recommending the increase of filtered water to 12 million gallons and of unfiltered water to 4 million gallons.

In 1888, a new pumping station was set up at Palta, about 880 yds. north of the Old Station. Three 75 H.P. engines were installed. Four large reservoirs of a total capacity of 82,750,000 gallons were dug out and 24 additional filter-beds were constructed. Water was then supplied from Palta to Tallah through a new 48-inch cast iron pipe, the total length being 66,000 feet. At Tallah, two other engines were installed and the reservoir capacity was increased from 1 to 3 million gallons. At Wellington Square, one additional pumping engine was set up and at Halliday Street, a new pumping station was opened with four beam engines and one underground reservoir of 4 million gallons capacity.

The southern suburbs were newly incorporated in the municipality and for the supply of water in that area, a new pumping station was constructed at Bhowanipur, which was provided with an underground 2 million gallon capacity reservoir and two triple expansion Worthington Engines. This was in 1891. Further minor alterations were made at Tallah, the installation of a new Worthington engine in 1898, their maximum delivery being 4,95 000 gallons/Hr. The supply of water in the city was thus maintained in the nineteenth century and there was no overhead reservoir at Tallah, which was constructed only under a later project.

Year	Length of water pipes Filtered	Unfiltered	No. of Stand-posts	No. of Ground-hydrants
1870	112 miles	25 miles	470	511
1889-90	184 „	64 „	990	2505
1895-96	310 „	75 „	1954	2911

From the above figures, it becomes evident that due to the installation of new pumping engines at different stations and the excavation of bigger reservoirs, a satisfactory supply of the enormous demand of water was maintained by the end of the nineteenth century.

Transport

Palanquins, carriages drawn by horses, and bullock carts were the chief means of transport in the old town even up to the middle part of the nineteenth century. To drive a coach in the evening was then a fashionable and aristocratic affair. Ladies from middle-class families would move about in palanquins. From the second-half of the last century, modern means of transport have played an important role and changed the entire outlook of the city. Locomotives connected the city with the different parts of Bengal and eventually of India, by making Calcutta a terminus station. The internal transport of the city was improved almost from the same period when many important roads were constructed. Bullock, buffalo and hand-carts became the general means of transport for goods. Horse-drawn carriages and coaches were for passengers. Automobiles have become more prominent in the present century. In order to carry commodities from Sealdah Station to the Armenian Ghat by motive power, sanction was obtained from the Government of India for the construction of railways along the streets of Calcutta. The line was completed in February, 1873; connecting at Sealdah it ran along Baitakhana, Bowbazar, Dalhousie Square through Custom House premises into and along the Strand Road to the terminus at Armenian Ghat. The line was opened and was worked for the conveyance of passengers only in tramcars drawn by horses. The line was eventually closed as it ran at a loss of Rs. 500 per month. This happened because the line did not get any goods for transport; goods were diverted to a more powerful line constructed from Sealdah to Chitpur by the then E. B. Railway, when the India Government changed its opinion and authorised the Railway to open the same line.

On the 2nd October 1879, an agreement with the approval of the Bengal Government, was made between the Corporation and the Calcutta Tramways Co., Ltd. (the original offer was submitted by Messrs. Parsis Souttar whose rights were then purchased by the Company) to construct and maintain single and double tramway lines with sidings on eight routes. The Corporation, of course, reserved the power of purchasing the right of the Company at the end of 21 years or at the end of subsequent seven years.

On the 27th October, 1880, tramcars regularly ran along the Bow Bazar Street and on the 19th November, 1880, along the Hare Street. It ought to be remembered that those were drawn by horses. While granting the certificate authorising the Company to open lines on the Chitpore Road, Corporation demanded some improvements in the street alignment, as the lines were then two inches above the roadway. The defective lines were then ordered to be replaced by steel lines set up with stone setts and concrete floor. Defects are still observed in the lines, but 2-inch projecting rails have become a thing of the past.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In May 1882, special permission was given to the Company to run, on an experimental basis, tramcars drawn by steam-engines. Locomotive engines ran in Chowringhee for one year. Later on, the project was abandoned as the area did not at that time fall within the jurisdiction of the municipality. But the line was kept open every year during the Durga Puja in order to provide easy transport for pilgrims from Kalighat to Chowringhee, cars being driven by locomotive engines.

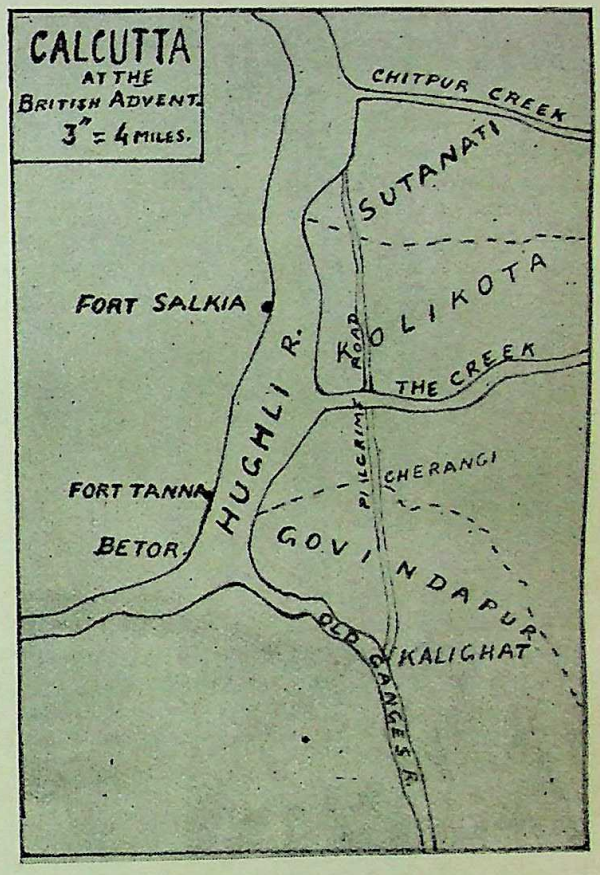
In 1899, due to a fresh agreement between the Company and the Corporation, the Company undertook to reconstruct and alter all old lines and substitute electricity as the motive power for horse traction. The conversion to electric traction with overhead wires was completed on the 19th November, 1902.

Motor cars first rolled along the streets of Calcutta from the beginning of the present century. Present-day system of omnibus plying came into operation from the twenties of the twentieth century.

Another important development in the city, that helped trade and commerce to a great extent was the introduction of the telephonic system in 1881. The Oriental Telephone Company got sanction from the Government of India for the erection of telephone exchange. In 1883-84, the Bengal Telephone Co. took over the concession from the Oriental Telephone Co. But in 1884-85, similar privileges were granted to Cross-ley Telephone Co., which at last merged in the Bengal Telephone Co. Thus the city, with the help of the Bengal Telephone Co. enjoyed the benefit of the tele-phonic system in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Sea-borne Trade

The English came to India as merchants. Eventually fortune made them rulers. Business forms the main object of the British rule even today. Figures of the sea-borne trade through the port of Calcutta in the eighteenth century, are not available, it being carried on directly by the East India Company first, then by the Government. Government then maintained four screwpile jetties with steam cranes and sheds, a wharf for inland vessels, offices, etc. In 1870, the Port Trust came into existence and took over the charge from the Government. In 1886, the limits of the port which originally stretched for about 9 miles from Cossipore to Garden Reach, were extended to 16 miles from Calcutta to Budge Budge. The Port Trust obtained from the Government a lease of the Strand Road. In 1892, the first enterprise of the Trust was the opening of Kidderpore Docks No. 1 and No. 2 and Tidal Basin. A lock entrance (580 ft. × 80 ft.) gives access to the Dock from the river. Dock No. 1 was 2700 ft. long, 600 ft. wide and 30 ft. deep. It possessed 12 berths with single strong sheds provided with hydraulic cranes to lift 30 cwt. and 5 tons. Dock No. 2 served double-storeyed sheds from 5 general produce berths, the dimension of the dock being 4500 ft. long, 400 ft. broad and 30 ft. deep. Special hydraulic coal-loading cranes worked there. The jetties situated on the riverside south of the Howrah Bridge still exhibit the oldest parts of the port as were, maintained by the Government before 1870. Nine jetties with a total length of 4735 ft. were con-structed by the Port Trust, of which, six were kept reserved for ocean-going vessels, two for boats and one as a reserve as a measure of economy. Calcutta jetties were exclusively used for the discharge of import cargoes. All export cargoes were dealt with from the Kidderpore Docks. The Commissioners provided exten-sive warehouses both at Kidderpore and at Calcutta jetty areas. The Fairlie, Clive, Canning and Strand Warehouses close to the jetties provided a floor-space of 93,000 sq. ft. Much of this accommodation was let out to firms that were responsible for the custody and handling of goods while they remained in the ware-houses. The remaining space of warehouses served as public sheds under the supervision of the Commissioners.



In 1876, the number of boats in Calcutta Port was 2860 ; in 1881, 3825 ; in 1866, there were 2140 boats, 149 ships and 20 steamers and in 1901, boats were 3388, ships 79, steamers 31 and flats 31.

Average annual value during each quinquennial period. (*Lakhs of Rupees*)

	Import	*Export*
1871-75	1,648	2,359
1876-80	1,780	2,778
1881-85	2,150	3,308
1886-90	2,344	3 523
1891-95	2,595	3,997
1896-1900	2,846	4,559

The above figures of export and import trades from the Port of Calcutta indicate a steady progress during 30 years of the last century.

The distribution of the trade of Calcutta with foreign countries during each of the last five years of the last century :

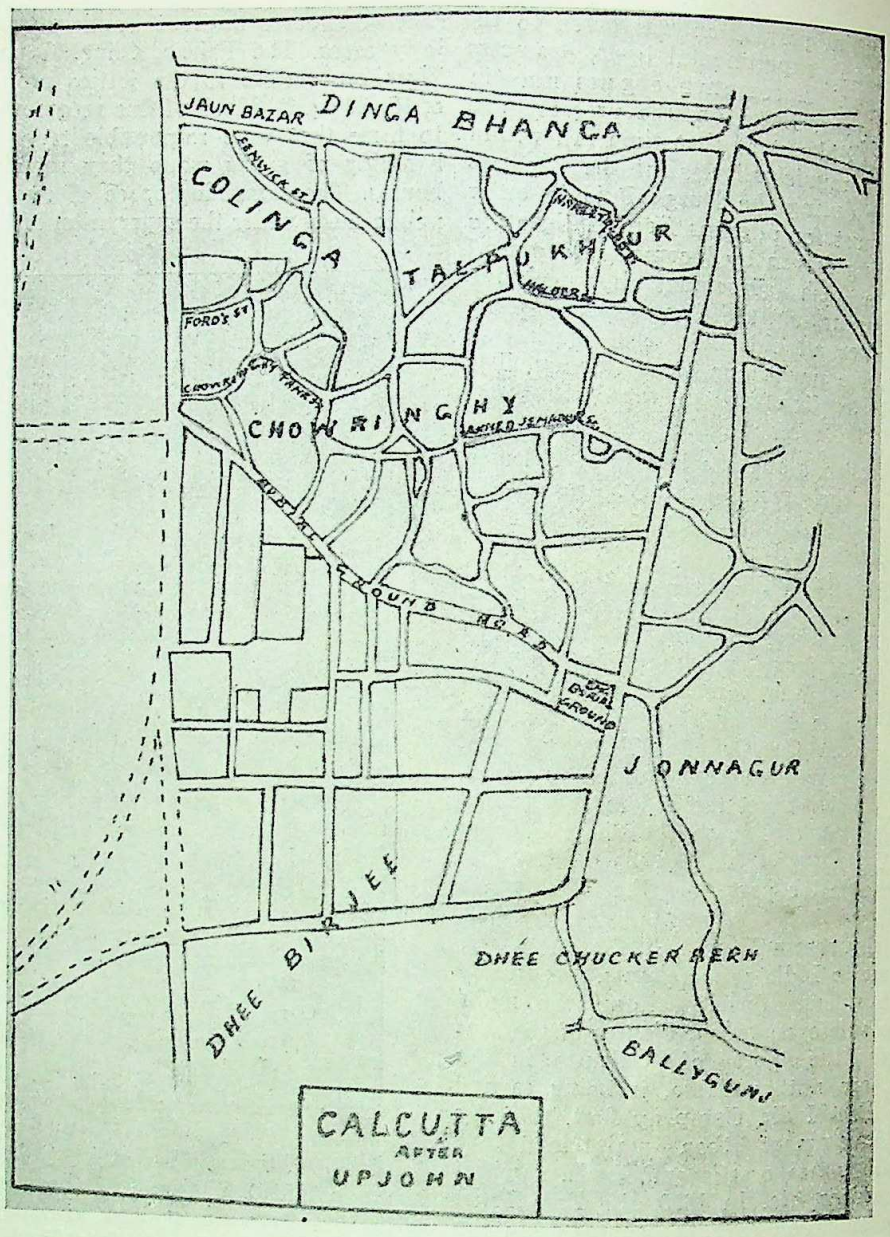
Imports

(*Figures are in lakhs of rupees*)

Countries	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899 1900	1900-01
Europe	2861	2641	2634	2923	2972
America	74	68	78	63	57
Africa	37	45	49	107	51
Asia	177	293	270	284	448
Australasia	42	64	115	150	226
	3191	3111	3146	3527	3754

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



EXPORTS

(*Figures are in lakhs of rupees*)

Countries	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899 1900	1900-01
Europe	2866	2739	2676	2822	3143
America	57	471	596	567	775
Africa	185	175	215	196	208
Asia	865	901	993	1052	1230
Australasia	109	121	123	153	186
	4072	4407	4603	4790	5542

These figures are extracts from Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal (1900-1901). It is clear that with each country, both export and import trades show remarkable progress. Another remarkable feature is that European trade surpassed in value that of all other countries. The reason is simple. England played an important part in controlling the trade of India with foreign countries. England served as an exchequer for Indian trade.

From remote antiquity, the eastern and western mouths of the Ganges have formed the important seats of trade. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese settled at Satgaon on the west and at Chittagong on the east. Satgaon was named Porto Piqueno or Little Harbour while Chittagong, Porto Grande or Great Harbour. In those days they retained the monopoly of the whole European trade. Due to silting up of the river Saraswati, Satgaon lost its importance and Hooghly flourished in its place. When the port of Calcutta rose to prominence, Betor, the mooring land of the Portuguese cargo for inland, and Garden Reach, the landing ground of Dutch commodities sank into insignificance.

Chief items of export and import trades in the eighteenth century are :

Imports : Copper, Betelnut, Pepper, Bell-metal, some sorts of chints, chank.

Exports : Rice, Oil, Butter, Bamboo, Mustard, Opium, Raw silk, Iron, Elatches, Dry ginger, etc.

Nineteenth century trade can be summarised as follows :

Imports : Horses, Boots and Shoes, Arms and Ammunition, Corals, Cotton fabrics, Drugs and Medicines, Metal goods, Rly. materials, Machinery and mill works, and Mineral oil, Oats, Cheese, Butter, Salt, Silk fabrics, Spices, Sugar, Tobacco, Umbrellas, Woollen goods, Cutlery.

Exports : Coal, Raw cotton, Indian piecegoods, Cutch and gambier. Foodgrains (rice, wheat, gram and pulses), Ginger, Hemp, Hides and skins, Horns, Indigo, Jute, Jute manufactures, Oil seeds, Opium, Silk, Tea and Tobacco.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Export and Import trades of Calcutta Port for the last five years grouped in classes as shown in Government accounts (Extracts from the Report on the Maritime trade.)

(*Figures are in thousand rupees*)

	Imports					*Exports*				
	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900	1900-1901	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900	1900-1901
Animals (living)	1494	1124	1413	1125	2083	485	288	376	357	330
Articles of food and drink	25796	32611	28024	26860	34520	106651	106987	139299	139429	134935
Metals and manufacture of metals	62530	62240	47591	48709	55343	458	415	676	813	1493
Chemicals, drugs, medicines, etc.	5333	6176	6207	6400	7575	87225	61099	66394	72095	81281
Oils	17915	19712	18251	19091	17821	2611	2916	2950	2470	3001
Raw materials and unmanufactured articles	2894	2153	1993	2228	3644	172510	186471	163437	195360	224852
Articles manufactured and partly unmanufactured (yarn, textile fabrics, hosiery, etc.)	185301	154533	174965	192200	196958	76404	83220	76735	84450	96348
Total merchandise	301263	278549	278444	296613	317944	446344	441396	449867	495784	542240
Treasure (gold & silver)	17776	32611	36221	56056	57493	3278	11831	7514	3967	6272
Grand total	319039	311160	314665	352669	375437	449622	453227	457381	499751	548512

Of the several ghats or landing and bathing places on the bank of the river, Chandpal Ghat is the oldest. It was erected in 1774 and named after one Chandra Nath Pal who kept a grocer's shop at that place, for pedestrians and for boatmen. The Babu Ghat of today was then called Rajchandra Das Ghat constructed by Rani Rasmoni of Jann Bazar in memory of her husband. Colvin's Ghat was then known as Kutcha Godee Ghat where country boats used to be hauled up. Prinsep's Ghat, erected in memory of James Prinsep, surpasses others in architectural beauty. The first dry dock in Calcutta was built in 1790 at the site of Bankshall Ghat of today. Koila Ghat, Clive Street Ghat, Mallick Ghat, Kadamtalla Ghat and Bonomali Sircar's Ghat were all in the northern half of the city. Huzoori Mull's Ghat was the present Armenian Ghat and Kashi Babu's Ghat was named after Dewan Kashinath. Some of these ghats were built up in the second half of the last century.

Street Lighting

Street-lighting was first introduced in 1857. At that time, there were 313 oil lamps in all the principal streets. The contractor, Mr. Statham, would supply oils and wicks and attend to the lighting and cleaning of lamps at a monthly cost of Re. 1-2-6 per lamp. The municipality used to pay about Rs. 7,000 annually to the contractor and appoint one overseer on Rs. 60 per month to supervise the work of the contractor. No attempt was, however, made to light the poorer parts of the city. In 1860, the number of oil lamps was increased to 805 but in 1864, posts were damaged by cyclone. A contract, with the approval of the Government was made by the municipality with the Oriental Gas Company to introduce gas-lamp for street lighting. Provisions were made that at least 600 lamps of 12 c.p. each would be set up, and lamps would be cleaned and lighted by the staff of the Company. Lamps were burnt 16 hours a night at an annual cost of Rs. 90 per lamp. In 1864, 1,000 gas lights were burnt but in 1878, the contract was renewed with fresh provisions. The illuminating power of lamps was increased 15 c.p. and a minimum of 3791 lamps was to be maintained in the town proper. In 1911, a fresh contract was executed in order to maintain high pressure gas lighting and electric lighting in important thoroughfares. In Corporation Street and Chowringhee Road, 500 to 1,000 c.p. Keith lamps and high power Electric lamps were burnt, whereas in Manicktola and Ultadingi Roads, 34-100 c.p. electric lamps were lighted. It ought to be recalled that the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., got licence in 1895 to work Electric Tramways but the same licence was renewed in 1905 and the actual supply of current to electrify streets was done in 1911 and electrification in important roads was completed in 1914-15.

Cultural Development

When the British trade in Bengal became more firm and progressive, the English needed the assistance of Bengalees in the management and office work of their business. The Bengalees were then versed in Bengali, Sanskrit and in Persian. To educate them in English, Missionaries came to open schools in Calcutta. In the first half of the nineteenth century, St. Thomas Free School, LaMartiniere, Duff College were founded, but the first European school was established in 1785. In those days, there were a few schools managed by Bengalees. Of these, the Oriental Seminary was the oldest. In the map of Calcutta (1847-49) drawn from actual survey by Frederick Simms and revised up to 1875, one could find along the Cornwallis-College-Wellington-Wellesley Streets, General Assembly's Institution (Scottish Church College of today), Hindoo Female School (Bethune College of today), Hindoo College, Presidency College, Hare School, University of Calcutta (1857), Medical College (1848) and Madrassa. Doveton College was at the junction of Park Street and Free School Street. Church Mission Premises (St. Paul's School) was established in the Amherst Street. It becomes clear that all the schools were situated in the vicinity of native quarters. Eventually, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, more schools and colleges in Calcutta were founded, as the then leaders of Bengal realised the need of broader out-look and cutural development in order to understand the political and economic condition of the country. For the uplift of the country, one must visualise the resources of the country from different angles and then synthesise a plan,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

working on which, the country would attain freedom and prosperity with the least difficulty. All these require knowledge of the historical and political changes of other foreign countries. So education is the essential means of such achievement. Besides, mass education is none the less important in order to arouse the consciousness of independence, and love of country. Thus English being almost the *lingua franca* of the whole world, was learnt by the people of this country.

Names of Locality

In the seventeenth century there were isolated settlements in Sutanati, Kalikota and Govindapur, amidst jungles and paddy-fields. With the English settlement, Bengalees began to settle in large numbers by deforesting the area. Important gardens having fruit and flower trees, identified the locality. With the increase of settlement, naming of localities became essential. At the first stage it was done after those gardens where a particular species of trees was predominant. Thus originated Phoolbagan, Panbagan, Kalabagan, Narikelbagan, Chaltabagan, Bakul Bagan, Harituki Bagan, Goabagan, etc. Badur Bagan was named as a large number of bats were seen hanging in gardens of the locality. Chorebagan speaks of the dense jungles that afforded hiding places for thieves. Halsi Bagan was named after the Halse or weeds that grew in saline water. Some of these names still survive as the names of streets or lanes of the locality, others have been obliterated.

Later on, with the growth of the city, the garden nomenclature was slightly modified. Localities were named after the owner of gardens or after the principal caste or occupation of the people of the tract. Thus Sett Bagan (Garden of Setts), Singhee Bagan, Bysak Bagan, Roy Bagan, Bamun Bagan, Raja Bagan (Garden of Raja Rajbullav), Mohon Bagan (Garden of Rajah Gopi Mohon Dutt), Kerani Bagan (place south of Baitakkhana where clerks of the company settled), Tanti Bagan, etc.

Hatibagan speaks of the region where elephants of the Nawab were kept during the siege.

With the construction of principal roads within the city, regional nomenclature found no place any longer, though it was highly appreciated at one time. New streets were named after the Governors, or English officials, during whose incumbency, the same were opened as thoroughfares. Watgunge at Kidderpore is connected with Watson who started a gunge or mart there. Cornwallis, Wellesley, Hasting Streets, etc., were named after the then Governor-Generals. But the naming of College Street was connected with the schools and colleges.

Since 1794, in naming streets, roads, or the locality, Hindu names preponderated, next came Europeans and Eurasian names, last came Mohamedan names, though in population Mohamedans were next to Hindus. Of course, in recent times, some of the European-named streets or roads have been renamed after Indian names.

Conclusion

The region round about Calcutta of today was a subject of discourses with reference to its surface feature and settlement since the sixteenth century.

Kavirama, the author of the *Digbijaya Prakas* of the sixteenth century called the landscape *Kalkata* which according to him, comprised the towns and villages of Hooghli, Bansberia, Bhatpara, Khardaha, Sealdaha, Gobindapur of today. It was bounded on the west by Saraswati and on the east by the Jumna. Its area was 21 *jojanas* or 160 sq. miles. He described its formation in a legendary tale in which he actually meant an isostatic disturbance that might have caused an escape of gaseous matter (deep breath of Kurma) due to the subsidence of a hill (Mandara or Ananta).

Baraha-Mihira, the seventh century Hindu astronomer, called this tract as *Samatata, i.e.*, level to the sea.

Houen Tsang found an uninhabited area, 600 miles in circuit, lying between Tamralipta (Midnapur) and Samatata (East Bengal) on the east; this part formed a tidal swamp.

In April 1815, while re-excavating the Esplanade tank of the Chowringhee, unbedded trunks of *Sundri* trees (Heritiera Littoralis) standing upright were found at a depth of about four feet from the surface. Native geologists, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 5, 1815 opined that the land bore those trees on the surface, then it was silted up by subsequent fluvial deposits.

A committee of naturalists conducted series of borings from December 1835 to April 1840. The boring in Fort William to a depth of 460 ft. indicated no marine deposits throughout, the existence of peat-bed at 30 to 35 feet and again at 382 to 395 feet below the surface, and the appearance of fine sand and seashore pebbles at 170 to 180 ft., 320 to 325 ft. and at 400 to 480 ft. below the surface. Those pebbles were the disintegrated gneissic rocks.

Blandford, in Blandford and Medlicott's *Manual of Geology of India*, Part I, concluded from the above data that the deposition was either by fresh water or in the neighbourhood of an estuary. The peat-bed at 382 ft. below the surface proved the existence of ancient land surfaces. Finding roots of the Sundari tree in every peaty layer observed at Canning town and at Khulna in Jessore, he remarked that the tree grows a little above ordinary high water-mark. So the occurrence of the roots below the mean tidal level provided a conclusive evidence of depression that was further confirmed by pebbles. Thus geologists make us imagine a picture of a series of gneissic hills ruggedly exposed out of the transgressing sea. The depressed parts were filled up by fluvial deposits. Due to the weight of the super-incumbent layers, there was again a subsidence, when the pleistocene alluvial deposits form the existing topography.

Fergusson states that hardly 4000 years have elapsed before the tide was near the Rajmahal Hill. He believes that the region between the Sunderbans and the apex of the delta was a tidal swamp. In 1757, Admiral Watson took up to Chandernagore battleships of 60 to 64 guns, which would now hardly reach Calcutta without the assistance of tugs. This indicates the gradual silting up of the river Hughli. Fergusson mentions several traditionary beliefs to illustrate the gradual extension and upheaval of the Gangetic Delta. Some 400 years ago Jessore was on the sea-shore. He assumes that the changes of the courses of the Kusi at Purnea, the Damodar at Tribeni near Satgaon were due to elevation of the tract.

From some local names, he infers gradual upheaval of the region, *e.g.* Navadwipa (new island), Chakdaha (a circular island), Khardaha (Khargadwipa, the spear-shaped island), Ariyadaha (Aryadwipa, the island of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Aryans), Halisahar (new town), Baranagar (a place of wild boars), Sialdaha (Srigaldwipa, an island noted for jackals).

Dahas or dwipas (islands) were elevated parts of the tidal swamp, that attracted population first.

From all these, one may conclude that in remote antiquity, this part of Bengal consisted of gneissic hills, stood out of the sea that stretched further north. Then at a later date those hills were depressed when a tidal swamp extended up to the Rajmahal hills. In the depressions of the swamp, sedimentation caused elevated tracts. In some parts, elevation was followed by subsidence. Thus in the seventeenth century, Jessore, Khulna, Sunderbans and Calcutta were not fully formed, and were uninhabitable, though the East Bengal was, then, sufficiently inhabited to form a nodal town for the seaborne trade. But the English preferred to establish factories in an area close to those of the rival nations who settled along the Hughli. The inherent tendency of competing with the settled European nations led the English to encamp in the uninhabitable tract which, in the course of about 250 years, has become the most active City of India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* by C. R. Wilson.
(2) *Calcutta Past and Present* (1905) by Miss K. Bletchynden.
(3) *Calcutta Old and New* by H. E. A. Cotton.
(4) *Municipal Calcutta* by S. W. Goode.
(5) *Calcutta Gazette,* Volume IV, Export and Import in 1836.
(6) Kaviram's *Digbijay Prakash.*
(7) Sir C. C. Steven's paper on the Port of Calcutta.
(8) *Census of India* (1901), Volume VII, Part I.
(9) Blanford and Medlicott's *Manual of Geology of India,* Part I.
(10) Beverby's *Census Report* 1876, 1881, 1891, 1901.
(11) *Journal of the Geological Society of London,* Volume XIX.
(12) *Sambadha Nirnaya* by Pandit Lal Mohon Bidyanidhi.
(13) The Municipal Administration Reports for 1875.
(14) *Bengal Past and Present,* Volumes I to XVII.
(15) Calcutta Corporation Year Books.
(16) *Brief History of Water Works,* Calcutta Corporation.
(17) *History of Calcutta,* Drainage Works.
(18) *Port of Calcutta 1870-1920.*
(19) *Echoes from Old Calcutta* by H. E. Busteed.
(20) *Handbook of Commercial Information for India.*

——:O:——

THE BRITISH POTTERY INDUSTRY

By MOIRA FORSYTH

Pottery has been made in England since before the Roman conquest, and this old industry still thrives today, though modern methods of production have replaced the potter's wheel and the potter's thumb.

Pottery is known to every country in the world; wherever clay has been found, man has shaped it into the vessels he needs, and decorated them for his enjoyment. Hardened and perfected by fire, pottery becomes one of the most durable of materials. More than any other medium it has preserved a record of the lives and habits of past civilisations.

Pottery production today, with all its use of mechanical processes, does not essentially differ from that of the past. Its materials are still drawn from the earth; its continuous-firing electric oven is still the same in principle as the primitive kiln; the "thumb of the potter" may not now shape the clay so intimately as in the past, for his tools are often mechanical, but they shape the clay as he directs. Man still makes pottery to satisfy his own needs and the demands of his fellow-men; but those demands have enormously increased, together with the power of modern industry to satisfy them. Planned production on a large scale is characteristic of our present age.

Staffordshire has been the centre of the British pottery industry for hundreds of years, though many famous factories have been established in other parts of the country. Stoke-on-Trent, more familiarly known as the Potteries, grew up as a series of little townships. Here, where clay and coal abounded, the monks of the Middle Ages made their encaustic tiles; the potter and his family, with a little kiln in their garden, made their butter-pots and plates and possetcups of red clay decorated with white; here the famous Staffordshire figures were made—sometimes crude, always vigorous, and with a true native humour.



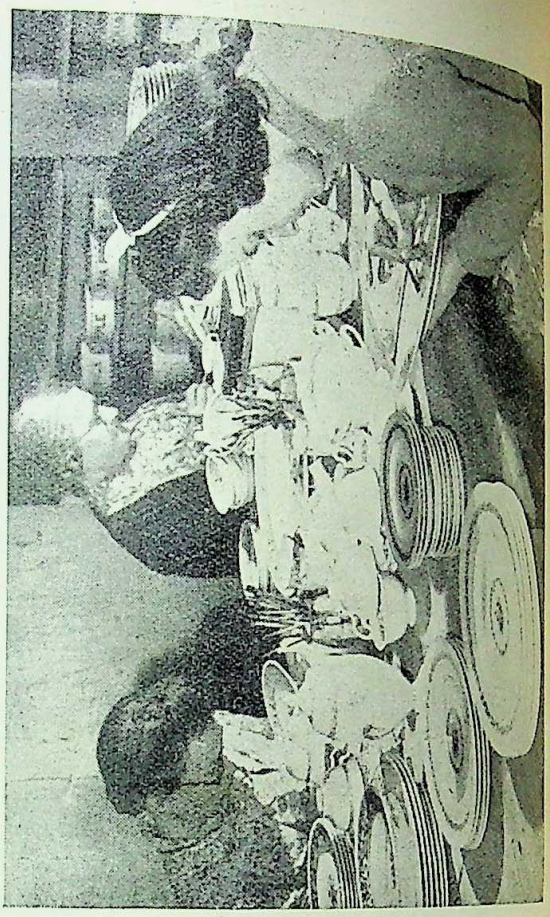
Plates are stacked on special racks, before being baked

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

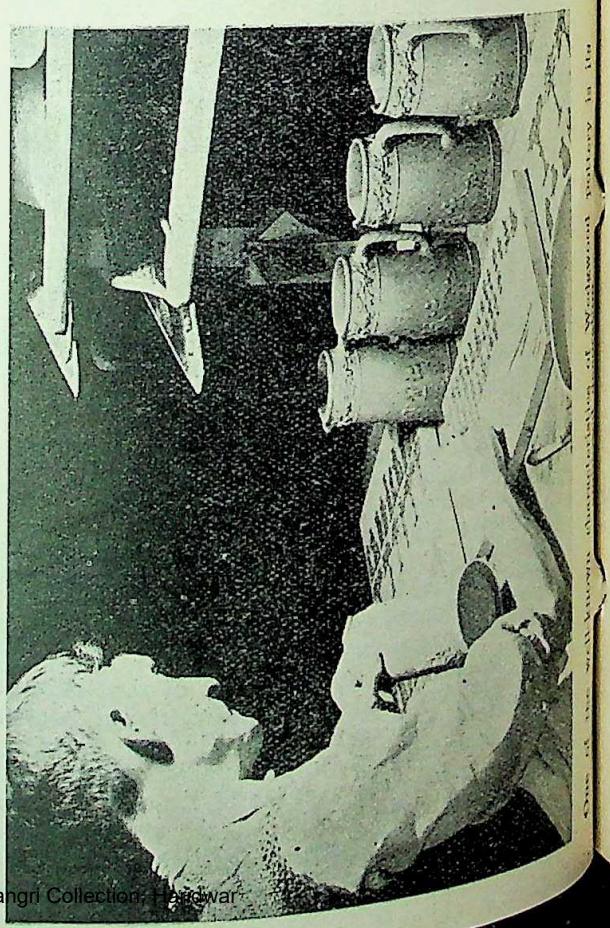


A large number of china clay articles are produced by casting or moulding



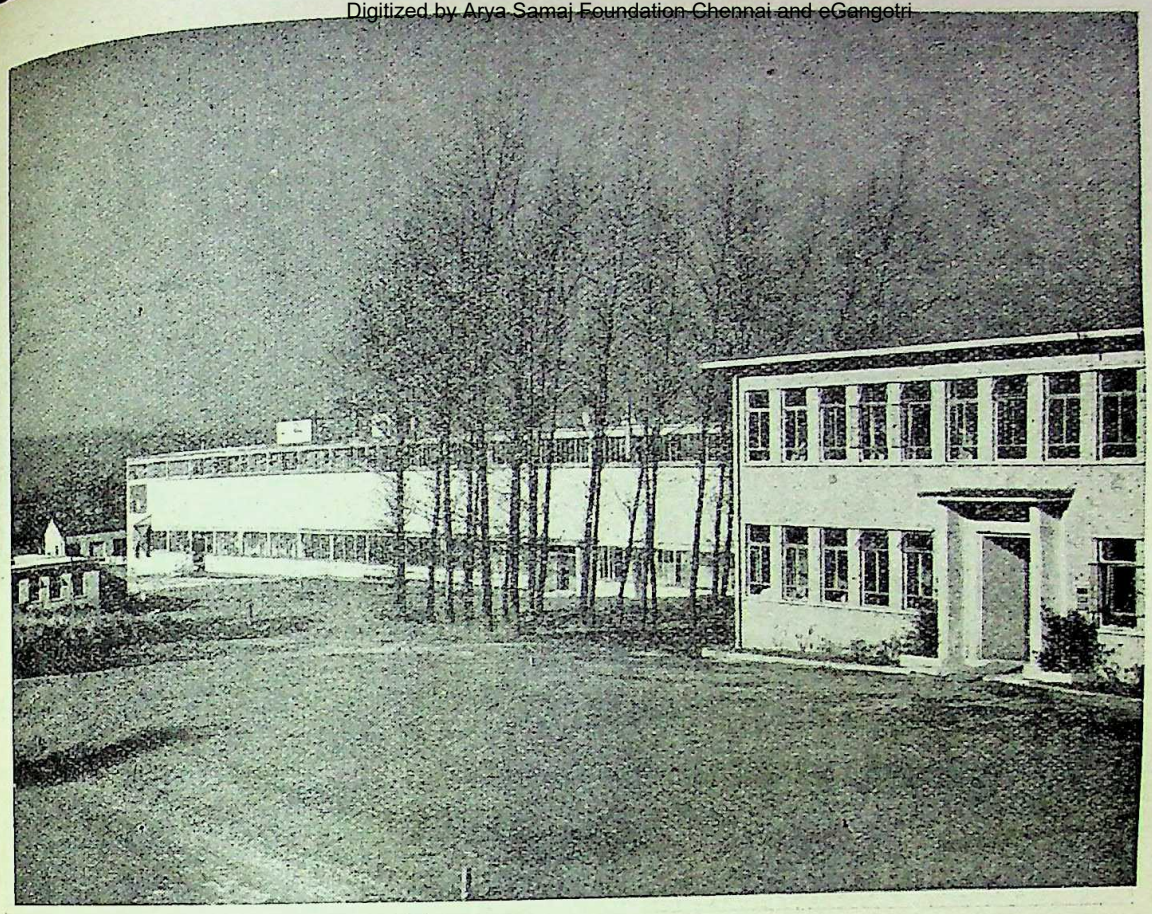


Plates are dipped in glaze and then stacked for drying

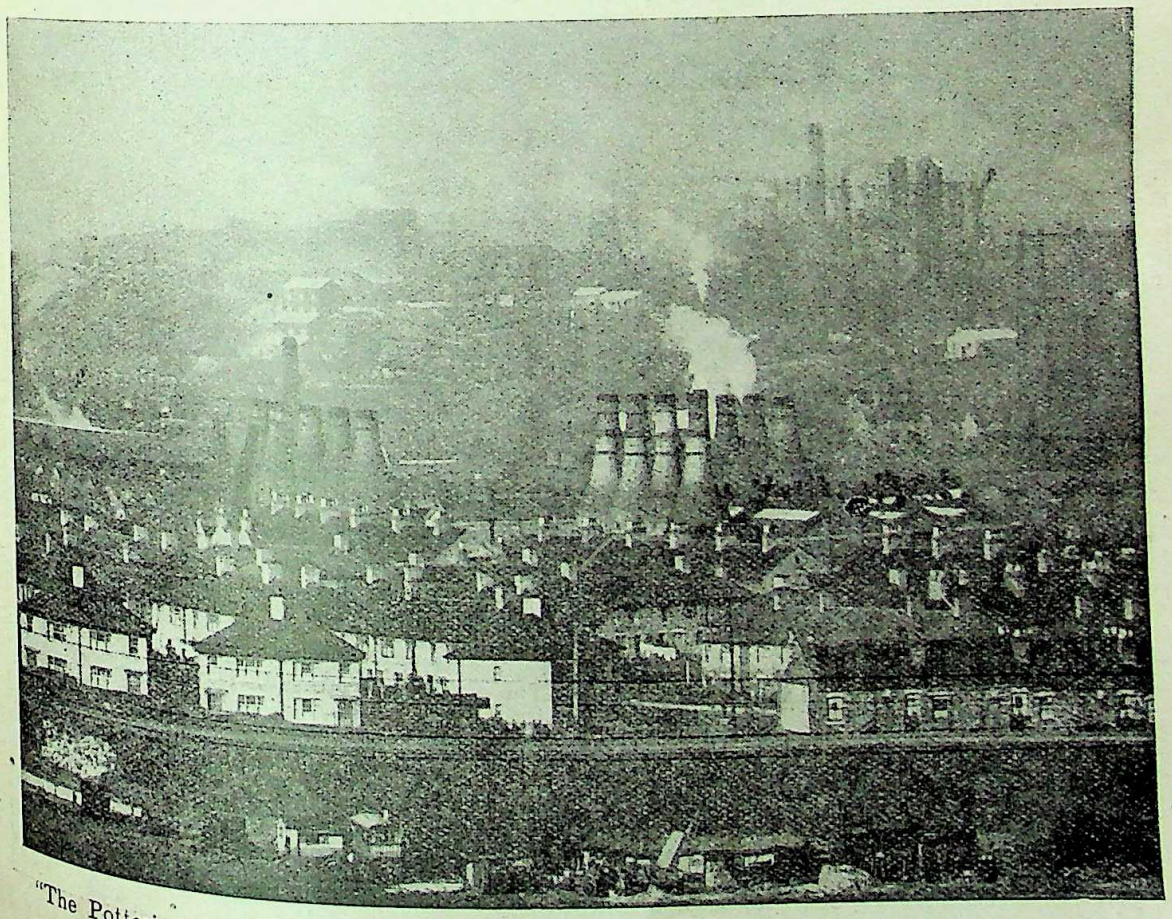


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



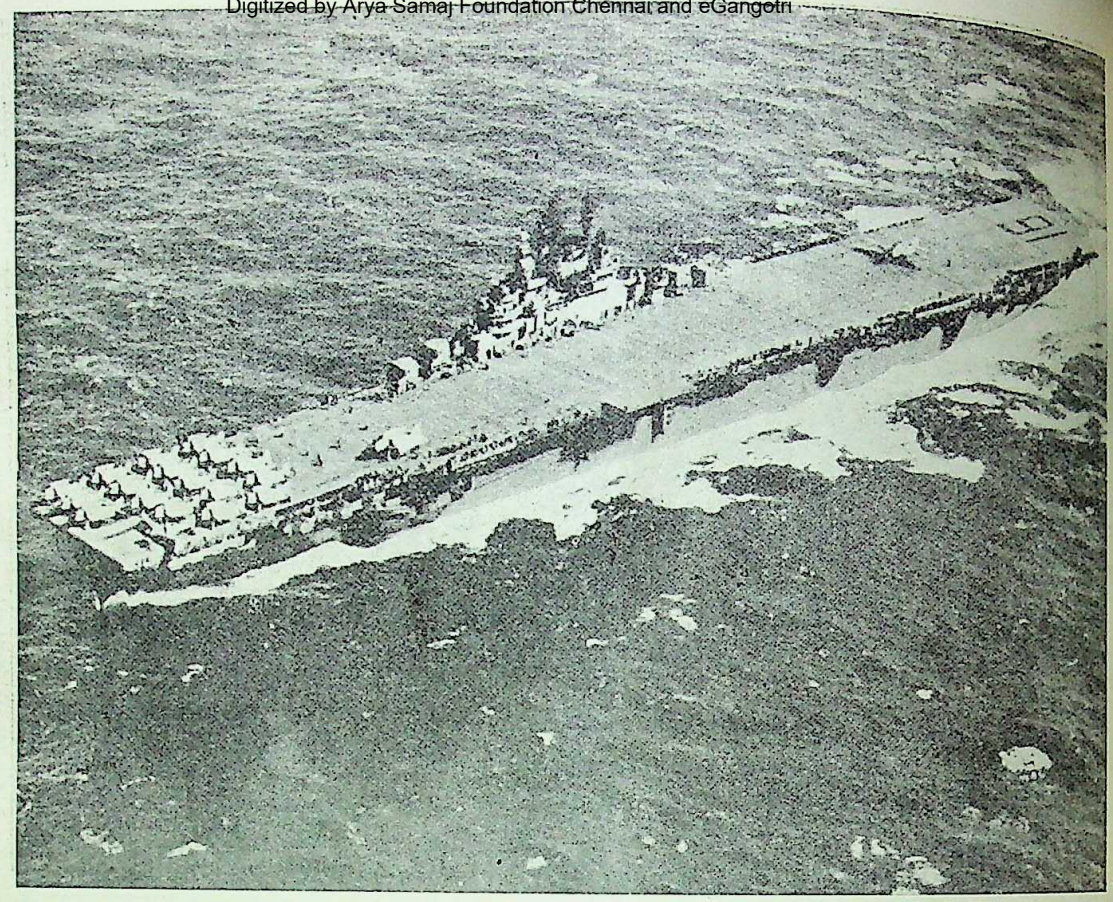
Modern and well-equipped, this new porcelain and china factory recently built by the firm of Josiah Wedgwood has been planned to include village community for workers



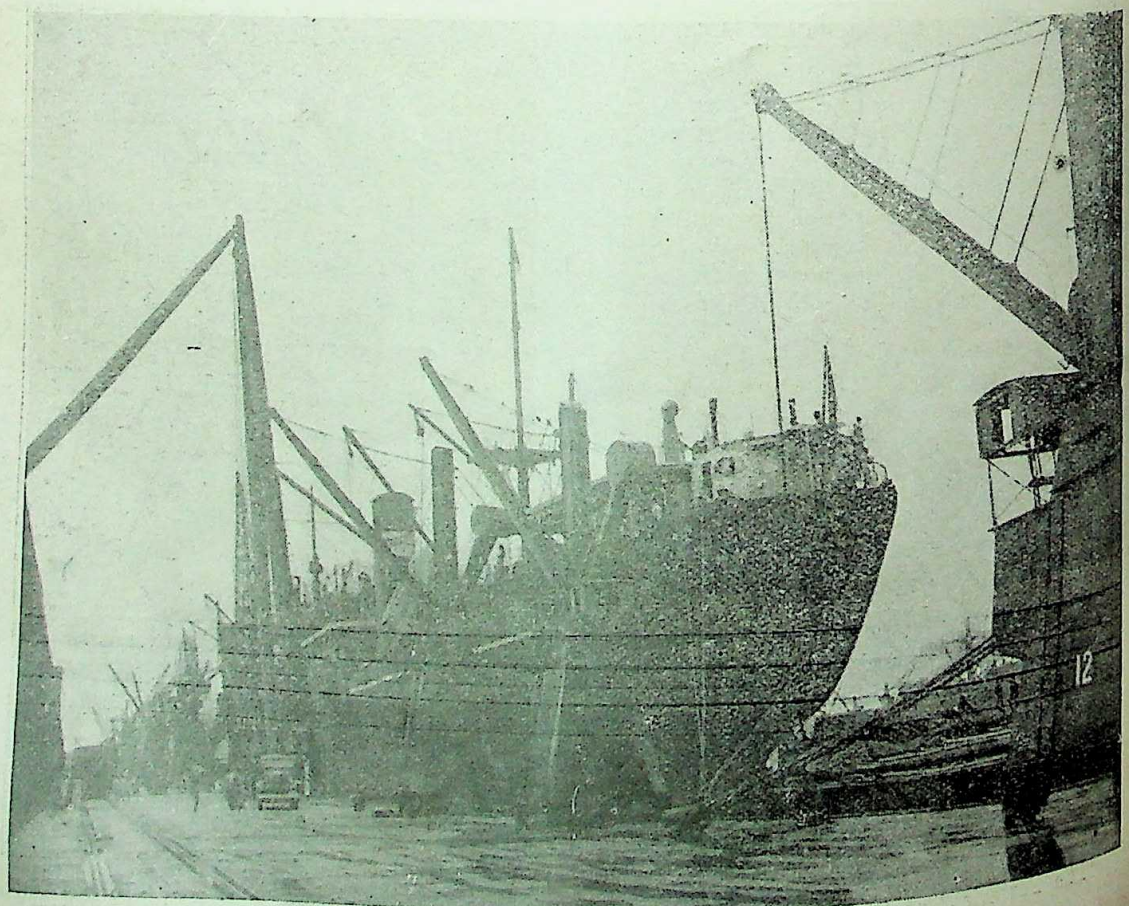
"The Potteries" at Stoke-on-Trent. It is from here that the major part of Britain's pottery products comes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The aircraft carrier, U.S.S. *Lexington*. The U.S. navy has now the world's largest carrier fleet—26 large craft, three of which are 45 000 tons, and 65 escort carriers



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

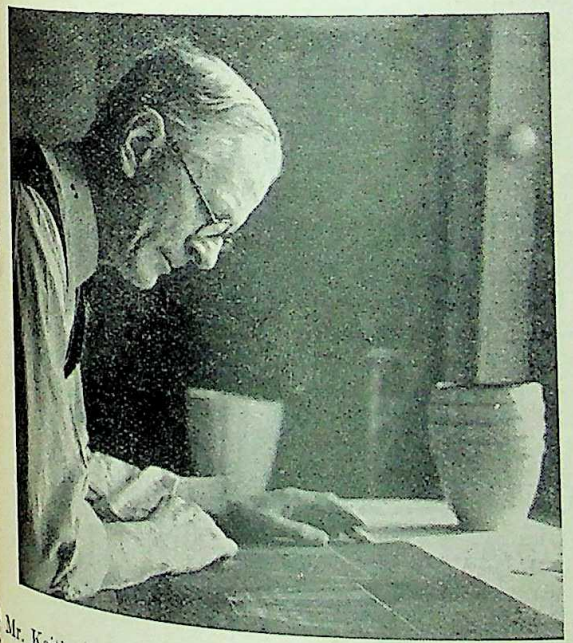
Ships carrying foodgrains arrive at Calcutta

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But it was not until the eighteenth century that such men as Josiah Wedgwood made Staffordshire pottery world-famous. Wedgwood, a pioneer of the new industrial age, was something of a scientific genius. He improved and refined his materials, invented new methods of manufacture, and adopted the process of decoration by transfer prints. By these means he was able to produce in great quantity. The potter no longer made and finished his individual piece, but became rather a specialist in one particular process. A high level of craftsmanship was still needed, but the direction of effort was now in the hands of the "master-potter".



Most domestic china is decorated by transfers



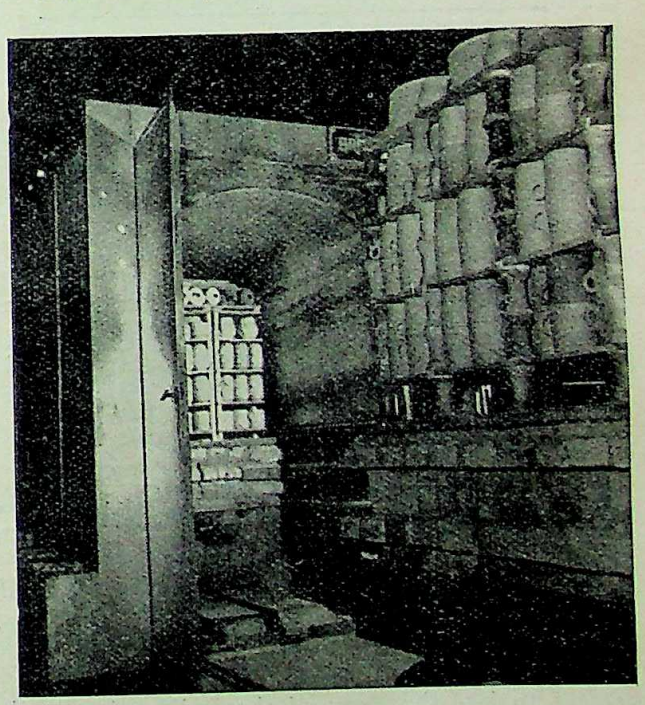
Mr. Keith Murray, the well-known English industrial designer, at work on a new design

The people of the Potteries have inherited the skill of their forefathers; they have a justifiable pride in their work, and an independence of character which is the mark of the craftsman of every country. Pottery, more than any other manufacture, is dependent upon the skill of its workers, for the fragile nature of the clay and the severity of its testing in the fire, which seeks out every flaw, makes it impossible for the machine wholly to supersede the man.

Today British pottery stands high in the estimation of the world for its quality and craftsmanship. This is a tradition maintained not only by famous firms, such as Wedgwood, Spode, Worcester and Derby, but also by countless other potters. The range of their production is astonishing. Not only gaily painted earthenware and the more delicately decorated china for the table, but decorative figures for the mantelshelf, coloured porcelain for the bathroom, tiles for hearth and wall, stone-ware for the kitchen—all are made in the Potteries, and in great variety.



After baking, glazing and being decorated all the plates are passed to an expert who chips off any rough edges



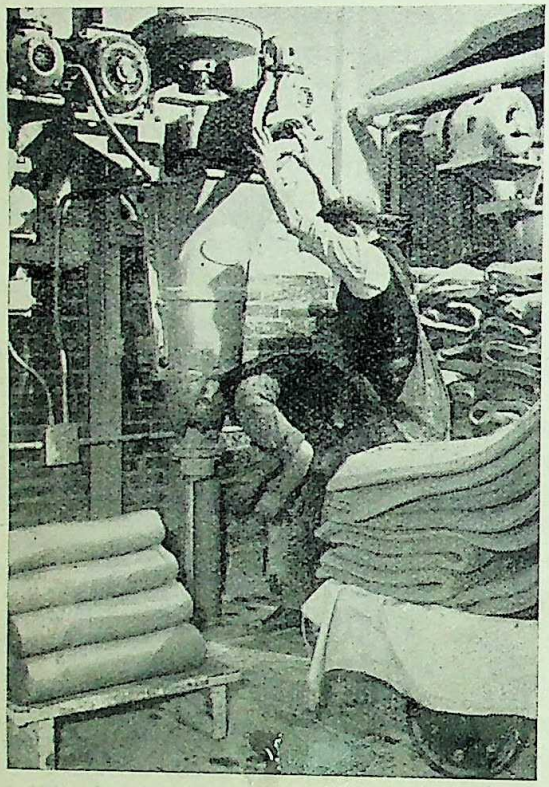
Stacks of pottery passing into the electric ovens where they are to be baked

Electrical porcelain is the most recently developed section of the industry: its products are of a semi-engineering character, but the material—a true hard-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

paste porcelain—has superb decorative possibilities. Experiments in this medium have shown remarkable results, and will undoubtedly influence future developments. By such research and adaption this British industry maintains its vigorous growth.



Slabs of china clay being shaped into cylinders by being passed through a machine

To preserve a tradition is to retain the principles rather than the methods of the past. The famous firm of Wedgwood is, in this sense, an example of unbroken tradition. Its founder believed that science and art must give of their best as equal partners in industry. The present Josiah, the sixth of this name, has evinced the same pioneering spirit. When the old factory at Etruria, modern and well-equipped in its day, could no longer be adapted to the latest methods of manufacture, not merely was a new factory planned, but also a village community for the workers, set in the pleasant Staffordshire countryside. This factory is perfectly equipped and designed to increase the volume of production by the elimination of all wasteful effort.

The drive for more modern methods is typical of the industry as a whole. The smoky Potteries themselves are being transformed by the use of the new tunnel-ovens, fired by gas or electricity.

If science can increase output and lower costs, so much greater will be the power of industry to serve the markets of the world. But, as Josiah Wedgwood saw in his day, science and art must work together to guarantee the quality of the product. Although there is still room for the individual artist-potter who makes and decorates his own ware, in large-scale production the artist has a different part to play. Though he does not make the pottery, he is no mere decorator, adding a little ornament to the ware, but a creative designer who must understand and use all the processes of manufacture, the nature of the material, the power of the machine, the part played by the craftsman.

The British pottery industry has a unique contribution to make to the world's needs. It is based on great traditions which have been handed on through many generations of craftsmen and master-potters, and it is proving that these traditions are capable of translation into terms of modern production.

During the war the industry has suffered severely by the cutting down of its manpower to one-third its former strength ; methods have been simplified and standardised to produce undecorated utility ware for the home market ; all effort has been concentrated. But its workers will come back to an industry keyed to meet the tremendous demands of the post-war world, a world which for years has been deprived of all but necessities, and starved for colour and the precious quality of fine material. The men and women of Britain who are privileged to work in this ancient and honourable craft have a great contribution to make to the needs of the world and a new page on which to inscribe a further chapter in the history of British pottery.

——:O:——

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL,

Ex-President, Natal Indian Congress

From first to last the story of the Indians in South Africa is a story of deteriorating situation, of promises made and promises broken, of pledges given and pledges violated, of the trampling of rights and the erosion of principles. In vain they have pleaded with the Union Government to refrain from introducing anti-Indian legislations which have been enacted from time to time. The most sinister and most dangerous of all is the present Ghetto Act, a creation of that new Messiah of White Race Supermacy Religion, Jan Christian Smuts, who has been acclaimed and honoured in the world as the defender of democracy and liberty, of justice and equality, of peace and human rights. The late General Hertzog, a nationalist Boer, with all his anti-Indian tendencies, honoured the Capetown Agreement both in the letter and in the spirit during his long term of office as Prime Minister of South Africa, but Premier Smuts has failed to maintain the dignity of his country and has cunningly violated both the historic treaties known as the Gandhi-Smuts Settlement of 1914 and the Capetown Agreement of 1927, and treated them as scraps of paper.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

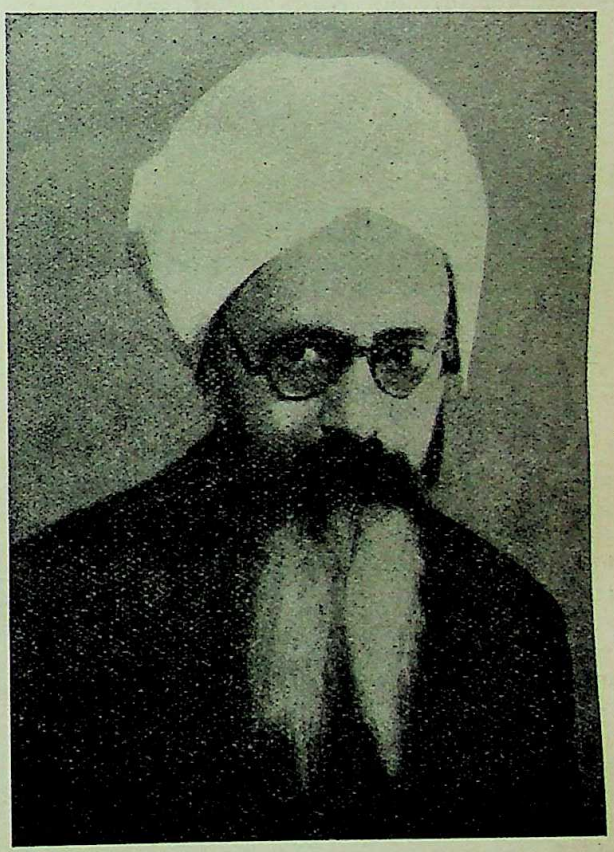
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

My indictment of General Smuts and his Government is overwhelming; it is no wild exaggeration, it is a charge based on irrefutable evidence and unchallengeable facts. A brief survey of his anti-Indian activities since he became the Prime Minister of the Union for the second time in 1939 will convince any impartial person of his ambition to eliminate the Indian settlers from South Africa. He appointed the first Broome Commission to investigate the alleged Indian penetration into European localities, but he refused to accept and implement the recommendations of the Commission because the report was contrary to his expectations. He then appointed the second Broome Commission with limited terms of reference to inquire only into the extent to which Indians, including companies with predominantly Indian directorates have, since 1927, acquired sites from the European sellers. The Commission was precluded from finding out the reasons which induced Indians to purchase these properties. The great General proceeded with remarkable haste to legislate in terms of the Commission's report. Despite the Government of India's protest and the appeals of eminent Indian leaders like the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh and Sir Raza Ali, the Asiatic Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act, popularly known as the Pegging Act, was passed by the Union Parliament in 1943. This Act was described as an emergency and interim measure to maintain *status quo* and to give time for a special Judicial Commission to examine fully the affairs of the Indians in Natal. On that report the Government was to introduce comprehensive legislation to settle the Indian problems once for all. That was an assurance given by General Smuts and his colleague Mr. H. G. Lawrence, the then Minister of the Interior, to our people. The Pegging Act was a temporary measure, a measure that applied to the city of Durban only.

In 1944, Jan Smuts entered into a solemn agreement with the Natal Indian Congress. The same Smuts who refused to meet a deputation from the South African Indian Congress on the ground that the Congress had threatened to place their case before the bar of world opinion, just before his departure for England to attend the Dominion Premiers' Conference, invited the leaders of the Congress to meet him in Pretoria. After some consultation with them he signed that famous Pretoria Agreement, which subsequently brought the downfall of our right-wing Congress leaders. He gladly affixed his signature on the Agreement on the 18th April, 1944, but six months later on the 18th November, 1944, he shamelessly declared that the Agreement was stone-dead. He wrote to the Natal Indian Congress to say that 'the Pretoria Agreement having failed in its object it was necessary to explore a settlement along other lines.'

And what were those lines? The lines of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission. The Commission reported, and recommended that a new start be made, a Round Table Conference be convened and that conversations and consultations should take place between the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India in order to find out some friendly ways and means to settle the Indian problems. But once more Smuts threw this report into his waste-paper basket and declared emphatically that the Pegging Act is now to be superseded by a Bill that is permanent, a Bill that applied to the whole of Natal and the Transvaal, a Bill which will make Indians wriggle like toads under a harrow.

This announcement by Smuts threatened the position of Indian settlers to such an extent that they were driven to desperation, and in February last when the session of the South African Indian Congress at Capetown stood adjourned, a deputation of Indian leaders waited on Smuts and pleaded with him not to defame the Statute Book of South Africa with such an offensive, unjust and injurious law against Indian settlers. They appealed to him to accept the recommendations of his own Commission for a Round Table Conference and not close the door of settlement to a great nation of Asia. They stated frankly that such a racial legislation would never be accepted by the Indian settlers and they regarded this as a betrayal of the trust they have placed



Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi

in the supreme legislature of South Africa. But in vain. General Smuts told them plainly that he would not tolerate any interference from India in his domestic affairs, that the Indian question was a purely domestic question of South Africa, and that he would proceed with his proposed legislation.

In spite of the vehement protest of the Indian settlers and severe condemnation of the people and the Government of India this obnoxious and most discriminatory legislation, born of the worst form of racial and colour prejudice, was passed. The technique adopted by Smuts and his Government in passing this Act marks the Draconian thoroughness which condemns a voteless and economically feeble section of the population to a regime of the Ghetto.

After sending their deputations to India and England, the Indian settlers have now launched the campaign of Satyagraha after an interval of 32 years, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

last being in 1914, which terminated with the famous Gandhi-Smuts Settlement. Eminent leaders like Dr. Yusuf Mohomed Dadoo, President, Transvaal Indian Congress ; Dr. Gungathura Mohambrey Naicker, President, Natal Indian Congress ; Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, ex-President, South African Indian Congress ; Dr. Kaisbal Goonam, a leader of Indian Women's Association and many other Satyagrahis have already been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour. The Englishmen of Durban are also determined to teach a lesson to these Satyagrahis whom they consider to be of an inferior race. They are raiding the Satyagrahis' camp during the night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away or setting fire to them to burn the coolies alive, smashing the camp stretchers, taking the blankets away and kicking the women Satyagrahis to preserve the white race supremacy and civilization in South Africa. The latest brutality of Whitemen in Durban is the cold-blooded murder of an Indian Constable Krishnaswamy Pillay. He was only walking along the road when a group of Whitemen suddenly and brutally attacked him. This first martyr to European hooliganism died peacefully in hospital from his injuries.

The Indian settlers of South Africa are determined to carry on their Satyagraha against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, commonly known in India as the Ghetto Act. The struggle against it will continue indefinitely in spite of a brutal murder and the continuous attacks of the white hooligans. They are not in a mood to tolerate the humiliating conditions sought to be imposed on them. Indians can never agree to the principle of segregation.

The Government of India have done very little to meet this ghastly situation in which ruin and death stare thousands of India's children in the face. This step-motherly attitude of the Government has always helped the race-mad white jingoes of South Africa to treat the Indians as an untouchable section of the Union population. If the Government of India believe that by terminating the Trade Agreement with the Union and recalling the High Commissioner from South Africa they have done their duty by this country, they are greatly mistaken. It is our conviction that the Government of India, mainly because it is an alien Government, has failed miserably to discharge their duty for the protection of our people in South Africa. It is impossible for the Government to disown their responsibility, yet, if the Government refuse to see facts which stare them in their face who can help it ? The Government would be false to their responsibilities, if they hesitated at this critical juncture to take the strongest measures open to them. Strangely enough we have had not a word of protest from the Viceroy, such as had come spontaneously from Lord Hardinge, thirty-two years ago. However, it is reported that India's case against South Africa is likely to come up before the U.N.O. in September as the question has been included in the preliminary agenda for September session. India would watch anxiously the verdict of this World Organization.

India's honour and sense of self-respect as a civilized nation is involved in the struggle which the South African Indian Congress has called upon the Indian settlers to launch. White men have no right to claim that Transvaal or Natal or any part of South Africa will remain their sole possession. This assertion is the very height of racial arrogance, which will definitely create conditions for a third World War.

General Smuts has, by passing the Ghetto Act, thrown a challenge not only to India but to the whole of Asia, which it is the sacred duty of every Indian, whether he is in India or in South Africa, to accept with firm determination. What made Smuts so irrational and defiant ? Was it because of his fear of losing his Premiership or was it because he felt in the flush of victory that his country was absolutely safe and that as a result he could afford to insult a nation of four hundred millions ? Whatever it is, it is totally unworthy of a man like General Smuts. He has imitated Hitler in his racial mania to which one can hardly find a parallel in history.

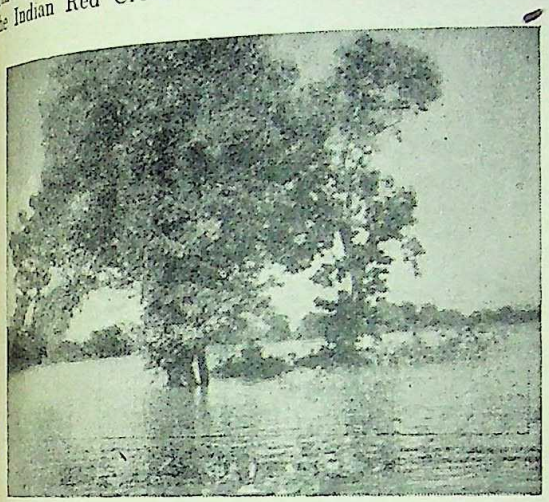
The Indian settlers of South Africa look to their mother country for succour in their great distress. All India shares the chagrin and vexation of our people in the Union, but only the resentment of the motherland does not help them materially. Nationals of a country under foreign domination can hardly expect to be treated fairly abroad. When Mahatma Gandhi was the leader of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa, he concluded that it was futile to carry on a struggle there to remove the disabilities of Indian settlers without the freedom of India. So he returned to India and engaged himself in the task of winning the country's freedom. He has been able to convince the people that complete independence is the one and only goal open to Indians and that there is no place for them in the Empire in which the colour complex prevails, where a small minority of Whites is able to dominate the black and brown majority. That is just what is happening in South Africa today, where a large population of eight million natives, ten million coloured people and a quarter million Indians is held under subjection by nearly three million Whites through sheer brute force and not by any moral right. The irony of it is that these arrogant Whites derive their power not from any strength of their own but from the Imperial Government of England. If it were withdrawn tomorrow, the South African Union would collapse like the house of cards. Therefore, a National Government in India is needed immediately to protect our people in South Africa from complete annihilation.—*N.P.S.I.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN RED CROSS AND FLOOD RELIEF WORK AT CHITTAGONG

Soon after the flood, the workers of the Indian Red Cross Society, Bengal Provincial Branch, arrived at Chittagong with a view to assist the District Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society at Chittagong and was subsequently reinforced by more workers and supplies from Calcutta.



A general view of the flood in Chittagong

After an air survey of the flood-affected areas a Red Cross sub-supply base was opened at Tangunia, the worst affected area, in charge of Mr. Kiron Chakrabarti, Honorary Divisional Secretary, Calcutta.

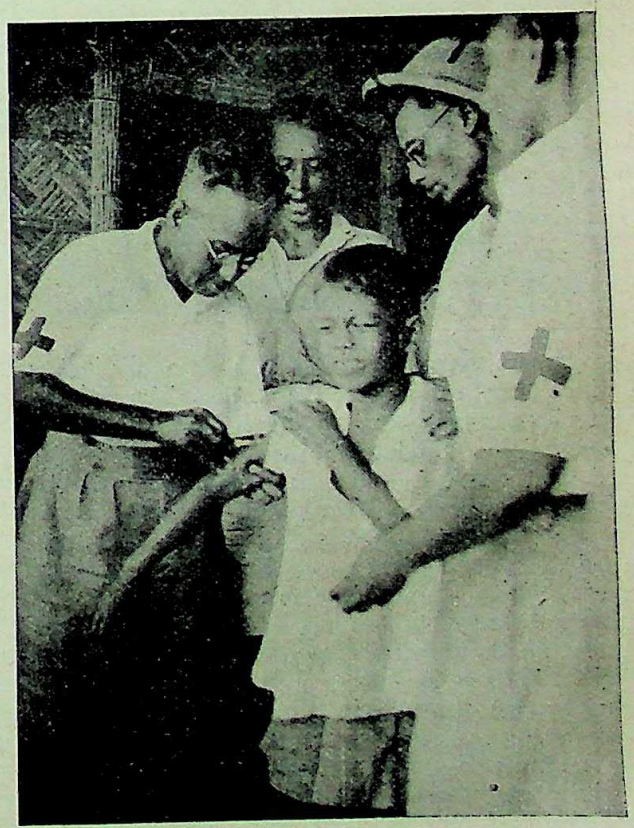


Distribution of clothings by the Red Cross Society

As the area of operation was too vast the Red Cross supplies were distributed through fifteen non-official relief organisations operating throughout the district and also through the workers of the Society. Besides the distribution of supplies, the Red Cross opened a reception camp for the volunteers of various non-official relief organisations where accommodation and food were provided free of charge to Marwari Relief Society, Chittagong Dist. Muslim Students League, District Medical Relief Committee, Prabartak Sangha, Friends Service Unit, Kanchana Pally Kalyan Samity, Sripur



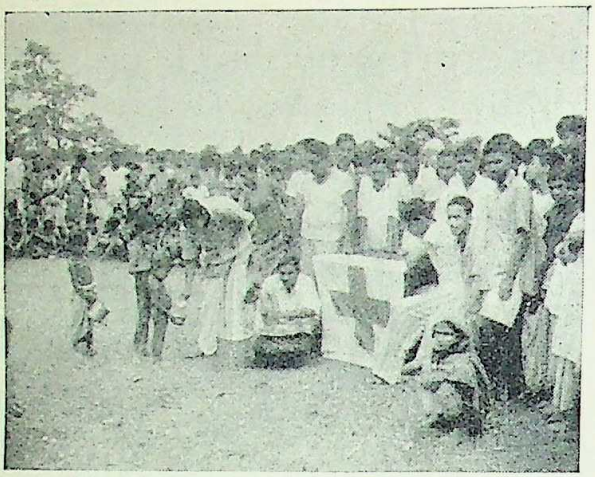
Workers going to villages



Red Cross workers inoculating afflicted villagers

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

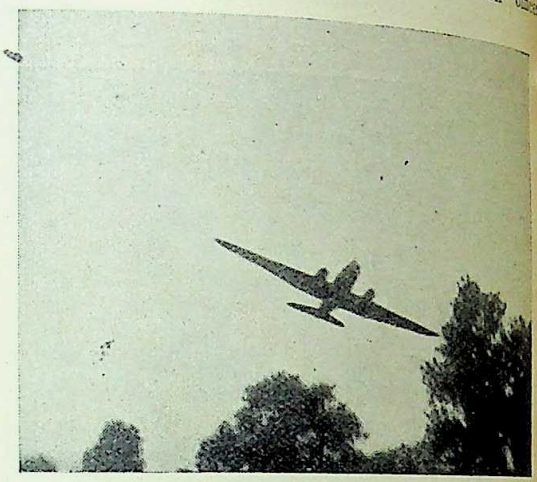


An emergency milk canteen



Red Cross supplies to the flooded areas by *shampans*

Kharandwip Flood Relief Committee, Indian National Ambulance Corps, Bengal Homeo Institute, Chittagong Flood Relief Committee, Saroatali Union Flood Relief Committee, Pakistan Ambudance Corps, Bharat Sevasram Samgha, Jessore Khulna Seva Samity, etc. The Assistant Provincial Organising Secretary was in charge of the relief operations and acted as liason officer



Red Cross supplies dropped from planes

between the government and the various non-official relief parties at Chittagong.

Milk, medicines and garments were distributed in the affected areas on a large scale by the Indian Red Cross Society through its own workers and fifteen non-official relief organisations.

The following photographs, received through the courtesy of Mr. Jamini Sarkar, Assistant Provincial Organising Secretary, Indian Red Cross Society, Bengal Provincial Branch, speak for themselves.

——:O:——

THE COORGS

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER

Coorg was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought their asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities, while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of the wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as "the finest race without any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature, and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have finer nose, have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenjo Daro period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic castes of Western India.

Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, Hosala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

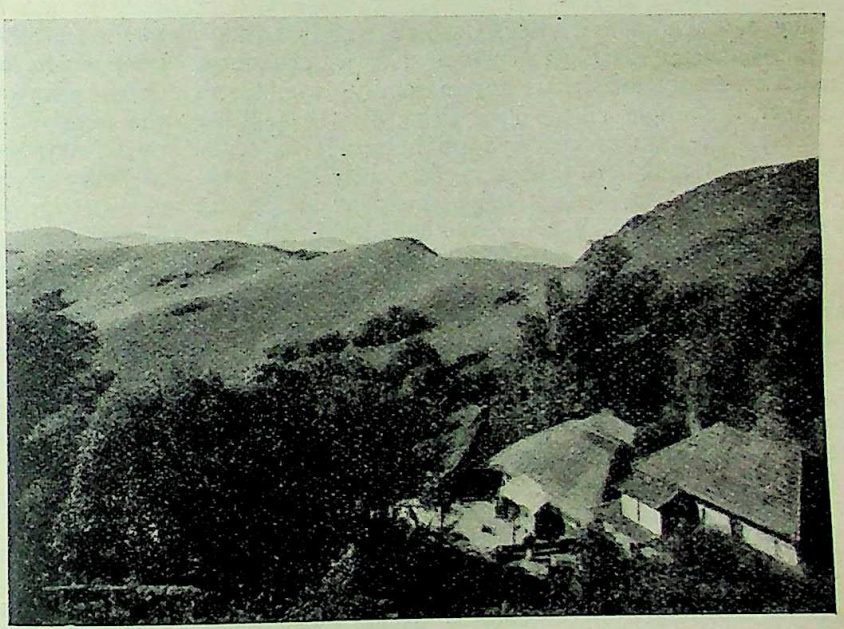
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Purana in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which now formed part of Coorg must have afforded a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulu, or Tamil origin. Their language, demon- and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. These traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food, and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains.

Habitations

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well-stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments bear visible evidence of these memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction.

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to the door-way passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations far remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as *balle* or *nadumane*, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. On the front of the building, there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank *aimara*, two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round, and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner-roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen and dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating, and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the roof and above the ceiling, the wooden floor covered with a thick layer of earth to keep the rooms below dry and fire-proof, serves for strong bags of rice, baskets, pots, and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.



A view of a Coorg house and its sylvan environment

The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses, and cushions, sheets, and blankets ; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

brass vessels, plates, and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their clothings and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one of the corners of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements to live in the European style.

Internal Structure

The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna, Malla, and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

Marriage Prohibitions

The marriage custom of the Coorgs is a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage custom had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear earrings, and maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or to the senior members of the family who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are :

1. The descendants on the father's side of the same family name ;
2. The descendants of the mother's sisters ;
3. Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the youngman or his elder brother with Aruva goes to the house of the young woman where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well-swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with the prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. In the event of the death of the bridegroom before consummation of marriage, the bridegroom becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

Wedding Ceremony

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to the friendly neighbours of other castes or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m., the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard, and served with *pan-supari* to assist the flow of village gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians. Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, neatly dressed in his new *kuppasam* (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist, and his friends fasten into it the new *pichathi*, a present from his father together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a chain round his neck and ornaments in his ears, and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of his friends.

In the bridegroom's house, the wedding party proceed to the *kaymada,* carrying a light which has been kindled at the sacred house lamp and ignite an earthen lamp there, and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house, the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, the younger men follow, and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness upon a carpet placed between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well and prosper well by God's favour," gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, assembled there, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because of their being unlucky.

The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion. Various kinds of liquor are served during and after feasting, the music makes a discordant deafening noise.

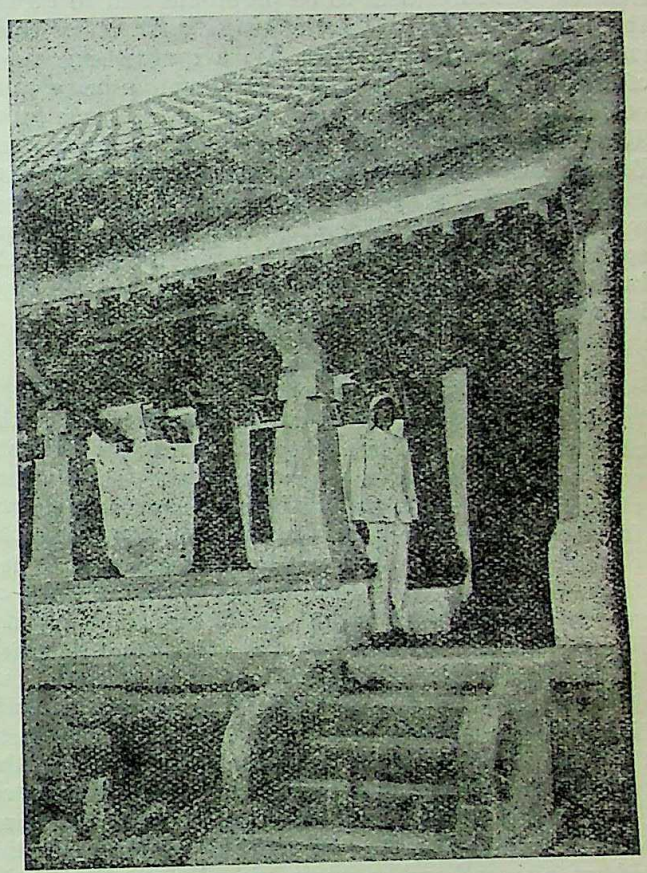
After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house which is generally some miles away. On such occasions, a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted like a traveller of old on a long journey with an alpine staff in his hand. When he has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

advanced within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of *pan-supari* are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her *pattakku* or necklace and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal, the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand, leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed in a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. The Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice and as a typical pledge of possession like the *'gatti jamma* fee on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field, and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, she bears a new name, but will be always called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry on the wedding day consisting of jewels, clothes, furniture, a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.



The front view of a Coorg house

In bygone days, there was a custom of so-called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during the connection. The custom was abolished by one of the Linghayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

Polygamy

Polygamy is resorted to in the absence of a male issue in a house. A daughter is then retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised.

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered in the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous, and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart. It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride being veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides, there are sexual shyness and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are called bridesmaids or groomsmen.

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal right. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But, if the surviving brothers would become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Remarriage

Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers chose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearest relations and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his unfaithfulness. The Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them ; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all household duties for sixty days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well-rubbed in with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement.

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus taking his first breath into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelveth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well-sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna, and girls, Puvakka, Muthakka, and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised.

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and their children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married [illegible] chose their residence under the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ancestral roof to avoid the responsibility of separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members or by material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karanavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened up by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives and their little ones of whom there is generally a good number are great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not generally well-guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *janma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such sagu land to be converted into Janma land. Other land held as jaghir was granted for certain Government service as Umbli land on a light assessment. During the last 30 years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Government land or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on their exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and unexpected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the Yajamana or Korakra, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former they maintained their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now getting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex.

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance at public feasts, improper conduct during the same, and drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council-room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of rupees ten. In the event of refusal to pay up the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and the increasing knowledge of the people with the common law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and who do not venture on any excommunication.

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried on the village burial ground and children, near some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little cocoanut milk, saffron, rice and well-water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money into it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a cocoanut brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the cocoanut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water-pot fall sideways from her shoulders to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning, the relatives remove her garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

On the 28th day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval, the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and gives the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul, which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

(To be continued)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Conner, *Memoirs of Coorg Survey.*
2. Richter, *Ethnographic Compendium of the Castes and Tribes of Coorg.*
3. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs.*
4. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India.*
5. L. K. A. Iyer, *Notes on Coorgs.*
6. Hutton, J. H., *The Census of India,* Part I, 1931.
7. Holland, *J. A. S. B.*, Part III, 1901.
8. Richter, *Manual of Coorg.*

——:0:——

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

OUR EDUCATION: *By Swami Nirvedananda. Published by S. Mandal, Vidyamandir, Dhakuria. Pages 159. Price Rs. 3-8-0.*

The book under review is inspired by the educational ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission whose achievements in the field of education, are, as is well-known, of no mean order. It is written by one who has devoted his life to the cause of education and as such deserves careful consideration by all who are interested in the subject. The book is divided into three sections with significant and self-explanatory titles, "As it is," "As it should be" and "How." The first section as the title shows, contains a review of the present system of education in India. In it the author analyses the defects and glaring omissions in the present system and exposes its fundamental weaknesses. He shows how cultural, economic, practical and physical education have been neglected and with what results. He also criticises the existing methods of education. The second section is devoted to an examination of the task before us. The author thinks, "This is a task that the Government of the country alone may handle." In this connection he approves the Sargent Plan of educational reconstruction as also the Wardha Scheme. But it will be years before effect can be given to these schemes and so "there is scope for hundred other organisations to come forward and take the field" in the interim period. They can not only take their share in the work of educational reconstruction and thus lighten the task to some extent, but they can also keep up the ideals and the spirit of Indian education and serve as models for others. The author then discusses what he thinks to be "the basic things" in the contents and organisation of education. Having thus developed his thesis in the last section of the book, the author discusses the various types of institutions through which the ideals are to be realised. In this connection he discusses among other things the place of "leisure hour training and hostels." He himself is responsible for founding and running one of the finest students' hostels in the country which is rendering yeoman's service to the student community of Bengal and his views are therefore well worth careful consideration. The book, replete as it is with many valuable and practical suggestions, is an important contribution to our educational literature. It is both stimulating and thought-provoking. We welcome it and recommend it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...s who are interested in the subject of Indian ...ation. It is well-produced and its get-up is ...ent.

A. N. BASU

MAURYA AND SUNGA ART: *By Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. & Phil. (Leiden), F.L.A. University of Calcutta. 1945. Price Rs. 12 or eighteen ...lings. Pp. viii + 117 + 33 plates.*

Much has already been written on this early ...se of Indian art. But Dr. Niharranjan Ray has ...ly approached the subject from a new angle: he ...ised to relate the art of the Maurya and the ...ga periods to their contemporary social back-...round.

After a detailed examination of the form and ...ment, as well as the technique and execution of ...aurya art, he has come to the conclusion that ...though part of it was contributed by local artistic ...ditions, yet the major portion was of extra-Indian ...iration. The benevolent autocrat Asoka created an ...peralism after the manner of the Achaemenid ...perors; and the art which sprang up under his ...atronage was not only influenced by Achaemenid ...ditions, but in its later phase, was strongly tinc-...ured by colonial Hellenic tradition as well. On the ...hole, it was exotic to India, and neither drew its ...sustenance permanently from the soil, nor did it suc-...eed in exercising any very marked influence on the ...subsequent art-history of the land.

But under its influence, the local art of India, ...hich had so long found expression in perishable ...materials, now found a new medium of expression. ...Artists now began to experiment in stone. According ...to Dr. Ray's skilful analysis, the Sunga art which ...thus came into being, was a translation in stone of the ...already existing and powerful folk-traditions of the ...Indian people. Sunga art was thus the opening chapter ...of a history which was destined to develop into a ...richness of its own in later times.

The printing and get-up of the book are of a high ...order.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

RABINDRANATH: *By Dr. Amiya Chakravarti, Dr. S. K. Maitra, Dr. Sachin Sen and Dr. Niharranjan Ray. The Book Exchange, 217, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a one-volume introduction to Rabindranath, ...a co-operative venture by four doctors who are ...acknowledged experts on the aspects of Rabindranath ...treated by them. Dr. Chakravarti dwells upon the ...wonderfully creative vitality which the poet had in ...superabundant measure, and his treatment does not ...exclude the reminiscent vein, but is all the more ...enjoyable for it. Dr. Maitra explains Tagore's concep-...tion of man's personality as a concrete reality, full of ...content, always growing from more to more, and com-...munion with the whole universe; and he carefully explains ...the poet's internationalism, his attitude towards science ...and modernism. Rabindranath's attitude to death ...deserves, however, to be more fully elaborated in an ...essay expressly devoted to the subject, and his beautiful ...book of poems—*Smarane* (in memoriam)—considered ...as the treatment. Dr. Sen's article is the longest in the ...collection, and he has succeeded in rousing the reader's ...interest in the poet's political ideas, a living force in ...the days when Rabindranath was alive. Dr. Ray de-...votes himself to a consideration of the last phase of the ...poet—the product of his last ten years, a rich and ...significant phase. But what does it signify? Is it merely ...the consciousness of the limitation of his powers? Or ...a richer sense of poetic content? Dr. Ray has harped ...on a thought-provoking, and debatable point.

The volume will serve as a useful introduction to ...students of Rabindranath and help to stimulate critical ...thought.

P. R. SEN

LIFE OF DAYANANDA SARASWATI: *By Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. Published by the Vedic Pustakalaya, Kaiserganj, Ajmer, Rajputana. Pp. 622 + cxxvi. Price Rs. 12.*

The author requires no introduction to the readers, since he is well-known by the Act of the Prevention of Child Marriage named after him. Although he has written a number of historical volumes, this monumental work is an outstanding one in scope and scholarship. This is the latest book of the aged author, who is now eighty years old. To produce such a stupendous work as this, which took three long years is a remarkable feat for a man of his age. The hallowed memory of Swami Dayananda inspired him to write with care and scrutiny this detailed and complete biography in English, which is the first book of its kind. As a child, Sardaji had the good fortune of meeting and exchanging a few words with the Swami, who placed his hands on his head and blessed him. Besides this, he had also the privilege of attending to a few of his lectures. Filled with profound respect for the founder of the Arya Samaj, the author has taken immense pains to collect all the available materials of his life and verify them. Since all the biographies of Swami Dayananda extant in Hindi and English are unfortunately wanting in factual accuracy and fullness, this complete and comprehensive volume will meet the long-felt want.

The book is divided into four parts containing in all thirty-two chapters. Besides dealing exhaustively with the life and teachings of this great reformer, it also presents an interesting account of his *guru*, Swami Virjanand Saraswati. Sardaji describes Swami Dayananda as a world teacher and to our surprise shows his superiority over other interpreters of the Vedas. The last part of the book not only discusses the teachings of Swami Dayananda, but also gives his criticisms of various religious sects prevalent in India. In the long introduction extending for about eighty pages the author contrasts Dayananda with Krishna, Buddha and Samkara. Therein he observes, "There is nothing to show that Samkara was taught the Vedas, the Sruti and Samhitas . . . Samkara did not touch the Vedas," and at another place he says, "As all these sects based their religious practices on some texts or others of the Vedas or the Brahmanas or the Sutras, Samkara with the vast learning he possessed . . . refuted their contentions . . . by quoting against them texts from the same books." These and other contradictory statements show that the author has not taken the trouble of studying Samkara's life and works carefully. A proper study of Samkara's original works must have convinced the author that the Acharya was a master of the Vedic lore. While Swami Dayananda visited Bengal in 1872-73, mention has been made about his meeting Keshab Chandra Sen and Devendranath Tagore; but no mention has been made about his meeting Sri Ramakrishna who was even then a great religious force in the province. The 31st chapter of the book, devoted to a study of the Brahmo Samaj, contains an unfair and uncharitable criticism of the great religious movement of Bengal as follows: "The Brahmo Samaj, which came into existence because of the disintegrating influence of foreign thought and western education has become an exotic plant growing in an uncongenial soil." Sardaji totally ignores the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj, which like the Arya Samaj, checked the high tide of Semitic influence in Eastern and Western India, brought into being a Vedic revival and heralded the dawn of Hindu Renaissance.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati stands undoubtedly as a prominent figure in the renascent India. His lifelong effort to usher into existence a Vedic revival in our country has endeared him to all Hindus. Hence a life of the Swami should be presented in such a way as to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be instructive and readable to the Hindus of all denominations. But the present work, we are afraid, fails to to come up to that standard, and loses much of its force and appeal, as it dogmatically criticises other religious leaders and their philosophy. The book would have been much better, if it contained a complete record of Dayananda's epoch-making activities and achievements alone, and omitted the unpleasant comparisons and contrasts with other religious thinkers, which have unfortunately lent a sectarian colour to this voluminous work.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE INDIAN PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION : *By R. P. Dutt. Vidyasagar Book Stall, 41 Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 478. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Here is an ambitious but disastrous attempt to analyse the causes of our national degeneration and lay out a concrete programme for our economic, social and spiritual emancipation. The author (not, of course, the famous Communist leader) maintains that all our misery originates from the rotten caste-system of the Hindus and devotes the larger part of his dry dissertation to proving this point. In the last chapter called *Reconstruction* he gives his fantastic picture of the new India that would emerge when we get rid of all traces of sectarianism. And in this process of regeneration, the author maintains, the help and goodwill of the generous British people will be of prime importance, as all our enlightenment has been due to the civilizing efforts of the white people !

The author has no understanding either of the interplay of economic and social forces or of the emergent values of history ; and consequently his treatment has no support of reality behind it. His vision of the future relation between India and Britain is extremely naive ; and one is profoundly amused at the picture of a future Indian school that the author depicts with awful ingenuity. One also fails to understand the origin of the inspiration for this wanton wastage of paper and energy. Lapses in style and misprints are numerous.

A. D. G.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES IN INDIA : *By S. R. Ranganathan. The Modern Librarian, Lahore. Pp. 36.*

Sir William Beveridge emphasised the importance of five giants which are to be killed—Disease, Squalor, Want, Idleness and Ignorance. While the first four will be taken care of by others and other means, libraries will go a great part in taking care of the last ; and in new India that is going to be re-born they are expected to take an important part. This is a very good little book ; but to appreciate its merits one must read it and think over it.

J. M. DATTA

THE PROBLEM OF HINDUSTANI : *By Dr. Tarachand. Published by the Indian Periodicals Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The brochure contains addresses and articles in which the learned author, a zealous exponant of Hindustani, has discussed the problem of India's *lingua franca*. The advocacy of Hindustani is not only exaggerated but onesided also and we are constrained to say that it raises more questions than answers. A more reconciliatory attitude and non-partisan approach would have been more helpful and welcome.

M. S. SENGAR

HINDI

VIJAYANAGAR SAMRAJYA KA ITIHAS : *By Vasudeva Upadhyaya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 4.*

It is well-known that not till long ago, the glory that was Vijayanagar had become a part of the lumber room of Indian History and that it is only in recent times that that glory has been rescued and represented to the people of the country. The book under review is one of the few such "re-presentations." But being based on the facts of history it is not a story of the pursuit of the proverbial Golden Deer. It is, on the contrary, a kind of a watch-tower from which one has a vivid view of the social, economic, religious, political and cultural aspirations and achievements of the Vjayanagar Kingdom,—a Kingdom that served as a bulwark against the inroads made for several centuries on the sovereignty of Hindu Civilization. It is one of the "prize books",—and deservedly,—of the Bengal-Hindi Mandal, for, Shri Upadhyaya has successfully rescued for the Hindi-knowing people, from the dust of oblivion, a shining chapter in the history of India.

G. M.

KANNADA

SAIRANDHRI AND MAGANA GELAVU : *By Krishnamurti Puranik. Published by H. S. Patil. Ranga-Manga-Prakashana, Dharwar. Pp. 6 + 80. Price Re. 1-8.*

In *Sairandhri*, the poetical 'Rupaka' of eight scenes, Shri Krishnamurti Puranik has successfully depicted the most familiar and fascinating dramatic episode of Keechaka's diabolical overtures to Draupadi in Blank Verse. The delineation of various characters that flit across the pages of this play and the imaginative fervour with which the writer creates the several scenes and the dexterity of dialogue displayed in this Rupaka merit a critical and appreciative study. The style and diction of Shri Krishnamurti are vigorous, in tune with the themes that he has tried to depict. The book in question contains really two Rupakas woven out of the two memorable incidents in the Great Epic. *Magana Gelavu* portrays vividly the fight between father and son—Arjuna and Babruvahana. The characters depicted by Puranik in this play bear the stamp of classical poet Lakshmisha and Mr. Puranik is, without doubt, greatly influenced by the majestic grandeur of Lakshmisha's delineation of various scenes and episodes and hence he has not hesitated in borrowing Lakshmisha's lines profusely. The two Rupakas are written in Blank Verse style in the handling of which Shri Puranik appears to be fairly successful.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

RAMA-PRAGNABHINISHKRAMAN : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 4.*

The first part of this Kavya is taken up with incidents from Rama's childhood to his exile and stay in the Dandaka Aranya. The verses are full of vigour, and the very deep study of the several works bearing on the life of Rama, written by Valmiki, Tulsidas, Girdhar and others is so skilfully utilised and incorporated in the narrative, as to make it most attractive. The style adapted to the narration is suitable and the dialogues of the different characters are clothed in a language which is both terse and pregnant. It is a remarkable book.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
	MARCH 1942 —	15%	
	„ 1943 —	10%	
Bengal Cotton Estate	„ 1944 —	10%	SONARPUR
Tripura	„ 1945 —	10%	(B. & A. Rly.)

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For	one year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„	two years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„	three „	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb.

Phone:—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Musa Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Modern Poetry

We give further extracts from Rabindranath Tagore's article on modern poetry as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

The veil of illusion must be removed and the thing must be seen exactly as it is. The illusive dye which coloured the things of the nineteenth century has now become faded, and its mere suggestion of sweetness is not enough to satisfy one's hunger,—something tangible is required. When we say the smelling is half the eating, then we exaggerate by nearly three quarters. Let me translate a few lines from a poem addressed to a beauty of bygone days. It would be out of place to introduce any charm into the translation, also useless to try and do so.

You are beautiful and faded,
Like an old opera tune
Played upon a harpsichord ;
Or like the sun-flooded silks
Of an eighteenth-century boudoir.
In your eyes
Smoulder the fallen leaves of outlived minutes,
And the perfume of your soul
Is vague and suffusing,
With the pungence of sealed spice-jars.
Your half-tones delight me,
And I grow mad with gazing
At your blent colours.
My vigour is a new-minted penny,
Which I cast at your feet.
Gather it up from the dust
That its sparkle may amuse you.

This modern coinage is cheaper but it is stronger, and it is very definite ; it clearly sounds the modern note. Old-fashioned charm has an intoxicating effect, but this has insolence. There is nothing misty about it.

The subjects dealt with by modern poetry do not seek to attract the mind by their charm. Then what does it support ? Its strength consists in its firm self-reliance, that which is called character in English. It calls out : Ho there, behold me, here am I. That same poetess, whose name is Amy Lowell, has written a poem on a shop of red slippers. The theme is that in the evening snowflakes are whirling in the wind outside ; while inside, behind polished glass windows, rows of red slippers hang like garlands, "like stalactites of blood, flooding the eyes of passers-by with a dripping colour, jamming their crimson reflections against the windows of cabs and tramcars, screaming their claret and salmon into the teeth of the sleet, plopping their little round maroon lights upon the tops of umbrellas. The row of white sparkling shop-fronts is gashed and bleeding,—it bleeds red slippers." The whole poem deals with these slippers.

This is what is called impersonal. There is no ground for being particularly attached to these garlands of slippers, either in the capacity of a buyer or a seller. But one has to stop and look ; as soon as the character of the picture as a whole becomes apparent, it no longer remains trifling. The gleaners of meaning will ask—"What does it all mean, my dear sir ? Why so much ado about slippers, even if they are red ?"—To which one replies—"Just look at them yourself."—"What's the good of looking ?" To which there is no reply.

There is a poem by Ezra Pound about Aesthetics. The theme is this. A girl was walking along the street, and a little boy in patched clothes cried out in uncontrollable excitement, "Oh, look, look, how beautiful!" Three years later, the poet met the same boy again. That year there was a big haul of sardines. His father and uncles were laying out the fish in large wooden boxes, in order to send them for sale to the market of Breschia. The boy was jumping about handling the fish, so his elders scolded him and told him to keep quiet. Then the boy, stroking the nearly-arranged fish, muttered to himself exactly the same words in a tone of satisfaction—"How beautiful!" On hearing this "I was mildly abashed," the poet says.

The pretty girl and the sardine fish, look upon them both and don't hesitate to make the same remark in the same words,—How beautiful! This observation is impersonal, pure and simple looking ; even the slipper-shop is not outside its purview.

In the nineteenth century poetry was subjective in character, in the twentieth it is objective. Hence emphasis is now laid on the realism of the subject-matter, not on its adornment ; for adornment expresses the individual's taste, but the power of pure reality consists in expressing the subject itself.

Before making an appearance in literature, this modernism had imposed itself on painting. By creating various forms of disturbances, it sought to contradict the idea that painting was one of the fine arts. The function of art is not to charm but to conquer the mind, it argued,—its sign is not beauty but truth. It acknowledged not the illusion of form but its character, that is to say, the self-advertisement of the whole. This form has no other introduction of itself to offer ; it only wants to proclaim loudly the fact that it is worth observing. This strong case for being observed is made out not by appeals of gesture and posture, not by copying nature, but by its own inherent creative truth. This truth is neither religious nor moral, nor ideal—it is only natural. That is to say, it must be acknowledged, simply because it has come to exist—just as we acknowledge the peacock together with the vulture, just as we cannot deny the existence either of the pig or the deer.

Some are beautiful, others ugly, some are useful, others harmful ; but there is no possible pretext for discarding any one from the sphere of creation. It is the

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office :

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN :

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

same with literature and art. If any beauty has been created, it needs no apology ; if not, if it possesses no innate strength of being, only sweetness,—then it must be rejected.

Hence present-day literature that has accepted the creed of modernity scorns to keep caste by carefully adjusting itself to bygone standards of aristocracy : it does not pick and choose. Eliot's poetry is modern in this sense, but not Bridges'. Eliot writes.

The winter evening settles down
With smell of steaks in passage ways,
Six o'clock.
The burnt out ends of smoky days.
And now a gusty shower wraps
The grimy scraps
Of withered leaves about your feet
And newspapers from vacant lots ;
The showers beat
On broken blinds and chimney pots,
And at the corner of the street
A lonely cab-horse steam and stamps.
And then the lighting of the lamps.

Then comes a description of a muddy morning filled with the smell of stale beer. On such a morning, the following words are addressed to a girl :

You tossed a blanket from the bed,
You lay upon your back and waited,
You dosed, and watched the night revealing
The thousand sordid images
Of which your soul was constituted.

And this is the account given of the man :

His soul stretched tight across the skies
That fade beyond a city block,
Or trampled by insistent feet
At four and five and six o'clock :
And short square fingers stuffing pipes,
And evening newspapers, and eyes
Assured of certain certainties,
The conscience of a blackened street
Impatient to assume the world.

In the midst of this smoky, this muddy, this altogether dingy morning and evening, full of many stale odours and waste papers, the opposite picture is evoked in the poet's mind. He says :

I am moved by fancies that are curled
Around these images, and cling ;
The notion of some infinitely gentle
Infinitely suffering thing.

Here the link between Apollo and the frog is broken. Here the croaking of the frog in the well hurts the laughter of Apollo. It is clearly evident that the poet is not absolutely and scientifically impersonal. His loathing for this tawdry world is expressed through the very description he gives of it. Hence the bitter words with which he ends the poem :

Wipe your hand across your mouth, and laugh :
The worlds revolve like ancient women
Gathering fuel in vacant lots.

The poet's distaste for this old dung-gathering world is evident. The difference from the past consists in this, that there is no desire to delude oneself with an imaginary world of rosy dreams. The poet makes his poetry trudge through this mire regardless of his laundered clothes ; not because he is fond of mud, but because in this muddy world one must look at mud with open eyes, and accept it. If Apollo's laugh reaches one's ears even there, well and good : if not, then one need not despise the loud leaping laughter of the frog. That is also something ; one can look at it for a moment in the context of the universe, even for this thing there is something to be said. The frog will seem out of place in the cultured language of the drawing-room ; but then most of the world lies outside the drawing-room.

The first awaking in the morning. In that waking there is first the realisation of oneself, the newly-born stirring of consciousness. This condition may be called romantic. This newly-awakened consciousness sallies forth in order to test itself. The mind gives form to its own thoughts and desires in the universe and in its own creations. It seeks to express its inmost desires outwardly in various illusive forms.

Then the light grows harsher, experience becomes harder, many veils of illusion are torn aside by the turmoil of life. In this unshaded light and unclouded sky one becomes acquainted with a clearer reality. This familiar reality is greeted by different poets in different ways. Some look upon it in a doubting and rebellious spirit, some look upon it with such contempt that they do not hesitate to treat it rudely and coarsely. Again

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge :—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

Calcutta City Bank
Limited

Head Office :
102B, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

3-YEAR CASH CERTIFICATE.

Issue Price	On Maturity
Rs. 8-10	Rs. 10-0
Rs. 86-4	Rs. 100-0
Rs. 862-8	Rs. 1,000-0

INTEREST:

Current A/C ...	... 1/2%
Savings A/C ...	... 2%
Fixed Deposit for 1 year	... 3 1/2%

FULL CLEARING FACILITIES
All kinds of Banking Business Transacted.
For particulars
Phone : Cal. 3447

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ven in the uncovered form as revealed in the hard ...ts, some perceive a deep mystery—they don't think ...ere is nothing esoteric, that there is nothing beyond ...d beneath appearances. In the last European war ...man's experience was so harsh and so cruel, all the ...ommon-places and decencies that had come down through the ...ages were so suddenly destroyed in the fatal conflict, ...that the established order of society in which he had ...so implicitly and complacently believed for such a long ...time, was torn to tatters in a single moment. On seeing ...the revolutionary destruction of all the manners and ...morals in which he had hitherto found refuge, man ...began to find a fierce delight in despising everything ...that he had considered respectable, as being a sign of ...weakness and a means of artificial self-deception. He ...has now come to look upon universal cynicism as a ...sacred guard for truth.

But if modernism has any philosophy, and if that philosophy is to be called impersonal, then one must admit that this attitude of aggressive disbelief and acrimony towards the universe, is also a personal mental aberration owing to the sudden revolution. This also is an illusion, in which there is no serious attempt to accept reality naturally in a calm and dispassionate frame of mind. Many people think that this aggressiveness, this wantonly destructive challenging is what is called modernity.

I myself don't think so. Even though thousands of people are attacked by influenza today, I shall not say that influenza is the natural condition of the body in modern times. The natural bodily state exists behind influenza.

If I am asked what exactly pure modernism is, then I shall answer that it consists in looking upon the universe, not in a personal and self-regarding manner, but in an impersonal and matter-of-fact manner. This point of view is bright and pure, in this unclouded vision there is real delight. In the same dispassionate way that modern science analyses reality, modern

ONE STEP FORWARD

From the Thirty-second Annual Report of the **Western India Life** it becomes quite clear that in 1945 this trusted Life Company has gone one step forward on its path of progress. Sound financial position, efficient management, dutiful service to policy-holders, and a number of other things become clear from the report. Call for a free copy and be convinced.

Just the Company for you to insure with or to have agency connections.

WESTERN INDIA LIFE INSURANCE Co., Ltd., Satara.



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina' married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc.. etc..) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc.. etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY.. Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

poetry also will look upon the universe as a whole, this is what is eternally modern.

But it is nonsense to call this modern. The joy of this natural and detached way of looking at things belongs to no particular age. It belongs to everyone whose eyes know how to wander over this naked earth. It is over a thousand years since the Chinese poet Li-Po wrote his verses. He was a modern, he looked upon the universe with freshly-opened eyes. In a verse of four lines he writes simply.

Why do I live among the green mountains?
I laugh and answer not, my soul is serene :

It dwells in another heaven and earth belonging
to no man.

The peach trees are in flower, and the water flows on . .

Another picture :

Blue water—a clear moon . . .
In the moonlight the white herons are flying,
Listen ! Do you hear the girls who gather water-
chestnuts ?
They are going home in the night, singing.

Another :

Naked I lie in the green forest of summer . . .
Too lazy to wave my white-feathered fan.
I hand my cap on a crag,
And bare my head to the wind that comes
Blowing through the pine trees.

A river merchant's wife writes :

I would play, plucking flowers by the gate ;
My hair scarcely covered my forehead, then.

You would come, riding on your bamboo horse,
And loiter about the bench with green plums for toys.
So we both dwelt in Chang-kan town,
We were two children, suspecting nothing.

At fourteen I became your wife,
And so bashful I could never bare my face,
But hung my head, and turned to the dark wall ;
You would call me a thousand times,
But I could not look back even once.

At fifteen I was able to compose my eyebrows,
And beg you to love me till we were dust and
ashes . . .
I was sixteen when you went on a long journey,
Travelling beyond the Ken-Tang gorge,
Where the giant rocks heap up the swift river,
And the rapids are not passable in May.
Did you hear the monkeys wailing
Up on the skyey height of the crags ?
Do you know your footmarks by our gate are old,
And each and every one is filled up with green moss ?
The mosses are too deep for me to sweep away ;
And already in the autumn wind the leaves are
falling.

The yellow butterflies of October
Flutter in pairs over the grass of the west garden,
My heart aches at seeing them . . .
I sit sorrowing alone, and alas !
The vermilion of my face is fading.

Some day when you return down the river,
If you will write me a letter beforehand,
I will come to meet you—the way is not long—
I will come as far as the Long Wind Beach instantly.

In this poem the sentiment is not pitched in a high key, neither do we find any suggestion of ridicule or disbelief levelled against it. The subject is extremely familiar, yet there is not lack of feeling. If the style was given a sarcastic twist and it was held up to ridicule, then the thing would be modern, because the moderns scorn to acknowledge in poetry that which everybody acknowledges naturally. Most probably a modern poet would have added at the end of this poem that the husband went his way after wiping his eyes and looking back repeatedly, and the girl at once set about frying dried prawn fish-balls. For whom?—In reply to this query there are a line-and-a-half of asterisks. The old-fashioned reader would ask, "What does this mean?" The modern poet would answer "Things happen like this." "But they also happen otherwise." "Yes, they do, but that is too respectable. Unless it stinks a little it doesn't shed its refinement, it doesn't become modern." The poetry of olden times had its luxury, which was bound up with courtesy. Modern poetry also has its luxury, which is the luxury of rotten meat.

POST CARD SIZE
I. N. A.
PHOTOGRAPHS
50 different kinds
Rs. 12/- doz. Postpaid.
Write : Post Box 143
Singapore, Malaya.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



GUARD YOUR COMPLEXION
IN DRY & WINTRY DAYS *with*

CALCHEMICO'S

LA-BONNY
SNOW & CREAM

A soothing and refreshing skin food for day and night use respectively, to give you a velvety skin.

TUHINA BEAUTY MILK

An aristocratic skin preparation to keep your face, arms, neck and body soft and beautiful.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL

Visit

THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM

(CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA)
COLLEGE STREET MARKET, CALCUTTA

See the largest collection of
India's Raw materials
India's Industrial Products

Look at the charts that educate

Enquire about

Up-to-date facts and figures
for starting new industries
for expansion of the existing industries

Mofussil Enquiries replied through post free of charge

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Message to the People of Fiji—Broadcast by Sir Raghunath Paranjpye

Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, High Commissioner for India in Australia, visited Fiji in April, 1946, to study the conditions there and to make representations to the Government of India on affairs of the Indians settled in Fiji. The visit was an official one and the High Commissioner was the guest of the Government of Fiji. Everywhere in Fiji and by everyone in Fiji he was cordially welcomed and entertained. The following is the message he gave to the people of Fiji which we quote in full from the *Fiji Samachar*, May, 1946 :

I am very glad to have this opportunity of speaking to the people of Fiji where I have passed a very enjoyable fortnight of great interest and instruction. I have met here many of my countrymen, and it has been quite an exciting experience to meet so many of them far away from my native land, as I have been residing for nearly a year and a half in a country where Indians are few and far between.

The Little India of the Pacific

The large number of Indians here have led to these Islands being called the "Little India of the Pacific" which is the title given to a recent study of this part of the world by Dr. J. W. Coulter of the University of Hawaii.

Regard Ourselves as Indians

When one goes from India to another country and meets people from the different provinces of India, one gets a more correct perspective of his own land than if he were merely confined to one little portion of India. Here we learn to regard ourselves as Indians rather than as Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs or Christians, or as Gujeratis, Punjabis, Tamils or Bengalees. I wish more persons, even leaders, from India could go abroad and see how their countrymen have set aside the smaller differences among Indians in favour of the supreme loyalty to India as a whole. I have also seen here how Indians have shed many of their non-essential customs to which we in India often attach too much importance.

Indenture System as Semi-Servile

Indians came to Fiji about seventy years ago as indentured labourers under conditions which the world now regards as semi-servile with the growing national consciousness in India and with the unflinching support of the Government of India, the indenture system was finally abolished about 25 years ago and all Indians here are now free men who have many opportunities for bettering their lot by their own exertions, and it is a pleasure to see that on the whole they are now in a better condition than they might have been in their own country ; especially at the present day when famine is stalking in so many countries in the world and India is in the throes of the worst famine in her history, my countrymen here are more lucky to be in a land where starvation in its starkest form is practically unknown.

What Fiji Indians Can Do for India

I may say in passing in connection with India that the Indians here should do everything they possibly can to help their hard-stricken countrymen. They can do this positively by sending actual help in the form of food parcels. Even if this is not practicable on any appreciable scale, they can at least help negatively by refraining from ordering out from India the foodstuffs they used to do in normal time. This is only a very small sacrifice, and I am sure my countrymen will cheerfully make when the matter has once been brought to their notice.

Why One Leaves Home-Land

We know of course that there are many difficult problems facing them here but it would be unfair to shut one's eyes to the brighter side of the picture. Every migrant to a foreign country leaves his home and cuts himself off from his native environment with the natural and intelligible object of bettering his lot. Australia or New Zealand or even America would have remained wild wastes if they had not offered many opportunities for material advancement and a free life to enterprising people, and it is therefore no reflection upon Indians here that they desire to improve their condition and aspire to a higher standard of living.

Effect of Colonization on Indigenous Races

The history of colonisation in old days has been marked by gross brutality, oppression and exploitation of the indigenous races. The American Indian has practically disappeared except for the few reservations to which they are now confined. The Australian aborgines are reduced to a few thousand and most of their land has been taken away from them by the incoming white races. In Tasmania, every single original inhabitant has been exterminated, and the last Tasmanian died but a few years ago.

South Africa

In South Africa, the indigenous races refused to be disposed of in this summary fashion and the evils of domination of a backward race by an advanced alien race are to be seen in South Africa, and in fact in most parts of the dark continent, and many of the problems there, including the comparatively smaller problem of the treatment of Indians, are to be ultimately traced to the presence of two conflicting races in that land.

The N. Z. Govt. and the Maoris

It is only in New Zealand that I was happy to observe that the indigenous Maori race has been treated on a footing of equality by the incoming whites, and

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত
এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও যড়ঙ্গ) শ্রী শ্রীচণ্ডী ॥৹
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
প্রাপ্তব্য—সব বইয়ের দোকানে এবং প্রকাশকের নিকট—
৭৯।১ আমহার্ষ্ট সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government of that country is doing its utmost to ...ance the interests of the Maoris. The result has ...n that the Maoris now form a valuable section of ...e population of New Zealand and in the last war ...ey contributed many sturdy warriors to the New Zealand ...ntingent, one of whom won the Victoria Cross.

THE FIJIAN RACE IS MAKING PROGRESS

I am very glad to observe that in Fiji also the ...genous people are so far from being exterminated ...t they are increasing in number and are rapidly ...ncing in education and prosperity. The Maoris of ...w Zealand have demonstrated that there is no in... ...ent difference between the potentialities of different ...es, and I believe the same will be proved by the ...ans under a sympathetic and farsighted Govern... ...e Indians have come here as strangers but I hope ...y will always regard the Fijians as their brothers ...d work for one another's progress. Already education ...s spreading fast among the Fijians and it is my earnest ...e that they will soon reach the level of other races ...modern culture, civilisation and material prosperity.

RETAIN ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

I do not mean that they should give up all their ...customs and traditions and blindly imitate those ...others. In fact, it seems to me that the world is far ...ter with people having different customs and institu... ...ar I have never been in favour of even Indians ...ing up all their old ways of life and blindly following ...e western model. Just as India has a good deal to ...ntribute to advancement of the world, I am sure the ...ians also will make their contribution to world ...ture and civilisation.

INCREASED COMMUNICATIONS

With the increasing facilities of communication, the ...rld has now become much smaller than it was before. ...arious peoples of the world have come much nearer



BE TALLER

In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19¼	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

(Copyright)

Other Products :—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs. 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

DRINK
SNOW VIEW
DARJEELING TEA
Kamalalaya Stores Ltd.

For

ALL
YOUR
REQUIREMENTS,
AND ON
ALL OCCASIONS

Let

KAMALALAYA
STORES, LTD.

MEET YOUR
DEMANDS

156A, Dharamtolla Street,
Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and are in a position to influence one another. Fiji, being on the main highway of the Pacific, will necessarily be affected, I hope, for good by this increasing contact with other peoples, and I look forward to a time when Fiji will no longer remain to many an insignificant speck of land in the wide waters of the Pacific Ocean.

The Difficulties of Indians

During my short stay here, I have heard a good deal about the difficulties that face Indians here. They want a more secure tenure of the land they cultivate; they want greater educational facilities for their children and they complain about the injustice of the poll-tax. On all these matters I hope the Fiji Government will do its best to meet all their reasonable demands. Anything that the Government of India can do to help them will certainly be done, but in the main the Indians in Fiji will have to put their own case in a convincing and reasonable manner before their own Government, using all constitutional means for the purpose. They have their own capable representatives in the local Legislative Council who, I am sure, will be their best advocates. The Government in England will also, I am sure, see that justice is done to every section of His Majesty's subjects.

Democracy or Personal Rule

It is a fashion in certain quarters to decry democracy and to extol a kind of benevolent personal rule. But if we look at different countries of the world we find that in those countries where democracy is functioning efficiently the people on the whole are more prosperous and far happier than under any other regime. Britain, the British Dominions, America and perhaps France have on the whole a better sense of Freedom than other nations of the world. There we notice a greater feeling of security for the individual who does not feel himself to be a mere mechanical cog in a vast machine but considers himself to be a free and rational being.

India Appreciates Democracy

We in India have learnt to appreciate this freedom inherent in a democracy, and we are striving to achieve for India a similar system of Government. We know that there are great difficulties in the way, but we hope that those difficulties will be surmounted and that a free and democratic India will become one of the great democratic nations of the world, closely associated with the other parts of the British Commonwealth. We in India desire to eliminate all distinctions based on caste, creed or colour and I hope that my countrymen in Fiji will closely watch the various movements in India and learn from her successes as well as from her failures.

India a Great Power

We hope that a time will soon come when India will be one of the great nations of the world, taking her proper place among the big five or six, whose weight will always be cast on the side of peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Keep in Touch with the Mother Country —India

Indians in Fiji have the great good fortune of being the inheritors of an ancient civilisation and culture. We in India shall always watch with interest the progress and prosperity of our countrymen here. In olden days of difficult communications, when a group of people left their land for distant climes they became lost to their old country like the lost tribes of Israel. There is no reason why this should be so now and I hope that the Indians in Fiji will keep in touch with their old country and regard it with affection as their holy land but at the same time be loyal and true citizens of their new land.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Works

History of Aurangzib

	Rs.	As.
Vols. 1 & 2 together, 2nd ed.,	5	0
Vol. 3, 3rd ed., ...	3	8
Vol. 4, 2nd ed., ...	4	0
Vol. 5	4	0
Shivaji and His Times, 3rd ed. *Out of pr.*	5	0
A Short History of Aurangzib, 511 pp. ...	5	0
Mughal Administration, 3rd ed. ...	3	0
Studies in Aurangzib's Reign, 18 essays	2	8
Anecdotes of Aurangzib (Eng. tr.) 2nd ed.	1	8
House of Shivaji, studies in Maratha History, 308 pp.	2	8
India through the Ages, 2nd ed. ...	1	8
Fall of the Mughal Empire		
Vol. 1 (1739-1754), 560 pp.	5	0
Vol. 2 (1754-1771), 572 pp.	5	0
Vol. 3 (1771-1788), 482 pp.	5	0
Chaitanya: his life and teachings, 3rd. ed.	2	0
Abridged Bengali trans. of Shivaji (4 pictures) ...	2	4
„ **Marathi trans. of Shivaji** (4 pictures) ...	2	4
Later Mughals (1707-1739), 2 vols., each	8	0

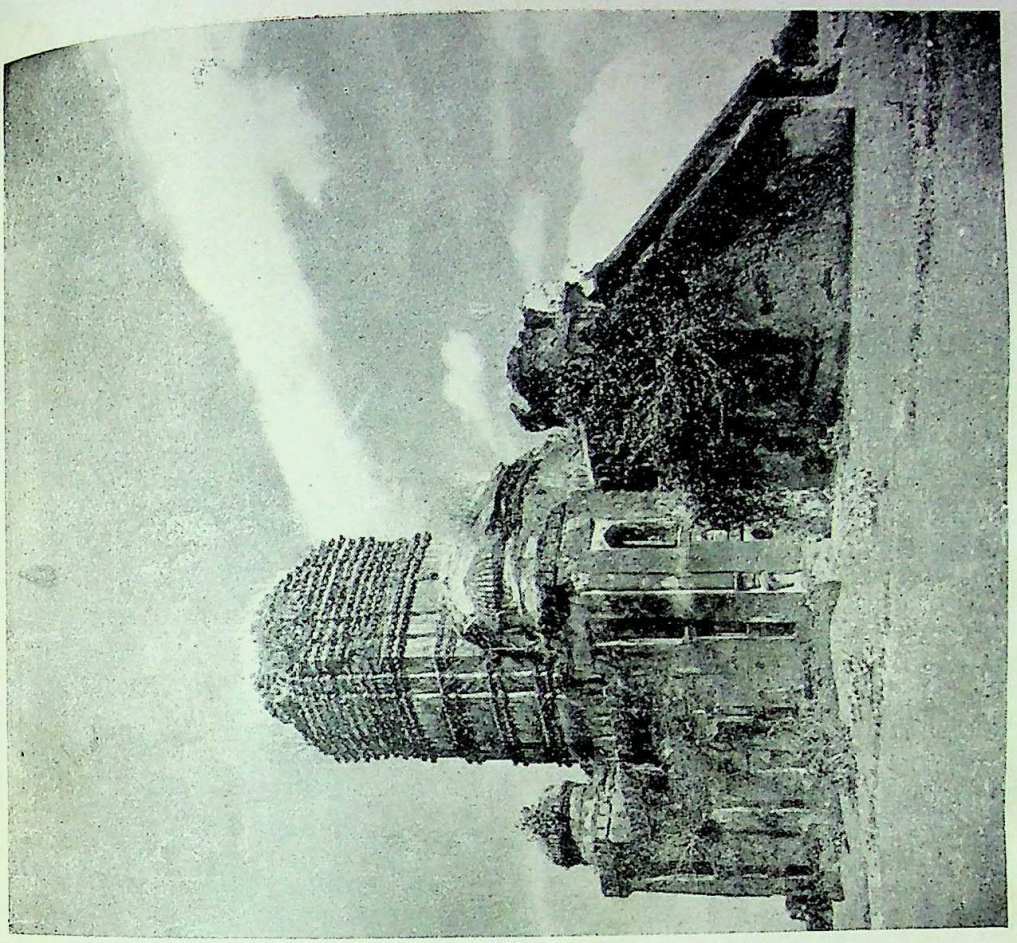
S. C. SARKAR,—M. C. SARKAR,
College Square, Calcutta.

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN-DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 25, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.

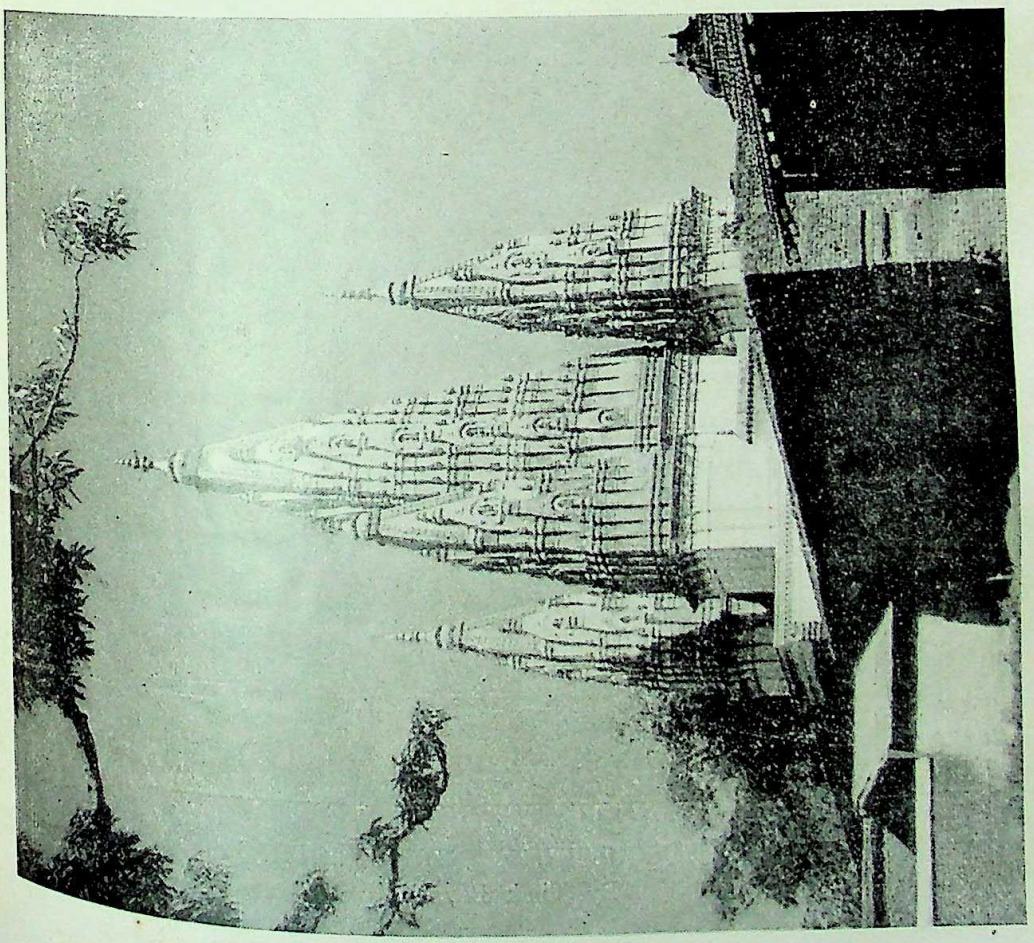
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



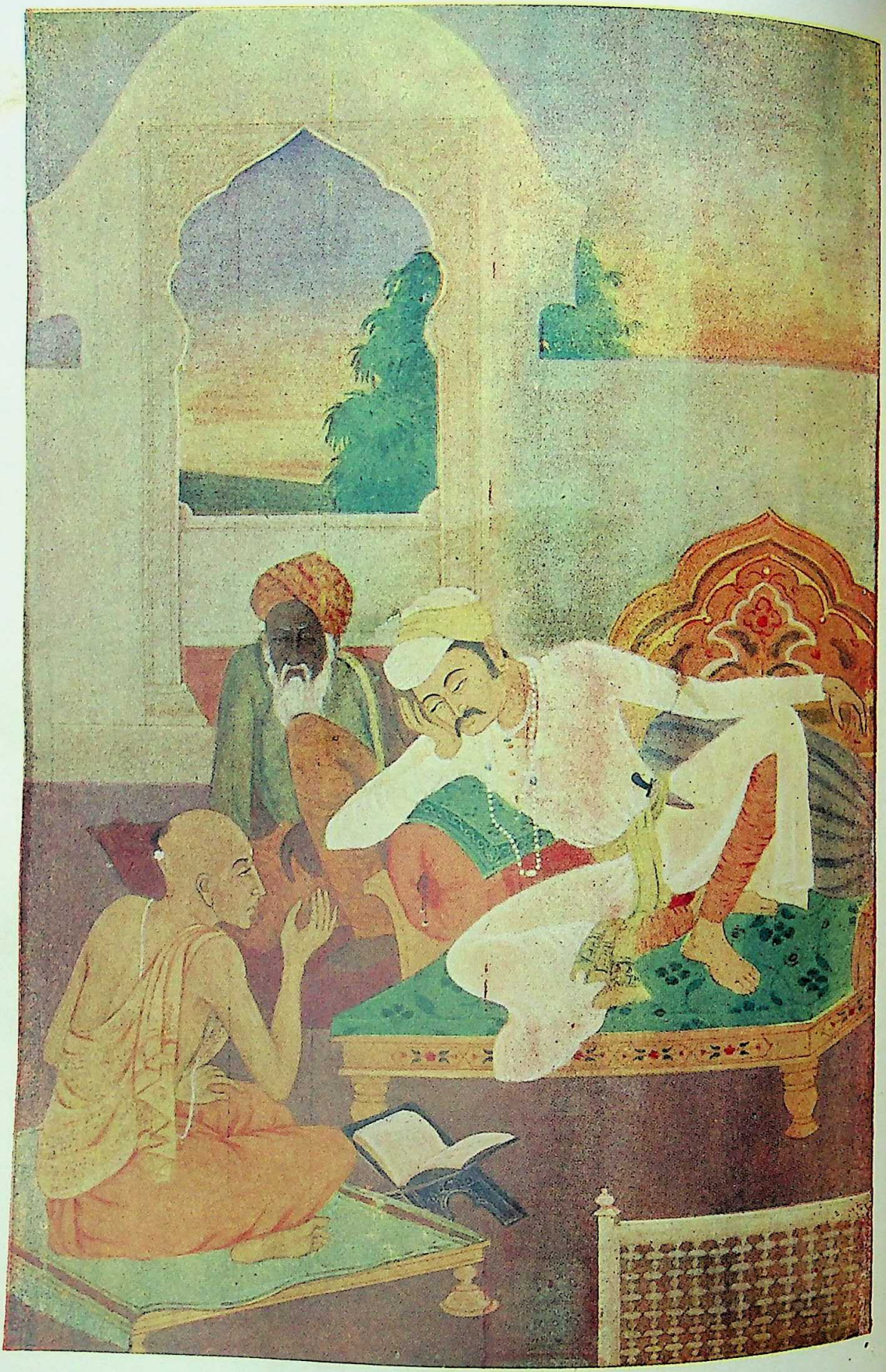
An ancient Siva Temple, Hazaribagh



The Teli Temple, Hazaribagh

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



AKBAR DISCUSSING HINDU SHASTRAS
By Tilak Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1946

VOL. LXXX, No. 4 WHOLE No. 478

NOTES

Delhi Talks

The Delhi talks are dragging on for a pretty long time. The League was quick to accept both the long and short term plans of the Cabinet Mission, they were also equally quick to reject both and within two months the League has once again changed its mind and shows eagerness for re-accepting both. In the meantime only one thing has happened, attempts to stir up communal troubles all over the country have been made; in the Congress provinces the disorders have been quickly brought under control although in Bengal it is dragging on. In two months' time it has been apparent that the cult of the knife has failed leaving only bitterness for the League in the minds of honest, peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The League's Council of Action has held several lengthy meetings but has failed to formulate any concrete plan of "Direct Action" that can be presented to a civilised world.

In Delhi, points under discussion are mainly three, viz:

(1) The right of the Congress to nominate nationalist Muslims out of its own quota.

(2) Whether the Interim Government will be a Cabinet or retain the character of the old Viceroy's Council.

(3) Question of re-distribution of portfolios.

Regarding the first, we think it is conceded by now that the Congress is entitled to nominate whomsoever it pleases to nominate. The question is about the status of the nationalist Muslim. Mr. Jinnah's party claimed that the League must be acknowledged as the sole representative of the Muslims. We need not go into details about the League's right to represent any section of India, religious, ethnic or geographical. We saw enough in Bengal as to whom the League represented when tens of thousands of Muslim refugees from Burma poured into Bengal with only nationalist voluntary organisations to look after them ; and later, on a far larger scale when millions of Bengali Muslims stood at the door of death during the Bengal famine. Actually we believe more than two and a half millions of Muslims perished in the famine and millions more were rendered absolutely destitute. Enormous wealth accrued to some eminent members of the Muslim League but we doubt whether even a single tear of compassion was shed by any of the great ones of the League, to say nothing of its Fuehrer. At least we saw no tangible proof of it. Neither Mr. Jinnah nor any of his lieutenants even deigned to set foot on the soil of Bengal. Leaving the question of moral foundations with which the League has never been troubled, we could quote the Qaid-e-Azam himself to prove that the League is very far from being the sole representative of the Muslims. In his Id Day speech delivered at Bombay, Mr. Jinnah appealed to all Muslims in India, particularly those who are not members of the League—Jamiat-ul-Ulemas, Khaksars, Ahrars and Nationalist Muslims, "to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam."

As regards the status of the present Interim Government, it is apparent that if India is to keep on to the path of freedom and progress, the Government must function as a Cabinet. Let not Pandit Nehru and his colleagues have any doubts on this point. Deviation from the Cabinet system will mean serious retrogression. If Mr. Jinnah's party is really concerned with the welfare of India, Hindustan or Pakistan, they will find ample scope within the Cabinet for doing real and lasting good to their own people. The longer they work with their non-League colleagues in Cabinet in harmony, the more they will gain in prestige and positive results. If their intentions are, however, contrariwise, if they still want to carry on with the mission of the Imperialist, then there is no option left to the nationalists in India but to present a solid front of opposition to the forces of reaction, even if that means plunging the country in civil war.

Regarding portfolios, it goes without saying that the majority party must control Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Communications. These four must be co-ordinated at every step in order that the affairs of India be regulated so as to keep abreast with the

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

times. Neither of these four can be made dependent on the whims of a Viceroy or made into a *quid pro quo* in party politics.

An American Opinion on India

The following is an editorial published in *The New York Times* of September 14, 1946, sent by *America-India Feature and News Service* of New York :

"The first all-Indian Government in history is now in office. That in itself is a milestone on the road to freedom. Pandit Nehru, its leader, has pledged himself to give a united nation complete independence within two years. But the dark clouds under which Nehru's Council assembled remain as dark as ever. The path ahead lies hidden in the mists of the future.

The division of religions which has torn modern India apart is still unbreached, with no present sign that this fundamental problem can be solved. The communal riots, which almost reached a state of civil war in Calcutta and left four thousand dead, continue on a smaller but bloody scale in Bombay. The mere fact that the warring factions learned no lesson of peace or forbearance from Calcutta is ominous. The black flag of the Moslem League flies in open defiance of the predominantly Hindu Congress Government. It waves as an incitement to riot. *The League and its reckless leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, refuse to co-operate with the interim regime. The only solution they offer is Pakistan, the separate Moslem state.*

But the sub-continent of India is a geographic and economic unit. If Pakistan were established with its own parts separated by hundreds of miles, as they would have to be, India would fall apart. The old question of religious minorities would remain, with the Moslem majority in Pakistan itself divided. Moslem minorities would remain in the Hindu states. Pakistan is not a workable plan but a dream of political inexperience.

So the outlook for a united India is still dim. Yet we must remember certain elements of union which seem almost forgotten in the present tension. *Despite India's many races the great division is not racial but religious. Until a few years ago both Moslem and Hindu managed to co-operate pretty well in their common aim of national independence.* Only three months ago the Moslem League tentatively endorsed the Congress program. *Fratricidal strife has undermined Jinnah's prestige. Much will depend on Nehru's tact and how far a spirit of conciliation animates his advisers. Britain has removed her last road block. India has her chance for freedom now. It is up to her people to prove they have earned it and can maintain it.*"

Wrong Step of Muslim League

Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, in an article in the *Pakhtoon,* under caption "Wrong Step of Muslim League," unequivocally condemns the recent communal riots in the country and characterises the decision of the Muslim League to boycott the Interim Government as an unwise step. He says, "I want to point out to responsible Muslim League leaders that the times are extremely critical. They should in a cooler moment ponder over the best methods of achieving the Muslim demands. Anarchy, chaos and disorder would indeed lead to ruin and in the best interests of the Muslims themselves, these should be avoided."

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan has given a fitting reply to the League contention that the present administration is a Hindu Government. He says :

> Why has the League given this opportunity to the Hindus ? Why has it decided to quit ? Come and occupy your chairs and work for the betterment of your community. Our sole aim in accepting the interim proposals was to effect the transfer of power from British to Indian hands as this is an important step towards the realization of our long and cherished dreams. If we had missed the bus on this occasion, power would have remained with the British which in fact was their real intention.

Proceeding Badshah Khan, the name in which Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan is better known among the Frontier people, questions if it would have been an Islamic Government in case power had been transferred to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League according to the previous plan. He writes :

> To me there appears to be no difference between the two. The best thing for the Muslims is to stick to the League's original decision which they ratified at Simla and form a coalition Government at the Centre and work jointly for the emancipation of the country and all the communities, Hindus, Muslims and others, alike.

Badshah Khan is one of the most dispassionate observers of the effects of Churchill-Jinnah entente on Indian politics and the role that Churchill's men are playing in this country. A reference to the present political talks in Delhi was made by him when he addressed a large meeting of the Mohmand tribesmen at Peshwar. The following extract from his speech gives out his apprehensions about the real intentions of League leaders. Great weight should be attached to this frank opinion expressed by one of the toughest fighters for Indian freedom. He says :

> The Viceroy, in my opinion, has called Mr. Jinnah with a special purpose of his own. The Viceroy's experience of the new Central Government does not seem to be a healthy one. The Viceroy feels a gradual decline in his dictatorial powers. He, therefore, wants to convert the present smoothly running Interim Government into an arena for everyday quarrels.
>
> Had the Viceroy been Mr. Jinnah's friend, he would have given him Pakistan. He would have permitted him to form a Muslim League Interim Government. But to me the whole thing has got some other significance. If I were Mr. Jinnah, I would not have gone to meet the Viceroy after all this insult and affront.

Mohmand Tribes Opposed to Pakistan

The *Hindustan Times* correspondent reports from Mardan that the representatives of Mohmand tribes whom he had met at Sadaryab, expressed surprise at the recent radio announcement that Mohmands supported the Pakistan demand at a League meeting. They said, "No such meeting was even held and such stories are the creation of reactionary Political Agents to mislead the public."

The Delhi correspondent of the *Daily Herald* who reported that the Fakir of Ipi supported Pakistan said that other influential tribal chiefs were likely to follow

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...appears to be taking tips from such reactionary officials. The *Hindustan Times* correspondent reports :

The fact is that Political Agents are extremely perturbed over the new friendly policy towards the tribal people which Pandit Nehru intends to pursue. They, who have been fed on the doctrines of imperialist domination, fear dismissal as soon as Pandit Nehru's drive to organize an Indian foreign service materializes. Hence their desperate anxiety to obstruct Pandit Nehru's forthcoming visit to Waziristan.

The C.I.D. are constantly watching the tribal people visiting Badshah Khan at Sadaryab. The atmosphere prevailing at Badshah Khan's camp today is similar to that on the eve of the tribal satyagraha in August, 1942. Then as now Badshah Khan sent batches of his trusted Khudai Khidmatgars among all tribes to spread his message of love and brotherhood. Political Agents on the other hand organized counter-campaigns of hatred and violence through their paid agents.

Khudai Khidmatgars who have been doing solid constructive work among the tribal people spoke highly of tribal hospitality. Some were invited to live permanently there.

Badshah Khan who believes in disinterested service, said : "Success or failure does not worry me. I want to serve the tribal people and do not expect any reward." He added he was firmly of the opinion that the new friendly policy of the Interim Government could succeed only if the whole Governmental machinery in tribal areas was overhauled and new men sympathetic to the tribal people were substituted for the present reactionary lot.

People in close contact with the Fakir of Ipi speak very highly of him. "He has high nationalistic ideals. He aims at setting up a progressive republic in Waziristan. He strongly condemns kidnapping and dacoities," said one, who until recently held a responsible post in the External Affairs Department of the Government of India at New Delhi.

I understand from another reliable source how the Fakir of Ipi tried to win over other tribal chiefs from British influence in 1942 and create an independent block sympathetic to the Indian nationalist movement. But he failed because through British channels in Afghanistan pressure was brought upon them to organize propaganda against the Jamiat and Khudai Khidmatgars. Therefore, the need for immediate reorganization of the Indian Embassy in Kabul is stressed by many here.

The mass reprisals on tribesmen carried out on flimsy pretexts in the form of aerial bombings had been greatly resented by leaders like Badshah Khan and have now been stopped under orders from Pandit Nehru. The whole tribal policy of the Government of India is now under revision. The newly formed National Government have made it clear that henceforward the official policy will be peaceful propaganda among the tribesmen with a view to win them round from their unlawful activities. The policy of aggression hitherto followed has been abandoned.

Fakir of Ipi and Turangzai Chief Abjures League

The Fakir of Ipi, the celebrated leader of the tribal area on the north-western frontier of India, declared in a speech delivered before a *jirga* of prominent representatives of the various tribes and the leading tribal chiefs held in the jungles near his cave in the Shival Hills that, "no patriotic soul can have any truck with the Muslim League." He said, "We have the greatest regard for the Indian National Congress leaders. We hold them in the utmost respect. We treat Hindus and Sikhs as our brethren. I have never ordered my followers to kidnap any Hindu or Sikh. All these kidnapping incidents are the net results of the forward policy of British Imperialism and are caused by hirelings and henchmen of British Political Agents and also by absconding criminal offenders. No self-respecting and patriotic soul living in the tribal territory who knows the real significance of the teachings of Islam and loves freedom of his country can for a moment have any truck with the British-sponsored Muslim League which is out to strengthen the bonds of slavery of the mother country. If a true Muslim can co-operate with any political organisation, he can do so only by joining the Congress, a body of self-less patriots striving hard for the attainment of freedom of India. All tribal people, I can assert with confidence and all emphasis at my command, are absolutely with the Indian National Congress."

This important conference of the leading tribes, including the Mahsuds, Waziris, Budkhels, Shinwaris, Afridis and Mohmands was held under the presidentship of the Fakir of Ipi. With reference to the recent bombing of the Frontier areas and the formation of the Interim National Government by Pandit Nehru, the Fakir appreciated the part Pandit Nehru played in ordering the stopping of the bombing. He said, "We have been engaged for a considerable period in a regular crusade against the British forward policy with a view to maintaining our integrity and independence. We bear no grudge against the Hindu and the Sikh. Our conflict is directly against the British. We sincerely hope that with the shouldering of administrative responsibilities by the Congress at the Centre and with Pandit Nehru at the helm of that Government as Minister for External Affairs, every possible means will be explored to inculcate brotherly relations with the neighbouring tribes. I believe that positive steps will be taken to improve their economic and educational conditions and remove their backwardness in every sphere."

Addressing the gathering, Hazrat Badshah Gul, son of the late Haji of Turangzai, leader of the Mohmand tribe who played a great part in shaping Frontier politics, said, "My father, who laid down his life in the cause of India's freedom, always sided with the Congress during his life-time. Whenever the Congress started any movement in British India against foreign domination my late lamented father came into direct conflict with the British by supplementing the agitation in his own peculiar way. My mind had been poisoned against the Congress to some extent by misleading propaganda engineered by interested parties. But all doubts have now been cleared by the recent orders of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stopping bombing operations in the tribal area, and I have realised my mistake. I can assert with confidence that Islamic interests are absolutely safe in the hands of the Congress and we should give ample opportunity to the new National Government to make an experiment and prove their bonafides.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A resolution congratulating Pandit Nehru on the formation of the Interim National Government was unanimously adopted. Pandit Nehru has since announced his intention to visit the tribal areas and the tribes people are now busy making arrangements for receiving the Premier of India in their midst.

Use of British Troops in India

The debate on India provided the Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool with a dramatic episode when Mr. Douglas Reed, one of the delegates, described the Conservative official resolution on India as "having a taint of patronage and superiority which took away the effectiveness that it might have." There was a commotion at the Conference when he clearly told the audience that "the Conservative Party is today hated in India and the Labour Party loved." Mr. Reed has recently gone home from India. He had been for six years a member of the Madras Legislature.

Moving a resolution, Earl Winterton affirmed in the good old Conservative fashion, that it was the duty of the Parliament to make sure that in any settlement the rights of the minorities and the States should be safeguarded and the British Mission in India honourably discharged. Earl Winterton emphasised that it was the inescapable duty of the Parliament to be prepared not to sacrifice the welfare of the minorities in India. In the official resolution, he pointed out, there was no intention of enforcing a policy of divide and rule in India. He claimed that there must be no dominant Congress rule and according to him there was a tremendous danger to be avoided—the use of British troops as hired mercenaries in preventing communal conflict in India. Earl Winterton concluded his speech with the following words : "Why has Pandit Nehru been so silent about the withdrawal of British troops from India ? Is it because he wants them to be used in quelling communal disturbances—to be used by Indian Government over which Whitehall has no control ?"

The questions put by Earl Winterton are not only untrue, but they have a very mischievous bearing. It is good that Pandit Nehru has promptly come forward to contradict them in unequivocal and unmistakeable terms. Here is Pandit Nehru's reply :

> Certain speeches delivered at the British Conservative Party's Conference held at Blackpool, indicate a hostile attitude on the part of some of its leading members towards the new Central Government of India. These speeches are irresponsible, full of malice and calculated to stir up strife and prevent unity and a settled Government in India.
>
> While we have expressed our willingness to co-operate with the U.K., I want to make it perfectly clear on behalf of myself and my colleagues in the Government that there will be no co-operation with those who adopt an unfriendly attitude towards us or trifle with the independence of India.
>
> The charge has been made that I am silent about the withdrawal of British troops from India and that we seek to use them for quelling communal disturbances. This charge, as much else in the speeches delivered at Blackpool, is completely false. *We do not want to use them for quelling internal disturbances. It was our policy before we took office, and it is our policy now, to have British troops withdrawn from India immediately or, at any rate, with the greatest possible speed. We do not want them to stay on in India for a day longer. It is unfair to us and unfair to them to keep them here.*
>
> I invite the leaders of the British Conservative Party to support us in these demands and help in giving effect to them in the immediate future.

Douglas Reed at Blackpool

Mr. Douglas Reed spoke at the Conference after Earl Winterton and Mr. Gammans had put forward their usual Conservative homilies about India and their concern over the "great Indian minorities and the States." Mr. Reed said :

> I came home from India four months ago and I am in disagreement with what I have heard. I have been 23 years in India and for six as a member of a Legsilature. I am proud of my association with the Indian people.
>
> This resolution you are asking us to pass will not, as a pious hope, do much harm. It is in keeping with the previous policy which has not been wrong, but it has a taint of patronage and superiority which takes away its effectiveness and will offend the great Indian people.
>
> In India today there is great hatred of the Conservative Party (cries of dissent). That is true, that is a fact and what is more there is a great love for the Labour Party which is held in affection.
>
> Amid growing cries of dissent Mr. Reed went on : "I tell you, it is true. Whose fault it is, is not for me to say. As a good Conservative I do not like having to say it, but it is true and it is my duty to say what I know to be true. It is my duty also to pay a great tribute to the magnificent work of Lord Wavell and FM Auchinleck."
>
> For the first time in our history we have two great Britons who are trusted by the people of India and who are doing their terrific job grandly.
>
> Mr. Reed then dropped the notes from which he was speaking and said : "These are no good. I shall have to tell you what I know. I cannot make a set speech. There is nothing wrong with the Congress Party. That party is the Conservative Party of India. It stands for liberty and democracy."
>
> There were shouts of protest.
>
> "Yes it does," asserted Mr. Reed. "I have to tell you these things whether you like them or not because they are true. I know these people. I know the tremendous work of the Indian Civil Service, in which there are only 500 Europeans left. Whatever faults they may have, they work like martyrs and we must be very careful in our attitude and realize that this sort of talk that we have heard here is not going to do them or us any good.
>
> It is no good talking like that about what I think and believe will be a great dominion, and, do not forget, we made it and it is going to be well worthy of us.
>
> Mr. Reed then referred to the official resolution and said that the first of the three points in it referred to India being within the British Commonwealth.
>
> I believe India will stay in. But do not forget that what has been said here this morning is not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

going to help to keep India in. Indians are free to go their own way and they are going to say to you, 'We will do what we like.'"

Concerning safeguards for the minorities and the negotiations with the Muslim League, Mr. Reed believed they would, in spite of all, be successful. "I know of another great minority, the Anglo-Indians, who, with their great leader Mr. Frank Anthony, have done their best to go with us but have now decided that their future lies with the Indian people."

"The sort of resolution I would have liked to have seen this morning is one which does not forget that we owe India £1,000,000,000."

Conservative Policy on India

Mr. Churchill spoke on the second day at the Blackpool Conference. He said, "The way in which the Socialist Government has handled the Indian problem has been much as to give the vast masses of the people of India hardly any choice but to become separated from the British Crown, which has so long shielded them from internal convulsions or foreign invasion." This characteristic Churchillian utterance has very little relation with truth. Congress has declared its intention to enter into a Treaty with Great Britain provided she honours her intention to quit. India has refused to remain a vassal in the British Empire, but she has not yet pronounced her verdict against her continuance as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Churchill's claim that the British Crown has shielded India from internal convulsions is totally untrue. If it can be called a truth, it is a truth of the Goebbels type. The Conservative Party claims that modern India has achieved a unity under their leadership as has never happened in her long history. But that too is not a fact. Conservative Party's Imperial policy has always been based on the theory of divide and rule, very carefully and skilfully applied in practice. Communal electorates have been deliberately created to separate one community from another, communal representation in the services has been introduced to pollute the nervous system of the social organism and communal favouritism by way of granting trade licenses has been bestowed to stir up economic rivalry between the communities. All sorts of schismatic and fissiparous tendencies have been carefully fostered. The sound principle of developing the good and stamping out the evil elements in the society has been buried under the weight of Imperial policy. The good elements in the society have been systematically discouraged and the evils helped and developed. A Jinnah, an Ambedkar and their followers are the net result.

Anglo-Indian Politics

Mr. R. A. Butler, in his speech at the Blackpool Conservative Conference, alluded to a letter written to him by the Anglo-Indian leader of this country, Mr. Frank Anthony. The Congress has stood by all legitimate demands and claims of the Anglo-Indian community. Some of their leaders have been returned to the Constituent Assembly with Congress votes. Emboldened with this recognition of a community which has never been politically organised and whose policy can hardly be called anything like a national one, the Anglo-Indians claimed one seat on the Interim Government. It was suggested that the Parsee nominee should be dropped and an Anglo-Indian taken in his place. That could not be done and it elicited an angry protest from Mr. Anthony. He went a step further and wrote a letter to Mr. Butler. After a reference made to his letter, Mr. Anthony has now released it for publication. We give it below :

Mr. Anthony says :

I address you with regard to the serious disservice done to the Anglo-Indian community by the Cabinet Mission and the continuing policy of the British Administration, apparently directed to destroy the future of the Anglo-Indians in India.

In spite of the fact that, shortly before the Cabinet Mission arrived in India, the Sapru Committee, consisting of the most eminent Indians, recommended a seat for the Anglo-Indian community in the future Indian Cabinet and also specific representation in a Constituent Assembly, the Cabinet Mission wantonly took away from the Anglo-Indians the recognition which we had secured with difficulty from the Indian leaders.

Our position in India has been made difficult merely because of our past service to the British Administration. We naturally thought, therefore, that the British Ministers would welcome the recognition which the community had been able to secure from the Indian leaders. Instead the British Ministers and the present Viceroy seem to have been inspired by almost deliberately malicious motives in singling out the Anglo-Indians for political and consequent economic extinction.

The first disservice which the Cabinet Mission rendered to my community was to exclude us completely from the Constituent Assembly. Thank God, this terrible disservice has been remedied by the Congress Party, which, unlike the British, had good reason to hold that the Anglo-Indians had been hostile. The Congress have enabled us to secure with their votes two seats in the Constituent Assembly. In addition, I have been returned to the Constituent Assembly exclusively on the votes of the Anglo-Indian M.L.As. in Bengal.

The next and crowning disservice was the deliberate exclusion by the Mission and the Viceroy of the Anglo-Indian community from the Interim Government. Surprising though it may seem, the Congress had made a request to the Viceroy that an Anglo-Indian should be included in the Interim Government in preference to a Parsi, as we are more numerous than the Parsis and the latter had representation in the Government on previous occasions. The Viceroy, however, saw fit to ignore this recommendation of the major political party and selected Sir N. P. Engineer, although he happened to be a servant of the Crown.

In the negotiations covering the formation of the present Interim Government, the Congress did everything possible to secure a seat for the Anglo-Indian community. They emphasized the fact that since they had been asked to form the Government there was no need to adhere to the formula of June 16, namely, six-five-three. They wanted the number increased to fifteen in order to include an Anglo-Indian. When this was turned down by the Viceroy, they submitted a list of fourteen members which included my name. This also was turned down by

CC-0.In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Viceroy. The Congress made it clear that as soon as the Muslim League indicated its willingness to join the Interim Government, the formula of six-five-three would be reverted to, and there was therefore, no point in excluding an Anglo-Indian at this stage by rigid adherence to his formula.

History will find it almost impossible to produce a parallel instance where representatives of a particular nation have gone out of their way to destroy a community, fighting for its rights against tremendous odds, for whose existence that nation has been responsible.

Bitterness at the deliberate disservice done to us by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy is steadily increasing. Our task of surviving in the future India has been made a thousand times more difficult by the Cabinet Mission's awards, and more particularly by the present Viceroy's insistence on excluding us from a position in the Interim Government. We at least did not expect this unwarranted betrayal.

The Parsees, since the birth of the Congress, have served the cause of Indian freedom through that august body. Many of them have risen to the Presidential Chair of the Congress through their unstinted service to the country. They never asked for any special favour for them and have always fought against separate electorates. Although small in numbers, they are great in qualities and have risen to the present position of esteem in the eye of the Indian people through their wholehearted association with Indian national aspirations. But what have the Anglo-Indians done? Till very recently, they allied themselves with the Imperialist Britain, were contemptuous of Indian aspirations, fought for their own sectional and communal interests, and successfully exacted separate electorate and statutory reservation in certain public services. They have their best friend in the Congress, but the Anglo-Indian members of the Bengal Legislature voted against the Congress in the no-confidence motion brought in to censure the Bengal Ministry for its failure to maintain law and order. It is time that Mr. Anthony had dropped his "claims and demands" and organised his community through the path of service to the country in whose freedom their future lay. The position of the Anglo-Indians in India has been made difficult through their own actions.

Diehard Britons' Role in India

Writing in the *Social Welfare*, on the Europeans' role in Indian politics, Mr. Joseph John says that it is a grave mistake to think that the sincerity which animates the Labour Government in Britain in their policy towards India actuates the Europeans resident here. The freedom that is India's due has never been relished by them as a welcome or necessary good but often dreaded as an unavoidable evil. The economic interests which they represent, the illegitimate privileges they have always enjoyed here as the ruling class have been too precious to be set aside in order to hasten the advent of Indian freedom. British bureaucracy and big business have shown themselves a consistent enemy of Indian nationalism. The history of Indian struggle abounds in instances. The country's assertion of its right to freedom could not tolerate any compromise for the sake of appeasing British officials and businessmen here. That is why at the time of the Cabinet Delegation's talks, the Congress insisted on excluding the Europeans from the Constituent Assembly. In provinces like Bengal and Assam, the British members of the Legislatures abstained from voting but in some other provinces like the U.P. they abused the power which the 1935 Act unjustly gave them and took part in the voting for the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. John emphatically asserts that the British in India have learnt nothing from the history of the last few years. They still seem to feel that by lining up with the enemies of Indian nationalism, either with a cloak of neutrality or coming out as their open supporters, they would be able to stem the advancing tide of freedom. Of the European bureaucracy belonging to that category, Sir Francis Mudie is, according to Mr. John, the worst example—an anachronistic survival from the days of Tottenham's two-anna pamphlet. But he has evidently forgotten that there are dozens and scores of Mudies at the official Secretariats busy in hatching plans for placing newer hurdles on India's road to freedom. The I.C.S. and the I.P. still hold the most substantial administration centred in their hands. The Calcutta carnage is the best example of how administrative power can be manoeuvred in favour of the bureaucracy's League friends. With a supineness that is unbelievable in British gentlemen, the British Police Commissioner and the British members of the Civil Service, they let the League Ministry indulge in the orgy of violence in the name of Direct Action.

Mr. John concludes his article with the following words :

> The Europeans in India have their vested interests to safeguard. For this purpose they wouldn't rely on the goodwill of the Indian people but on their own unjust power which, they ought to know, cannot last for all time. They crouch for safety when the Leaguers threaten direct action and would deftly let their wrath spend itself on their fellow Indians.
>
> They shiver at the very mention of the goonda, cry aloud for freedom from his rule, and then prostitute their power for some immediate advantage. They play no mean part in provoking the fratricidal war between Indians. And when the corpses begin to stink, they drink and dance away the nights.

No-confidence Motion Against Bengal Ministers

The no-confidence motions against the Bengal Ministry were defeated in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The European and the Communist members remained neutral. The Anglo-Indians voted with the Ministry. One Indian Christian voted for the motion. With Mr. Fazlul Huq's re-entry into the League, the Muslim members formed one solid bloc in the House, the full strength of which was used to throw out the no-confidence motions. Leaders of all the parties spoke on the motions which were debated for two days. We give here the extracts from a few speeches which would be sufficient to indicate the trend of the debate. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said :

> They had been discussing the genesis of the disturbances. Time would not permit him to go through the details of the history and the course of events during the last few years but let him say this that what had happened in Calcutta was not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the result of a sudden explosion. It was the culmination of an administration, corrupt and communal which had disfigured the life of this great and happy province. What was the resolution passed in Bombay at the session of the All-India Muslim League Council? It had been stated on behalf of the Muslim League that the Cabinet Mission proved unfaithful to the Muslim interest and thereby created a situation which had no parallel in the history of Anglo-Muslim relationship in this country.

I will certainly hold responsible Mr. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister, who lost his mental balance when he made that statement from Bombay that he was going to declare Bengal to be an independent State. He knew that troubles were ahead. If you analyse his speeches it would appear clear that he knew that troubles were ahead. I am not raising this question as to how many Hindus or Muslims had lost their lives. The question is have Government succeeded in protecting lives and properties, no matter to which community they belong.

Mr. Suhrawardy says that at 12 noon on Friday he realised that the situation was very bad. Very well, what did he do at that time? Why did he not call for the military at that time when the civil police failed to protect life and property? On Friday he knew that the trouble was there, no matter if the Hindus were aggressors or the Muslims. Why did he not immediately proclaim Section 144? Why did he place the entire city at the mercy of *goondas*? Why did he allow the Maidan meeting in these circumstances? We charge him with the deliberate offence of having played havoc with lives and properties of the citizens of Calcutta. On Friday night in a message to the *A.P.I.* he said that the condition in the city had improved. Section 144 is supposed to have been promulgated on Friday night. On Saturday the Curfew Order was promulgated but neither of these was actually enforced. How is it that in spite of Section 144 and the Curfew people were allowed to move about committing looting and murder? You have heard that within a stone's throw of Lalbazar Police Headquarters, shops were looted, people were murdered and all sorts of offences were committed without the police being able to check them.

On the 23rd the Chief Minister broadcast a message of peace to the people of Bengal and within half an hour of that he sent out a special message for foreign newspapers through foreign correspondents. What was said in this document was entirely different from the message of peace broadcast to the people of Bengal. In the message for foreign consumption Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was Hindus who were to blame for the riots. Then he blamed the British Government and lastly he said he could not say what would happen in future if the Interim Government functioned.

Mr. Suhrawardy has complained that he cannot control the Police Commissioner. If that is so, how Mr. Suhrawardy interfered with the administration of a police office in a manner unworthy of any Home Minister of a province? In Park Street Police Station seven *goondas* were taken by a European Inspector with looted property. . . .

[Mr. Suhrawardy objected to Dr. Mookerjee calling these people goondas and was heard to remark that Dr. Mookerjee was a goonda.]

I might be a goonda, but Mr. Suhrawardy was the prince of goondas. Were all these people who were arrested with looted property then Muslim gentlemen? Was it not a fact that within 10 minutes Mr. Suhrawardy appeared on the scene and got those persons released? It is on record (cries of 'shame, shame,' from Opposition Benches).

[Mr. Suhrawardy admitted that he interfered in the matter but the property was not looted property but rice and dal that was being taken in a lorry to a *Musafirkhana* on Chitpur Road. He interfered otherwise the men for whom these were meant would starve. He had no knowledge of any arrest in this connection.]

The Muslim League had asked for 500 gallons of petrol from the Bengal Government. That was not granted. But petrol coupons were issued in the name of individual ministers and special coupons were issued to the extent of 100 gallons in the name of the Chief Minister. That was how preparations were going on and arrangements were made under the very nose of the Home Department of Mr. Suhrawardy (cries of 'oh, oh' from Muslim League Benches). Could Mr. Suhrawardy deny that he himself went to Howrah and met local officers there and chastised them, took them to task because Muslims were unprotected there? Did he take similar pains. . . . (prolonged interruptions from Muslim League members).

At last I have said some home truths which have made my friends opposite nervous and hysterical. Mr. Suhrawardy is playing a double role. How can he do all this things while he is a Minister? Is he not responsible for preservation of life and property of people so long as he is a Minister? Whatever my friends opposite can say, it has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Mr. Suhrawardy and other Ministers are unable to administer the affairs of the province, impartially at any rate. They have hopelessly failed and on that ground they are not fit to occupy office for one single moment.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said:

The great disturbance had not risen from the moon. Whether it had been the result of well-planned action made by one side or by both sides they did not know. God alone knew that and the future might say the truth. On Friday morning telephones began to come to me from the Muslims and Hindus of various parts of Calcutta that troubles had broken out. I thought that the troubles were of a minor nature and the calls were the result of the sense of intoleration that was in the nature of the Bengalees and the Indians, however, gentlemanly and intelligent they were. I advised all of them to ring up the police and came to know that, although the police was being appealed to in some cases, their reply was that they (police) had no orders. Wonder of wonders! What the police were here, and why were they paid for, if they had not known that when peace and tranquillity was disturbed? Their first duty had been to jump into the situation in order to defend public peace and tranquillity.

In the afternoon, Mullick Bazar which was within half a mile from my house was looted. I was then standing on the veranda and I found people rushing in great merriment on all sides and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

police paharawallas accompanying them. Everyone was happy, as if they were accompanying a marriage procession. In the same night, the Park Circus Market was looted. I sent my nephew and the Editor of weekly *Mohammadi* to the Park Circus police outpost. To my astonishment I learnt that the officer-in-charge told the informants that he had no time to go and see what happened. Certainly, some change must have come over to the Calcutta Police! On the next day, I believe, the Mahisadal Rajbati was attacked. There was a traffic police outpost nearby. In spite of that all the belongings of the house were looted within two hours, and the police were looking on. Men were carrying the looted properties and I had reports that a member of the Provincial Service had been found carrying a silver tray in his hand. I wanted that the House should know why the trouble was allowed to grow to this gigantic proportion and within 24 hours, the entire situation was made to drift beyond control.

It seemed to me that during those days, not only the British rule had ended, but that some learned Nadir Shah had come over Calcutta and had let loose his hordes of plunder and loot.

On every occasion I wanted police help, but the reply had come that my complaints had been noted and help would be sent to me in proper time. The situation had been such that police officers would not control, Control offices would not control and the Government House was not available. It was my impression that this thing would never have happened if the police and the military had taken a strong measure on Friday, the 16th, when troubles broke out. The inactivity of the police was directly responsible for the great loss of human life.

Already we have blackened our face to the civilised world that the Hindus and Muslims cannot live together. It would be a tragedy if the debate on such a matter cannot be carried on without passion and prejudice and calm judgment. These are matters which requires to be carefully looked into in order that any recurrence of what had taken place might be effectively prevented. The present motion, I think, is somewhat inopportune and ill-advised. As has been spoken by some speakers we are going to have a Commission to sit and investigate into all matters connected with the disturbances. And now we are discussing here practically many of the important issues which are subjudice before the Tribunal. Secondly, I feel that while we are discussing the affair in this House, issues of far greater moment and importance are hanging in balance in the talks that are going on in Delhi. While we are shouting here in this House, the fate of India is going to be decided, not by a resolution here and there, but in Whitehall and Delhi. It would have been well if the upshot and the result of these talks that are going on between the Viceroy and the Party leaders come to a settlement. I am an optimist in this respect. I feel that all will end well. If there is a Coalition Government at the Centre, there is no reason why there should not be Coalition Governments in the provinces (cries on 'hear, hear,' from the Government Benches). I have been a believer in Coalition Governments.

Mr. K. S. Ray, Leader of Opposition, said :

The Moslem League had been preparing for this day. It had issued appeal to all Moslems to observe the day. It had organised a Volunteer Corps. It had even organised an Ambulance Corps for each area in Calcutta. It is difficult to imagine why an Ambulance Corps was necessary—for a peaceful demonstration. But we did not see any appeal from any responsible leader of the League asking the Moslem public to be peaceful, non-violent, not to compel others to close their shops. On the contrary, there were the highly exciting articles in the Muslim League papers preaching unrestrained hatred of other communities. Even my friend Khawaja Nazimuddin whom we all have known as an iron upholder of law and order hinted that the League was not restricted to non-violence. I hope it will not be maintained that there was no organisation behind the hooligans. They shouted the same slogans—they acted in the same way, it was obvious that they were obeying orders. They had sufficient supply of petrol. They had numerous lorries. In Beniapukur area they compelled Hindus to sign Pakistan pledge which were later on published in the *Azad*. They forcibly converted persons to Islam.

Now what was the police doing all the time these preparations were being made ? We would like to know if the Criminal Intelligence Department had made any report regarding preparations that were being made for an armed procession. Every member in this House—every person in Calcutta knows that no precautionary measure was taken. There was not a single policeman anywhere in Calcutta. Even the ordinary precaution which is taken during the Moharrum or Puja procession—of sending some policemen with the procession—was not taken. Even after looting and assault began on the morning of the 16th—even after the gun-shop in Chowringhee was looted—the police did not make any effective move. All appeals for help from the the police proved useless. Looting, murder, arson took place before them without their making any arrest. Everybody who approached the police got the same reply—"no orders." On occasion—hundred times less serious—we have seen machine-guns on the streets of Calcutta. Military or Police petrol, I do not know which—came out in the evening of the second day but they drove along the main roads at 40 miles an hour without stopping to arrest hooligans or rescue those who were in danger.

We have a suspicion that the posting of officers has been made in such a way that in some districts all the administrative officers from the District Magistrate to the thana officer are Muslims. I would like to know how many District Magistrates today are Muslims—how many Hindus—how many Europeans. I would like the Hon'ble Chief Minister to tell us how many Superintendents of Police in charge of districts are Muslims, how many Hindus and how many Europeans. I would also like him to state the number of thanas in Bengal and how many thana officers are Muslims and how many Hindus. I do not wish to cast reflection on all Muslim officers but it is undeniable that the canker of communalism has affected the service. No Hindu feels safe, if the officer is a Muslim and I believe that a Muslim feels the same if the officer is a Hindu. But unfortunately for the Hindus with the advent of the League Ministry most of the key positions not reserved for Europeans have gone to the Muslim officers. Even during the riots in Calcutta, Hindu officers have been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

transferred and our protest was of no avail. Therefore, Sir, this conspiracy of crushing the minority community in Bengal began not with the Direct Action Day. It began much earlier, It began from the first day the League Ministry took office. It was their deliberate plan to fashion the administrative machinery in such a way, that the minority community would be reduced to utter helplessness.

Mr. Suhrawardy's Reply

Replying to the charges levelled by the Opposition against his Ministry, Mr. Suhrawardy made certain significant admissions. He tried his best to shift the responsibility for the carnage from the shoulders of his himself and the League leaders, on whom it fairly and squarely rested, by repeating the totally false and trumped up accusations. In the same breath he made the Hindus, the Congress and the British Government responsible knowing full well that all these three were separate entities. He said :

> It seems that the incidents which took place were the results of a chain of circumstances in various fields of life, the magnitude of which no one could foresee and which was outside the experience of everyone. The first and most important link in the chain are undoubtedly those factors which produced political tension between the Hindus and Muslims. The ideologies of Pakistan and Hindustan were being asserted by Muslim and Hindus in their separate camps with vigour and determination, backed by threats of civil war. Each party went to the polls in the last elections and appealed for support to the electorate on this issue. The Muslims almost usanimously voted for Pakistan. Congress won its victories on the issue of undivided Hindustan. But all this remained academic until, firstly, the Parliamentary Party and, subsequently, the Cabinet Mission came out to frame a plan for evolving a new constitution and for installing an Interim Government.
>
> The Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission on the very last day—June 25. Muslim India was thunderstruck at this shameless betrayal. I have not met one single Englishman who has not hung his head in shame at the manner in which the Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission.
>
> So, on one side the Muslims were burning with resentment against the British Government for its signal betrayal. It is true that Congress had allied itself with the British Government and had accepted an Interim Government to the exclusion of the Muslims. But the Muslim League, as far as I know its mind, though resentful of the Congress attitude, still deemed British Imperialism its chief foe having played fast and loose with the Muslims.
>
> What of Congress ? Alas, they took their position too seriously. They considered that their entry in the Interim Government as Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council had given them unlimited powers. They considered direct action as directed against them and not against the British, whose successors they fondly imagine themselves to be. I believe they feared that if direct action should succeed, it might induce HMG to modify their offer of power to Congress.

In the following words of the Premier, it is apparent that he had previous knowledge of the coming trouble. He said :

> Police precautions were taken. Instructions were given to the Civil Supplies Department to keep all their vehicles in their depot until such time as it might be known whether disturbances would take place or not. Similar advice was given to the oil companies in view of the high vulnerability of their oil tankers, and our opinion was conveyed to the military that their vehicles should not run unless under escort.
>
> On August 15, the Commissioner of Police informed all police officers that the Emergency Action scheme, which had been prepared before this Ministry took office, would be brought into operation with effect from 8 a.m. on August 16.

Mr. Suhrawardy, as Minister in charge of Home Affairs, knew that incidents had begun since early morning of the fateful day. During the debate, he sought to minimise the gravity of the morning incidents saying that they were of a minor nature probably for the good reason that the perpetrators of those crimes were his co-religionists. He knew that by 8 o'clock in the morning the situation was taking a grave turn when the Emergency Action scheme was being put into action by the Police Commissioner with his knowledge. He was in the Police Control Room by 2 o'clock and felt that the situation was going beyond control of the civil police. By 2-45 p.m. situation was about to go out of the hands of the police when military authorities were asked to remain in readiness. By 4-30 p.m., the situation apparently went beyond control of the civil authorities and miltary authorities were asked to come to the aid of civil power. This is Mr. Suhrawardy's own admission and even after this, he permitted the maidan meeting to be held, himself presided over it and moved the Pakistan resolution and permitted inflammatory speeches to be delivered there. He could not cite a single instance of Hindu attack on Muslims in purely Hindu areas earlier than 3 o'clock when a small procession of Muslims coming from Tollygunge was obstructed on Russa Road near the railway bridge. At the maidan meeting very many of the "audience" were armed with lathis and daggers. We have published photographs to prove it and this has been admitted by everybody except the perpetrators of the crimes. Here is what Mr. Suhrawardy himself said about the beginning of the events :

> The police force, such as it was, was fully mobilized on the morning of August 16. Incidents were reported as early as 7 o'clock, but they were of a minor nature, and the two parties were kept apart by the local police. But the situation rapidly developed and grew from bad to worse. It was, however, localized, and although obstruction was offered to processions passing through Hindu areas —several processions 'which passed through purely Muslim and European areas found their way to the Maidan. I hope it will be appreciated that the police force of Calcutta or for that matter of any city is not recruited to cope with a general communal conflagration in every part of the city. They have been found generally sufficient to deal with normal disturbances, and on previous occasions, even under Section 93 regime, the military have been called

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out days after a disturbance broke out. The Commissioner of Police, to my knowledge, put the emergency scheme into operation early in the day—at 8 o'clock. He utilized the forces at his disposal to the best of his ability. He accepted all calls for assistance that were made on him at Lalbazar. He and his officers worked unceasingly. He himself remained on duty until the early hours of August 17, and he and his officers took it by turns to be at Lalbazar throughout.

It has been stated that, generally speaking, the police stood idle and allowed assaults and looting to take pace under their very eyes. It is stated that when the police were asked to intervene, they said they had received no orders, or they had orders not to interfere. I have been solemnly asked by some people to ascertain from the Commissioner of Police if he gave such orders. I can categorically state that no such orders were issued. How, I ask you, can I, or the Commissioner of Police, be held responsible if in some place or places the police at hand do not intervene and do not perform their duty in preserving law and order?

I am asked, why did I go to the Control Room, and what was I doing there? As far as I remember the incidents of that crowded day, I entered the Control Room about 2 p.m. after having visited several localities and having ascertained for myself that tension was rising and the conflagration was likely to be general. At that time the compound of Lalbazar was flooded with armed police and lorries. Some had gone out on urgent calls. I gave to the Commissioner of Police my appreciation that the military should be called out. At 2-45 p.m. a warning was communicated to the military authorities to be in readiness as their services might be required. At 4-30 p.m., a decision was taken and communicated to the military authorities requesting them to come to the aid of the civil power, and for this purpose to concentrate a force at Sealdah in order to keep open certain important thoroughfares.

In the Control Room, where calls were pouring in unceasingly I too took down reports and passed them on to the Commissioner of Police for I was thus able to watch the course of the disturbances and how the reports were dealt with and what action was taken on them and I have no doubt that not being entirely dumb. I offered suggestions when I deemed expedient.

I insisted that very evening on curfew being proclaimed and on the military being put into position. The report from Howrah not being satisfactory, arrangement was made for troops to be brought to the Howrah Rest Camp from Barrackpore. It was clear as time passed that calls were increasing, that the disturbances was spreading and that the police would be fully extended. At 11 o'clock it was decided that the military would patrol the area already designated.

Voting in the No-confidence Motion

As we have mentioned at the beginning of the note on the No-confidence Motion, this motion was defeated. But a few remarks about the voting of the different groups seem to be called for.

European members' role in this debate deserves special notice. Their action has thoroughly justified the Quit India policy of the Congress. They have made it abundantly clear that so long as their part of loot and plunder remains in tact, they are not concerned with anything else. We would say that the Europeans of Bengal have "nobly" kept up the traditions of the East India Company, that ruthless and shameless band of adventurers and cheats, who came to this country when it was ridden with civil war. They took good care to set brother against brother and to put premiums on dishonesty, corruption, treachery and faithlessness. In this way they succeeded in carving out an Empire in what was once the world's richest country. Two centuries have since elapsed. The East India Company has gone with the wind but the "successors" to that band of rogues have carried on. Thanks to the lust, and rapacity of Europeans in this country, India today is perhaps the world's poorest country.

There is a lot of correspondence about the Anglo-Indians in the daily press. We have not much to say at present but we consider that one of their own community who wrote a book entitled *Cimmeri* was fully justified in calling his community benighted. The Anglo-Indians in opposing the Bengal no-confidence motion, showed themselves to be allied with the powers of darkness as did some of their community who joined with the looters during the riots. They have to make up their mind whether to march in step with nationalist India or to remain camp-followers of the reactionaries and exploiters who have infested India for the past two centuries. The Anglo-Indian cannot run with the hare and chase with the hounds.

Three members of the scheduled caste have left the Congress party and voted with the Ministry. We had previously remarked that we had seen in the Congress nominations to the Bengal Assembly and the Constituent Assembly not only carelessness and partisanship but criminal negligence so far as nationalism in Bengal is concerned. The defection of these three members, elected on Congress tickets, proves again that our judgment was right.

New Turn in Burmese Politics

With the acceptance of office by U Aung San and his colleagues, representing the premier political organisation in Burma, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, Burma politics is now very near a satisfactory solution. Although it is too early to express unqualified optimism, it is certain that things will change for the better in a very short time and the country's major economic problems will now be solved. The future is brighter, because, the Executive Council includes not only the AFPFL but also the Myochit Party and the Thakin Party, the two important groups outside the League. The only notable point is the non-co-operation of the Sinyetha Party and the non-inclusion of its leader Dr. Ba Maw.

Of the eleven seats in the Council, ten have been so far filled. Six have gone to the League. U Aung San, besides being the Governor's Counsellor for Defence and External Affairs, heads the list of Councillors as Deputy Chairman and Member without portfolio. The other five Leaguers in the Council are Thakin Mya (Socialist), Home and Judicial; U Ba Pe ("Veteran Politician"), Commerce and Supplies; U Thein Pe (Communist), Agriculture and Rural Economy; Maha Ba Khaing (Karen), Industry and Labour; and U [illegible] (Anglo-Burmese), Social Services. Four seats

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

go to U Saw (Myochit Party), Education and National Planning; Thakin Ba Sein (Thakin Party), Transport and Communications; U Tin Tut (Independent), Finance, and Sir Maung Gyee, who was a member of the old Executive Council.

In a statement issued by its Executive Committee, the League has made it clear "that the Interim Government in which the AFPFL has decided to participate does not as yet satisfy the complete requirements of a National Government as we have envisaged and this is certainly not yet a Provisional Government which could lead us straight to the establishment of a free, independent Burma." The statement shows that the main reason for the League's acceptance of office is its desire to end the political deadlock "which has brought in its train evermounting political and economic reparcussions throughout our land, culminating in existing and increasing economic strikes of all sorts—embracing even the various ranks of Government services."

In a broadcast talk, Sir Hubert Rance disclosed that it is H.M.G's desire and the Governor's firm intention that, in practice, the Executive Council should have all the authority and power that its Ministerial predecessors exercised under the 1935 Act, that H.M.G. have agreed that the Governor should have a Burman Counsellor for Defence and External Affairs who should at the same time be a Member of the Executive Council; that H.M.G. have agreed to some relaxation of Treasury control and "that the new Council will consider these proposals in detail at the earliest opportunity and that the Council's recommendations will be forwarded to H.M.G."; lastly, that H.M.G. have agreed that the Council shall be kept fully informed about all matters concerning the Frontier Areas, though responsibility for these areas will continue to rest with the Governor.

Inter-Asian Relations Conference

For the first time, Asia is to witness a gathering of the representatives of as many as 33 Asiatic countries when the Inter-Asian Relations Conference meets in India early next year to discuss problems of common interest and to foster close relations between the Asiatic countries. The venue has not yet been decided but in all probability Delhi will be selected. Pandit Nehru will preside. His position as the first Premier of India will vest the Conference with the dignity and status accorded to international conferences in the world. It is learnt that the Conference will be opened by Mahatma Gandhi, who is the acknowledged leader of the struggle for freedom of the subject peoples of Asia.

Not all the countries that are being invited by the Indian Council of World Affairs, which is sponsoring the Conference, are subject nations. Some enjoy full sovereignty, and some are semi-independent, while the majority of them are either colonies of Western Imperialist powers or are just emerging from Imperialist domination. In the case of subject nations, invitations are being issued to the party struggling for the freedom of its country.

The following countries, it is understood, are going to be invited to the Conference: Turkey, Palestine, Saudi-Arabia, Azerbaijan, Kurghistan, Uzbekistan, Tibet, China, Formosa, Thailand (Siam), Indonesia, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, Armenia, Kozakhistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Japan, Philippines, Viet Nham, Siberia, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, Bhutan, Korea, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. While the present conference will be constituted of purely Asiatic countries, it is expected that it will be enlarged so as to include countries of the Indian Ocean Region like Australia, New Zealand and West Africa, as the conference will not be complete without the inclusion of these countries which are showing more and more affinity for co-operation with Asiatic countries,—a fact which was stressed by Pandit Nehru in his last address to the Indian Council of World Affairs in Bombay.

The Conference will discuss many topics relating to problems of mutual interest to the invitees. Among the subjects that will be discussed are national movements for freedom in Asia, racial problems with special reference to the real causes of racial conflict, transition from a colonial to a national economy, inter-Asian emigration and the status and treatment of immigrants, welfare problems with special reference to public health and nutrition, problems of industrial labour and industrial development, cultural problems with special reference to education, art, architecture, scientific research and literature and finally the status of women.

People of India fully realise that freedom's battle in Asia is one and indivisible. All the exploited peoples of Asia and the East must now stand united against political, military and economic aggression from the West. Pandit Nehru's idea of a Pan-Asiatic Federation of Free Nations is a great and noble conception. It is necessary that peoples of Oceania and Africa should also be included in the Pan-Asiatic Scheme. A Federation of Asia, Africa and Oceania will embrace more than half of humanity.

India's Foreign Policy

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his first Press Conference as Minister in Charge of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, made a number of announcements on future Indian foreign policy. These are the main points:

(1) In future, India will have a much larger number of diplomatic representatives in foreign countries and shall deal with them direct instead of through the British Foreign Office. They will have a higher status and will in time be ambassadors. Direction and advice to them will go from India.

(2) A scheme for the creation of an Indian Diplomatic Corps will be placed before the Cabinet soon.

(3) The kernal of Indian foreign policy is ending colonialism all over Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

(4) The India Office is bound to be liquidated soon.

(5) A goodwill mission is to be sent to the Middle East and the Government hopes to get Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as its leader.

(6) A similar goodwill mission to Eastern and Western Europe will also be sent and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is expected to be one of its members.

(7) Pandit Nehru proposes to pay a personal visit to the Frontier Tribal Areas early in October and hopes to have Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan with him. The visit would be preliminary to a fresh examination of the problem of tribal areas. Pandit

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nehru made it clear that there was no intention of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they were defending so zealously and valiantly.

(8) In practice, the Indian National Government extends recognition to the Indonesian Republic. Pandit Nehru said, "We have 100 per cent sympathy with them. We want them to win through and establish their freedom, and we want to help and support them in every way.

(9) The Government are considering the advisability of forming an Advisory Council for Baluchistan drawn from representative institutions and organisations. This will be a preliminary to the introduction of a fuller democratic system of administration.

(10) Pandit Nehru proposes to visit Ceylon soon.

Pandit Nehru announced that in the sphere of foreign affairs India would follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. He added that India would uphold the principle of freedom for all dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. India will work together with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and goodwll without exploitation of one nation by another.

With reference to the international contacts that are to be made, Pandit Nehru said :

It is necessary that, with the attainment of her full international status, India should establish contact with all the great nations of the world and that her relations with neighbouring countries in Asia should become still closer. Towards this end it is proposed to despatch a goodwill mission to the Middle East and to establish contacts, which will in the first instance be informal, with countries of both western and eastern Europe. It is also proposed to station an Indian consul at Bangkok and a vice-consul at Saigon in the near future.

So far as her near neighbours are concerned, India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, China, Siam and Indo-China, as well as in the foreign possessions in India itself, with every sympathy with the aspirations of the peoples of these lands for the attainment of internal peace, freedom (where they lack it) and of their due place in the comity of nations.

With the U.S.A. and China, India already has a form of diplomatic contact. The relations thus already existing will, it is hoped, shortly be strengthened by the exchange of representations on an independent diplomatic footing.

At present there are Indian diplomatic officials in the U.S.A. and China, High Commissioners in Australia and South Africa (the latter being at present in India), Representatives in Burma, Ceylon and Malaya and Trade Commissioners in several countries. With the creation of the new service the existing posts will be strengthened and new ones opened. It will be necessary to work out a system of priorities, but obviously first consideration must be given to countries with which we already have contacts and to our neighbours in the East as well as in the West.

With regard to the Frontier policy, Panditji said :

The question is one of all-India importance, for the tribes are the guardians of the northern door way to India and the security and well-being of these areas is, therefore, a definite factor in the defence of this country.

I should like to make it quite clear that in reviewing the problem there is no intention whatever of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they have defended so zealously and valiantly for many years ; still less to impose any scheme on them against their will. It follows that the Government's approach to the problem will be essentially a friendly one seeking in co-operation and consultation with the tribes ways and means of solving their economic difficulties, promoting their welfare generally and bringing them into a happy and mutually beneficial association with their neighbours in the settled districts.

I have said that the question is one of all-India importance. So it is. But there is a wider aspect to it than this. The tribal areas of the North-West Frontier lie along an international frontier—the frontier which divides India from its friendly neighbour, Afghanistan. From this situation arises an international obligation, for our friends, the Afghans, look to us to preserve peace and order in the tribal areas in the interests of tranquillity of their own country. They may rest assured that in seeking a new approach to the problem the fullest regard will be paid to our obligations.

The reaction of the Frontier tribes to Pandit Nehru's declaration has been singularly helpful. It is now hoped that the everlasting frontier trouble will now come to a permanent end and the tribal people together with the Frontier Pathans will form one solid block as National Guards on the Western Front.

Pandit Nehru declared that India's attitude towards the United Nations Organisation is one of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the charter governing it. To that end, India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its Councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards world peace entitles. India was sending a delegation to the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations. The following two important matters will be taken up by them at this general meeting of the U.N.O. :

The most important item on the agenda from India's point of view is the case against South Africa. It is understood that South Africa will contend that the matter is not within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly as it is essentially one of domestic jurisdiction. With this contention, the Government of India do not agree. In their view the treatment of Indians in South Africa is fundamentally a moral and human issue which, in view of the 'purposes' and 'principles' so clearly stated in the charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly cannot disregard.

A further important matter will be that of the new international trusteeship system. The Indian delegation will stress the point that sovereignty everywhere vests in the people of a country. If for any reason, immediate independence is not feasible then India would not object to the territory being placed under United Nations trusteeship for a limited period. The attitude of the delegation will be that all Asians and the people of dependent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

countries stand together for freedom and for emancipation from foreign control, as this is the only way for bringing about world peace and progress.

Pandit Nehru made it clear that India was no longer going to function just in a bloc with the Commonwealth countries in the sense that India must follow whichever way the bloc goes. He said, "We shall confer with them. We shall try to get them round to our view point. When we do not succeed, we shall differ and go our own way. In the past Indian delegates functioned very much like a kind of camp followers of the British delegation. About 15 or 20 years ago they were practically appointed by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Government of India or vice versa." That practice had been gradually fading off, and is now going to stop. Pandit Nehru now envisages strong collaboration of Indian delegates in International Conferences with representatives from Asian countries because India felt that Asia had certain interests, which they should protect all together.

Atom Bomb a Monopoly of U.S. Cartels ?

A veritable torrent of printers' ink is now pouring down on Bikini Atoll, writes Lucien Castet in the Paris newspaper *Liberation*. There is plenty of talk, and yet it all amounts to nothing. For the crux of the matter, the only thing worth saying is not being said —namely, that the atom bomb belongs neither to America nor to the United Nations, but to the trusts. The real owners of the atom bomb, says Castet, are three powerful trusts : the International Radium and Uranium Consortium which supplies the raw material ; the Westinghouse Electric Company which monopolises the extraction of metallic uranium from the raw material and the Dupont de Nemours Chemical Trust. The International Radium and Uranium Consortium is the actual owner of all uranium deposits in capitalist countries. In this capacity it controls the production of atomic bombs at the very source, for it can either sell or refuse to sell the required raw material at its own discretion. Until 1939 this concern was interested only in radium. Step by step it got control over all the main raw material sources. Its policy was to limit production and raise the price of radium, so essential for medical purposes. The sufferings of cancer victims were turned into a source of mounting profits. The great trust laid its hands on the Canadian radium ore deposits, then on the Katanga mines in the Belgian Congo, and to all intents and purposes obtained a monopoly over radium mining in all capitalist countries.

Since uranium is mostly found in the same ores as radium, the bulk of the known uranium deposits found their way into this concern's hands. Beginning with 1939, when prospects of tapping atomic energy began to take tangible shape, it rapidly bought up the uranium deposits that still remained outside its control.

Officially, the uranium ore needed to produce atomic bombs is supplied by Canada and Belgium. In fact, however, the governments of these countries have little to say in the matter, for they do not possess even a fraction of the Radium and Uranium Consortium's power as regards the disposal of uranium ore.

It was the American Westinghouse Company's laboratories that solved the problem of extracting pure metallic uranium from the ore, one of the most difficult technical problems involved in the generation of atomic energy. The uranium had to be obtained in an absolutely pure form : it must not contain even a ten millionth part of impurity. By agreement with the U.S. Government, Westinghouse undertook to do this job on an industrial scale during the war—on condition however, that the Government did not deal with any competing firms and that the company's representatives participated in the direction of all research on atomic energy.

Finally, the contracts for the construction of the atomic energy plants at Clinton, Tennessee and Hanford, Washington, were granted by General L. Groves to the Dupont Chemical Trust, which controls either directly or indirectly most of the American war industry and is closely linked with leading international cartels.

Describing the methods through which this private monopoly was set up, Castet writes :

> On Dupont's insistence, a clause was inserted in the contract concluded with the War Department, binding the Government to take every measure to protect the firm from possible losses. This clause was detailed in a secret agreement between the War Department and Dupont, in which the U. S. Government "in view of the highly conjectural nature of the work undertaken by Depont de Nemours, and the enormous risk involved," granted the firm for an unlimited time the exclusive right to manufacture atomic bombs. Dupont was further granted the exclusive right to exploit the industrial use of atomic energy for a term of thirty years, beginning from the time when methods for this industrial use might be worked out and tested. As a supplement to these agreements, close ties, including exchange of research workers, were established between Dupont's research department and the various agencies of the office of Scientific Research and Development—in particular, the so-called Metallurgical Laboratory at Chicago University.
>
> The participation of Dupont's representatives in the direction of atomic research was one of the vital safeguards of the secret agreement that ensured Dupont the monopoly in the manufacture of atomic bombs and in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. This finally consolidated the domination of the trusts over the whole field of the utilisation of atomic energy.

Thus, says Castet, a situation has been brought about in which the International Radium and Uranium Consortium controls the raw material, Westinghouse controls the processing and extraction of fissionable materials and Dupont controls the actual process of manufacture. As Castet points out, an agreement between these Big Three is sufficient to set up a vertical trust with incalculable power and enormous weight in deciding the fate of the world. These three American Trusts are in close association with trusts of other capitalist countries through international Cartels. Castet believes that as a result of secret Cartel manipulations such German monopolistic interests as I. G. Farbenindustrie, Krupp and Schering Chemical Concern may obtain possession, if they have not already done so, of the secrets of atomic energy.

Castet then reveals some recent changes in this build up. He says :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On June 5, American army representatives announced that the Dupont firm, which built and operated the government-owned atomic plant at Hanford, had asked to be relieved of the responsibility of operating it—ostensibly because it was primarily interested in chemical and not in power development. In this connection, the army authorities announced that General Electric, another monopoly trust, had agreed to take over the operation of the plant beginning on September 1 this year.

It is still difficult to say what caused this shift in the forces of the American monopolies. But at any rate, it is not a change for the better.

The General Electric Company has always been closely associated with German monopolies. As far back as 1907, G.E.C. concluded an agreement with the German A.E.G., dividing the world into two great electrical empires, the one controlling the United States and Canada, the other Germany, Austria, Russia, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Turkey and the Balkans. Secret agreements were entered regarding subsidiary companies in new branches of industry and in countries not yet formally assigned to either of the trusts, as well as for the exchange of inventions and scientific and technical discoveries.

Describing the link with the German, Castet says :

In the period following World War I, and also during the course of the last war, G.E.C. continued to maintain close ties with the capitalist monopolies of Nazi Germany as has been proved by numerous documents and materials collected by the U. S. Department of Justice. It made big investments in a wide range of German business undertakings.

G.E.C. owns some big research laboratories (situated in Schenectady, New York) and employs a substantial number of research workers, including some eminent physicists and chemists working in various fields of 'nucleonics,' as the Americans now call the science that treats of nuclear reactions. It is notorious for its tendency to establish monopolies and when its interests so dictate, to obstruct technical progress.

For example, the data obtained by the U.S. Department of Justice established that G.E.C. laboratories had been conducting special research on how to lower the quality of incandescent electric lamps and to hinder the introduction of fluorescent lamps which would consume considerably less current.

Closely associated as it is with various electric power concerns, G.E.C. is obviously not interested in the speedy wide-scale use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, which would threaten to depreciate its enormous capital investments and slash the guaranteed profits of its electrical empire. At any rate, it is anxious to secure a monopoly hold on such development. And at the same time, as its president, Mr. Wilson, recently announced, it intends considerably to expand research of a military nature.

Baruch Plan of Atomic Research and the Soviet Proposals

Discussing the Baruch Plan, Castet writes :

The influence of these trusts can be clearly traced, not only in the methods of control of atomic energy within the U.S.A., but also in the American proposals for international control, which Bernard Baruch submitted to the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission.

The various provisions of the Baruch Plan essentially amount to making the international control body—Americans have already christened it 'ADA' or 'Atomic Development Authority'—a sort of international cartel which would be sole owner of all deposits of uranium, thorium and other prospective sources of atomic energy throughout the world. ADA would moreover have exclusive rights to acquire, manufacture and operate all installations producing U235 plutonium and other fissionable materials, to issue licences, and, according to Clause 4 of the Baruch Plan to "conduct research in the field of atomic explosives."

To expect proposals like these to prevent the use of atomic energy for war purposes is like invoking Beelzebub to exorcise Lucifer. Since Baruch also proposes to abolish the right of veto in questions pertaining to atomic energy, ADA would be for all practical purposes independent of the UNO Security Council, but fully dependent on the American trusts. It would serve as an instrument of their international policy and a safeguard of their monopolistic interests.

Castet says in his article that world monopolies and in particular the chemical trusts, are aiming to set up a powerful atomic bomb cartel. Their plans go even further than that they want to make use of UNO to isolate the Soviet Union and to establish the world government of the monopoly trusts.

The secret diplomacy of the international monopolies is, indeed, most active in connection with the problem of the control of atomic energy. It is trying to palm off the Baruch Plan as an effective means of preventing the military use of atomic energy. But the plan actually proposes the establishment of a world monopoly in the mining of atomic raw material and in the production and utilisation of atomic energy, as well as a monopoly of scientific research in the sphere of atomic explosives—that is, in the perfection of the atomic bomb and the increase of its destructive power.

The Baruch Plan for the control of atomic research is quite different from the Soviet proposals put forward in this connection. There are mainly three points of difference. Firstly, the Soviet proposals sought to ban the use of atomic weapons completely to prohibit the production of such weapons and require the destruction of all existing stocks within three months of the date, the international convention comes into force. The Baruch Plan, on the other hand, resorts to vague and confused promises without specifying any definite date of fulfilment. Secondly, the Soviet proposals were designed to fit into the U.N.O. framework, in full conformity with the principles of its charter. The Baruch Plan aims at breaking down the fundamental principles of U.N.O. Thirdly, the Soviet proposals leave the organisation of the peaceful industrial use of atomic energy in the hands of the various sovereign States, at the same time allowing for a broad exchange of scientific information. The Baruch Plan proposes to transfer all authority in this field to an international monopoly organisation and to introduce

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the customary system of licenses. This would mean, as past experience shows, that the peaceful use of atomic energy would be either prevented altogether or in all events greatly hampered.

It is gratifying to find that the progressive American press and prominent scientists have begun to draw public attention to the role of the trusts. Thus *P.M.* says in an editorial : "There is a danger that atomic energy, instead of benefiting mankind, will fall into the hands of the monopolists of destruction."

Capitalist monopolies are trying to convert the greatest of modern scientific discoveries into their own private weapon, to be used in their struggle for world domination. But as Oskar Lange, the Polish delegate to UNO, observed at the meeting of the Atomic Energy Commission : "No temporary advantage, by whomsoever held, will prevail against the will of the people."

World Food Surpluses

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, member of the Indian Food Delegation to the Food and Agricultural Organisations Conference at Copenhagen and the Economic Adviser to the Food Department of the Government of India, who arrived at Karachi, reviewed the work done by the Indian delegates at the various conferences in Canada, Denmark and Holland. He said :

> The conference at Copenhagen marked a new step forward in the direction of taking concerted world action for raising nutritional levels of peoples all over the world and also of ensuring the prosperity and success of the farmers and agricultural workers of the world. Whereas the Food and Agricultural Organisation has hitherto been merely an advisory agency, this conference has now accepted the need for the creation of an international executive machinery for the purpose of facilitating maximisation of production, equitable distribution and stabilisation of prices.
>
> The nations of the world are now agreed that there should be some organisation like the World Food Board or whatever else it may be called, which will have the power to bring about its objectives. The conference has not discussed the details but has set up a preparatory commission for the creation of the world food executive organisation. The recommendations will then be placed before the first conference of the Food and Agricultural Organisations and subsequently transmitted to the United Nations Assembly.
>
> We in India are interested in meeting our needs both by our efforts to increase production and by supplementing our resources by imports.
>
> Referring to the Quebec Conference Dr. Rao claimed that it was he who first brought forward to the attention of the conference the need for linking up the utilisation of surpluses with the satisfaction of the nutritional needs of the lower levels of consumption. His suggestion, that the principle of the 'stamp plan' followed in the United States of making surplus food available to the lower income groups at special low prices should be extended to international realm, received endorsement of the committee on marketing at Quebec and subsequently by the plenary session.
>
> At the Hague, he further developed this point and the committee after long deliberations agreed unanimously to the two-price system—one applies to supplies and sales through proper commercial channels and the other through non-commercial and presumably Government channels to meet the needs of the lower income classes.
>
> Dr. Rao suggested that the world food surpluses should be disposed of at concessional rates to the countries with low nutritional levels.
>
> Dr. Rao then referred to the discussion the Indian delegation had at the Hague about the economic implication of world food survey and said that they strongly objected to the manner in which optimum targets had been set for countries with better nutritional levels and intermediate optimum targets for countries with low nutritional levels. The low levels in the countries should be raised by increasing world food production and distributing it equitably with a special emphasis on the needs of countries poor in nutritional standards. At Copenhagen, it has been agreed that the next world food survey should contain maximum optimum for all countries in the world.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Food Situation

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Minister of the National Government, in his broadcast on the food situation said that the over-all picture, although gloomy, is not altogether dark. He said, "Our people have a knack of facing up to calamities which may well break others. We all have to make a pull, a strong and determined pull and we shall have passed to determine the crisis. We refuse to be defeated. Courage, discipline, fellow-feeling and a little sacrifice by each for all and by all for each cannot fail to see us through." He pointed out that there were only three ways of facing up to this calamity. The first was to increase production of crops which could be grown between the major harvests, the second was to secure assistance from abroad and the third was to distribute the incidence of shortage as evenly and equitably as possible.

Regarding increase of production and inadequacy of imports, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

> As regards the increase of production, to aid which is the function of the Department of Agriculture, it will suffice to say, for the present, that encouragement was given both by Central and Provincial Governments to grow short-term crops, subsidies were granted to cultivators and concessions were given in the form of revenue remissions, water supply and free manure. It was, however, not expected that these subsidiary crops could really break the edge of the scarcity except to a very limited extent in local areas.
>
> In our efforts to secure adequate imports of grain from abroad we have had a series of disappointments. That was inevitable in a world desperately short of food. At the time of the visit of the Indian delegation to Washington, the world's wheat demands were 20 million tons against supplies of 12 million tons and the demands for rice for the second quarter only were 2 million tons against supplies of 523,000 tons. It has, therefore, never been possible for India to get a quota from abroad sufficient to meet her demands ; nor has it been possible for her to get firm allocations of wheat or wheat substitutes, such as maize. The International Emergency Food Council has had to pro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ceed month by month programming such supplies as became available. Of rice we were allocated for the second quarter of the year 146,000 tons against a demand for 500,000 tons and for the second half of the year the allocation was 270,000 tons against a demand for 700,000 tons. Against the minimum import demand of 40 lakh tons India has till now received only 12½ lakh tons of which only 173,000 tons is rice.

A major development has been the seamen's strike in U.S.A. Even if the news of the end of the strike is true, already we have lost many days which in terms of tonnage means a short-fall in October arrivals of nearly 100,000 tons, if not more. We had been hoping for large imports of maize and other grains from Argentine and to expedite matters we had sent out a Mission headed by Dewan Chaman Lal. In spite of the efforts made by the Mission, export licences have not been made available yet for all our purchases and the short-fall in arrivals against our previous calculations in October will be no less than 60,000 tons. The diversion of three ships by U.N.R.R.A. carrying about 24,000 tons of wheat, which was announced a few days ago, would have been a great help to us if they arrived in time, but the seamen's strike will affect the loading of these ships also. Again, supplies of rice from Brazil have been delayed. The supply position in the Far East has also deteriorated. We had been allotted 207,500 tons by the International Emergency Food Council from Burma and Siam for the second half of this year. We now estimate that we are not likely to get more than 137,000 tons out of this allocation, which will thus result in a short fall of 70,000 tons. The short fall from Siam is due largely to internal difficulties and lack of sufficient facilities of transport some of which we have tried to meet. On the day that I took over office I had the opportunity of impressing upon the Siamese delegation who had come to sign an agreement for a loan from India of five crores of rupees, the serious situation in this country and the absolute necessity of Siam speeding up her exports to the utmost. The prospects from Burma are a little better than estimated a few months ago but as the supplies from Siam, Burma and Indo-China are treated as a pool by the International Emergency Food Council, the excess supply from Burma will not all come to us. There has been one source to which we have been looking, and that is the offer of the Indonesian Republic to give us 5 lakh tons of rice or 7 lakh tons of paddy. The formal agreement with the Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands East Indies Government was concluded last month. The main problem there has been to move the rice from the interior to rail-heads and to the ports. For this coal and motor trucks are required. India could supply these. But some difficulties have arisen and we are not able to take full advantage of the generous offer and our supplies from that source so far have been inconsiderable and may not be very appreciable in the critical months ahead.

With the failure of crops in our own country, short allocations from abroad, a heavy short fall in the arrival of these allocations, difficulties of transport in Siam and Java and non-materialisation of expected imports from Argentine, India is faced with a grave situation within the next two or three months. This can be met, as Rajen Babu points out, only to limited extent by imports from outside. We must realise that we have to depend mainly on ourselves to prevent a breakdown. This we *can* do and *must* do. We must each and all be prepared to share whatever we have with others. We need all the skill and determination we can muster to produce more and save whatever we can, remembering that every little addition to the common pool is going to make a difference to the common man in distress. We must refuse to be defeated. Famine must be averted.

Development of Indian Civil Aviation

Syed Ali Zaheer, Member for Communications in the National Government, in a Press statement, has explained the new Government's Civil Aviation policy. He said, "In a country of the size and magnitude of India, civil aviation can play a very important part in the communications system. Unfortunately, the progress of civil aviation, due to various reasons, has not been as fast as it should have been. The popularity which even the limited growth of civil aviation has gained so far, proves clearly that its value is fully appreciated by the people of this country."

He discussed the constitution and work of the Air Transport Licensing Board, the question of nationalisation of air transport and the co-ordination of national aviation policy with that of the provinces and Indian States. The Communication Member said :

"So far as Government is aware no fewer than about 19 private companies have been floated in order to take part in the civil aviation of the country. The authorized capital, though not the issued capital, of these companies comes to about Rs. 40 crores. Applications for various routes by some of these companies are pending for disposal. There was a general feeling in the country that the Air Transport Licensing Board, which had been constituted, was not broad-based, as it had a majority of officials on it. The first step, therefore, which the Government took was to change the constitution of this Board. The Cabinet has agreed and the licensing rules are being amended.

"This Board will now consist of three members including the Chairman, who is a judge of a High Court. It must, however, be emphasized that Government attaches very considerable importance to the maintenance of high technical standards in civil aviation. Close co-operation between the Civil Aviation Directorate and the Air Transport Licensing Board will have to be maintained in order to ensure technical efficiency. It is not Government's intention to put unnecessary obstacles in the way of the working of the various operators who may be desirous of operating on various routes, nor does it intend to create a monopoly in favour of one or a few of the operating companies. It is Government's intention to put no restrictions on various companies obtaining their machines from any source which may be available to them or in the purchase of serviceable machines in India.

"The allocation of various routes to particular companies will be the function of the Board, whom the companies will have to satisfy in respect of their financial resources and technical organization. On these considerations and on the basis of sound economic operations it might not be possible for all the companies now floated to secure a licence. Permission to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

grant of a licence and this has been made clear to the promoters.

"A stage has been reached when it may be expected that various companies will be able to work without any subsidy from Government, which will continue to provide and keep properly equipped landing grounds, wireless stations, meteorological facilities, etc. for the use of the aeroplanes operating on various routes."

The question of nationalisation of air services has already been raised. The present policy of the Government on this question is to allow private companies, licensed by the Air Transport Licensing Board, to operate the internal routes. In coming to this conclusion Government has been greatly influenced by the consideration that its machinery is not as yet so highly developed as to enable it to undertake actual operations in aviation. There may be doubt as to the desirability of this step at this early stage of the development of civil aviation. The policy adopted at the time of promoting railways by permitting the construction and operation of railways by companies with the Government retaining the right of acquiring them after a certain number of years may profitably be followed here as well. This will provide ready outlet for the investment and utilisation of private wealth. No opportunity should be lost to break the shyness of Indian capital to be employed on profitable undertakings. If the airways are operated under strict supervision of the Government there is no harm in staying nationalisation for some time. The progress of civil aviation can be achieved more by permitting private companies to operate on internal routes under strict Government licensing and supervision.

With regard to the external aid services, Syed Ali Zaheer said :

Government is at present carrying on negotiations with a number of foreign countries who want their services to operate to and across India. Government's policy in this respect will be a liberal one. At the same time it will have to safeguard the vital interests of the country and interests of Indian operators. Government hopes to obtain from these countries reciprocal operational right.

The external services will naturally begin by operating to the neighbouring countries lying towards the east and the west of India, but there is no reason why India should not, within a very short interval, be able to establish air services going round the globe and operating to and across most of the countries of the world. The world is shrinking rapidly and unless India keeps pace with the developments which are going on in other countries in the field of aviation it will be left very far behind.

Dollar Pool and Indian Interests

Reviewing India's contribution to the Empire Dollar Pool, the Government of India has issued a Press Note explaining the Import policy from and outside the sterling areas. It is explained that barring certain modifications of policy and procedure, the Government expect that currency considerations will no longer hinder the rapid development of industry in India. During the war, the whole of the sterling area's holdings of foreign exchange were held in one pool in the custody of the Bank of England and the British Treasury. As the U.S. dollar was the most important foreign currency in this pool, this whole arrangement came to be known as the Empire Dollar Pool instead of the sterling area pool of foreign exchange. In the working of the pool, the individual Empire countries were given no specific allotments of the various foreign currencies which they were entitled to spend. This has reacted very hard on India, because although this country always held large dollar balances, she was prevented from utilising them in making purchases in the U.S. of essential commodities and machineries for civilian needs. It was the declared intention of the British Government, which controlled the pool, that the member country should itself be the judge of the essentiality of its own requirements. But in practice the agents of the British Government at New Delhi acted in a way which was beneficial to Britain and wholly detrimental to Indian interests.

Giving details of India's contribution to the Pool and describing the prospects of the post-war Dollar Fund, the Press Note says :

Since the beginning of the war up to the 31st March, 1946, India earned Rs. 405 crores worth of U.S.A. dollars and spent Rs. 240 crores, having a net surplus of Rs. 165 crores. Against this has to be set off the fact that India spent more than she earned, to the extent of Rs. 41 crores, of other hard currencies, namely, those of Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal. India's net contribution to the pool has, therefore, been about Rs. 114 crores till the close of the year 1945-46.

During the quarter ending June 1946 for which preliminary figures are now available, there has been a substantial net drawal by India on the pool, mainly on account of food imports and other payments on Government account. These figures must not, however, be taken as our share" in the dollar pool for what we can spend is strictly speaking, not related to nor limited by what we have contributed.

The public are aware that there is a fund known as the post-war dollar fund to which the pool has contributed 20 million for the year 1944. In the year 1943-44 His Majesty's Government agreed, in view of our large dollar contributions to the Empire dollar pool and of our willingness to agree to give reciprocal aid to the United States, to put at our disposal a sum of $20 million in a separate fund to be utilised after the conclusion of hostilities with Japan for restocking and capital expenditure in the U.S.A. All expenditure for these purposes was to be met from the fund and not till this fund was exhausted, were we to ask for dollars from the pool for the financing of such expenditure. This figure of $20 million was a percentage of our dollar earnings on trade account in the year 1944 and H.M.G. agreed that they would credit the fund with similar sum, up to a maximum of $20 million, for the year 1945 if dollar earnings on the same basis for that year were on the same order as for the year 1944. In respect of 1945, H.M.G. have just intimated an allocation of $20 million. It is generally believed that this fund represents the total resources in U.S. dollars which India possesses for the purchase of capital goods. Such a belief is, however, erroneous. The limit of our purchases is not necessarily the amount in the fund for we have the right to draw on the pool for all capital goods the import of which we regard as legitimate. As against the $20 million float a company does not with it carry a guarantee of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

allotment, the Government of India have issued sanctions for the import of capital goods, the purchase of ships and for other industrial purposes up to $28 million.

Future Indian Trade Policy and Interest of Workers

In formulating any plans for the expansion of external or internal trade, the Government would always keep in mind the interests not only of commerce and industry but also of industrial workers and agriculturists—thus declared Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Commerce Member of the Interim Government. He was addressing a meeting of the Trade Policy Committee in New Delhi. Among the points which emerged in the meeting of this Committee were :

(1) If highly developed countries desire free access to raw materials, economically backward countries should have a reciprocal free access to capital goods and technological skill.
(2) Indians should have equal rights to establish business in foreign countries such as U.S.A. whose nationals are given similar rights in India.
(3) Unfair trade practices by which highly developed countries discriminate against the produce or trade of less developed countries should be exposed and put an end to.

Mr. Bhabha said that no commitments would be made at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Economic and Social Council which India would attend. Before the commitment stage was reached, Government would consult all shades of opinion in the country and the interests of labour and agriculturist, as the primary producers, would receive special attention.

Referring to various suggestions made by the Committee, Mr. Bhabha said that Government did not underestimate the important role of internal trade in India's economy, but considered that there should be an integral development of both external and internal trade. As regards a long-term tariff policy Mr. Bhabha agreed that India's policy must be determined by our own interests and not by the trend of discussions in these international meetings.

But I don't see how, at this early stage, before our plans of development are ready and the needs and requirements of the future are known we can commit ourselves to any specific long-term tariff policy. Our immediate task is to clarify our trade objectives and to ensure that no international commitments are made by India which would prevent us from adopting a suitable trade policy at any time, rather than to determine finally the specific measures we are going to adopt.

As conditions change, our trade policy too will change, for trade—as I cannot too often repeat—will not be regarded by us as an end in itself, but merely as a means—perhaps a very subordinate means—of furthering India's economic development as part of our larger plans for the promotion of the welfare of the Indian people."

Since this meeting, the Import policy of the new Government has been explained in a Press Note. The relevant portion of it is as follows :

Recent criticisms about the import control policy of Government have been based on two grounds ; first, that the administrative machinery for the grant of import licences was slow and inefficient and, secondly, that the strictness with which exchange control was administered made it very difficult for importers both of capital and of other goods to import them from outside the sterling area. With the altered conditions brought about by the termination of war, the Government of India have recently made a number of changes in the administration of import control with the result, they hope, that the procedure for obtaining import licences has been very considerably simplified and shortened. They have also adopted the policy of removing as many items as possible from the list of controlled items and of placing them on the open general licence for the sterling area. Other items have been placed on the universal open general licence which mean that these items may be imported freely from any source whether within or outside the sterling area. Items which can thus be decontrolled are continually under review and the list is gradually being increased.

The Government of India have also relaxed substantially the rigidity of exchange control and the two tests of essentiality and non-availability are now applied with more flexibility. Requirements are now held to be essential if they are necessary for the maintenance and development of the national economy or the maintenance and development of the standard of living and non-availability is determined with due reference to the quality, price and period of delivery of comparable articles in the sterling area. Further, the burden of proving non-availability has been shifted to Government from the importer so that it is now for Government to satisfy itself by its own enquiries whether goods required to be imported from outside the sterling area are available within it or not instead of, as heretofore, for the importer to prove that they were not so available. Another modification that has been introduced is that various currencies of the world have been guarded in the order of their difficulty and the tests of essentiality and non-availability are applied to imports with a decreasing degree of strictness in accordance with the comparative fasiness of the currency concerned. With these modifications of policy and procedure it is expected that currency considerations will no longer hinder that rapid development of industry in India.

In formulating the Indian trade policies under British auspices, India has been jockeyed into positions which were not suited to her own special position, on the plea of conformity with high-sounding international "principles" manufactured to suit industrially advanced countries like the U. K. and the U.S.A. It is a good sign that this is going to stop.

Health Development of India

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Health Member in the Interim National Government has given an assurance that while detailed plans for health development are to be prepared and carried out by the provincial governments, "the Interim Government will do all in their power to assist sound health development in India." Sir Shafaat was addressing the Conference of the Provincial Health Ministers convened in New

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Delhi. He said that the Interim Government proposed to implement the Bhore Committee's recommendations for setting up a committee to advise the government regarding the establishment of an All-India Institute for training and research, providing facilities in Calcutta for licentiates from all parts of India to take their M.B.B.S. degree and sending selected students abroad for training. A nursing college has been opened which would provide a course for a University degree in nursing. The Malaria Institute of India would be expanded. Legislation for pharmacy, dental and nursing professions would be undertaken. A Bureau was being set up to collect information regarding equipment of medical institutions and the question of collecting population and vital statistics was engaging Government's attention.

The Bhore Committee has done a great service in laying emphasis on the influence of conditions of living and environment on the health of the individual and the community. In Sir Shafaat's address, we find a new angle of vision. He has realised the full import of Bhore Committee's observation and instead of planning for the Indian people's health in terms of buildings, scholarships and research centres, has taken interest in all those government and social activities which promote health or might be used to promote it. Referring to the need for improvement of environmental hygiene and preventive measures stressed by the Committee, Sir Shafaat said :

> Even in some of the largest towns the sanitary organisation is notoriously inefficient, while in the rural areas there has been, in most provinces, no systematic attempt to improve sanitary conditions. If there is a question of priorities—and planning means priorities—I think all will agree that an active programme for the improvement of water supply and sanitation in our towns and villages is one of the most urgent of our jobs.
>
> In regard to preventive medicines, he said that science had placed within our reach powerful insecticides and drugs to fight diseases like malaria, the direct or indirect cause of tremendous mortality, and the means for effective application of the knowledge made available had to be found.
>
> It is only the outermost fringe of such public services and amenities as the country enjoys that occasionally comes within the orbit of the cultivator's daily life. Time has come for an effective programme to bring these benefits of modern medical science within the reach of the cultivator. He endorsed the Committee's proposal for the development of a district health organisation with a primary health centre for every 40,000 people, a thirty-bed hospital for every 2,00,000 and a secondary centre with a 200-bed hospital for each district.

We would have been glad to see him go deeper. In our opinion, it would be much better to develop the indigenous health centres and to equip them with modern appliances. For example, the rural midwives can be trained in modern methods. A midwife supplied from outside and appointed on a salary basis in a village health unit will certainly be much more costly. There are women in villages who are good midwives. To train and develop them would mean less cost to the people and a provision of employment to the rural folk. This can surely be done in collaboration with the Kasturba Memorial Trust.

Lack of funds has always been an excuse for holding up all nation-building projects. Pandit Nehru has answered this bureaucratic excuse in inaugurating the Conference. He said :

> If funds could be available for big wars, there was no reason why they should not be provided for to fight against ill-health, which was like the enemy form within and weakened the nation. No doubt, it was a gigantic task, but it was one of those urgent questions which had got to be attended to if we were to avoid situations like the aftermath of the Bengal famine.
>
> So far attention had been paid more to the towns whereas India lived in the villages. The producer of the country's wealth should be physically strong, and expenditure on him should not be grudged. It is necessary to concentrate the preventive health measures rather than on huge buildings for hospitals.

The Congress Exhibition

The Congress session at Meerut is drawing near. Among the several features of the annual meeting of Congressmen from all parts of the country will be an exhibition. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Gram Udyog Patrika,* advises the organisers as to how the exhibition should be conducted. These suggestions may profitably be utilised while organising smaller exhibitions on different occasions, specially during the winter season. Gandhiji writes :

> The Congress Session is likely to be held in the next two, three months and so naturally the question is asked what should the exhibition be like. If we want and believe that the villages should not only survive, but also become strong and flourishing, then the village perspective is the only correct view point.
>
> If this is true then in our exhibitions there can be no place for the glamour and pomp of the cities. There should be no necessity for games and other entertainments that belong to the cities. An exhibition should not become a *tamasha* nor a source of income, it should never become the advertizing medium for traders. No sales should be allowed there. Even khadi and village industry products should not be sold.
>
> An exhibition should be a medium of education, should be attractive and it should be such as to infuse in the villager the impulse to take to some industry or other. It should bring out the glaring defects and drawbacks in the present-day village life, and show methods to be adopted to set them right. It should also be able to indicate the extent of achievement in that direction ever since the idea of village uplift was sponsored. It should also teach how to make village life artistic.

Now let us see what an exhibition will be like if it is to conform to the above conditions.

(1) There should be two models of villages—one as is existing today and the other an improved one. The improved village will be clean all throughout. Its houses, its roads, its surroundings and its fields will be all clean. The condition of the cattle should also improve. Books, charts and pictures should be used to show what industries give increased income and how.

(2) It must show how to conduct the various

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

village industries, wherefrom to obtain the needed implements, how to make them. The actual working of each industry should be demonstrated. Along with this the following should also find place :

(*a*) Ideal village diet.
(*b*) Comparison between village industry and machine industry.
(*c*) Model lesson on rearing animals.
(*d*) Art section.
(*e*) Model of village latrine.
(*f*) Farmyard manure Vs. Chemical manure.
(*g*) Utilisation of hides, bones, etc., of animals.
(*h*) Village music, musical instruments, village dramas.
(*i*) Village games, village Akhadas and forms of exercise.
(*j*) Nai Talim.
(*k*) Village medicines.
(*l*) Village maternity home.

Subject to the policy enunciated in the beginning, this list may be further expanded. What I have indicated is by way of example only, it should not be taken to be exhaustive. I have not made any mention of the Charkha and other village industries as they are taken for granted. Without them the exhibition will be absolutely useless.

Treatment of Red Indians in America

Mr. Devere Allen, writing in the *Worldover Press*, gives a graphic account of a neglected island of oppression regarding which the Americans have probably never been aroused at all. He says :

A neglected people, forced to suffer poverty, illiteracy, and a colonial status, is herded on a kind of island, right in the mainland of the United States. The place is not far overseas but in Arizona and New Mexico. It is the Navajo Indian reservation. No fewer than 55,000 Indians live there. A few are well off. Most are terribly poor and in danger of becoming poorer. In 1940, the average, per capita income was $82 a month, which means that thousands hung close to the edge of disaster and some fell over. After a few wartime years when things were better because of temporary earnings, they are now back where they started from.

They are worse off than then, as a matter of fact. Their land has been overgrazed. They had only half an acre of farmland apiece, and because they have the fecundity of a primitive people the population has gone up 12 per cent in six years. That $82 a month came from government work, to the tune of 30 per cent, not now available. The Office of Indian Affairs has to help some with special gifts, but funds in that quarter are low, and last year only 740 Navajos got this aid.

More than 80 per cent can neither read nor write. Only a handful speak English. Those living on the fringe of white towns get firewater easily, and use it no more wisely than in the old days of the pioneers. Only one in four is provided with a school to go to. Out of 49 government day schools, 19 are shut for lack of funds. The U. S. Congress is tight with Indians. Those quaint hogans, so interesting to the tourists, have dirt floors and no light ; if the Indians prefer them in some cases, they could be taught the advantages of good housing if the Americans really tried.

The Americans break their own laws when it comes to Red Indians. In 1937, the Federal Government adopted the citizenship act which gives citizenship to all Indians. The social security law applies to all political subdivisions, and the reservation is divided into precincts and counties where white residents can vote, though from the right of suffrage the Red Indians are barred. Yet though required to by law, neither New Mexico nor Arizona grants social security welfare to Indians.

Some states are poor, so don't blame these two entirely. Neither has a large population, nor great financial resources. They could hardly finance a real welfare programme without Federal grants ; but why don't they ask for help, and pitch in and try to do a worthy job ? The Red Indians are, after all, a tourist attraction, and New Mexico alone, it is estimated, received $63,000,000 in tourist money in the last year before the war. Couldn't the red man have a little slice ?

Islands of oppression, anywhere in the world, command American sympathy. Let Britain neglect a colony, Russia ride over a nearby state, or Uncle Sam fail in Puerto Rico : a gratifying number of sensitive people in America manifest dissatisfaction and often bring about reforms. But this scandalous mistreatment of 55,000 people in the U.S.A. seems to have escaped notice.

Bengal Riots and the Congress

Bengal today is witnessing the fruition of the fiendish plans of British Tory Officialdom allied with the Muslim reactionaries. During the course of the last twenty years almost every vantage point in the Executive, Police and Control organisations of Bengal had been filled by them with reactionary Muslim officials whose main qualification is their allegiance to the Muslim League. Strongly entrenched on all sides in this fashion and fortified with the British gift of absolute majority in the Bengal Assembly, the League has had no hindrance in letting hell loose in Bengal. Calcutta went through it in August, and the position today is as critical, from the point of view of public confidence, as it was a month back. The districts now are smouldering in the East. Indeed, the news of a major conflagration is filtering through the official news blackout as these notes are going to the press.

The Muslim League through its spokesmen like Messrs. Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and Ghaznafar Ali, has been openly holding out threats that civil war on a still larger scale will break out if their blackmail demands be not fulfilled. But we hope this will not deter the Congress from resolutely proceeding on the path to complete independence. Bengal has passed through forty years of official repression and savage communal oppression. She has survived with hardly any help or even sympathy from the sister provinces, indeed on the contrary. If necessary, Bengal must make her own way through hell, so that, the rest of India may live in freedom and in safety. The Congress must be prepared for the worst, that is civil war, and hope for the best in the shape of the return of sanity to the League. Lack of preparations as in 1942 must not be explained away. Indeed, there will be no time for explanations, for the times are critical to the point of being perilous in the extreme. No homily is called for now, only action. We would reiterate our point and say that the Congress must not show any weakness and use the case of Bengal as an excuse for the same.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SPANISH ISSUE

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The Spanish issue is threatening to explode again, and it is inevitable more or less since several of the present governments of Europe are dominated by the more politically conscious elements, arrayed more pronouncedly against fascism and who are not likely to leave the Franco regime to carry on undisturbed like a bacilli incubator. A battle has raged within and without the U. N. O., but it has not yet been possible to establish "officially" that the existence of this fascist power endangers peace. This prolonged battle and the decisive attitude of France especially in closing the frontier as an answer to the execution of ten Republicans has afforded Franco both the opportunities as well as the occasion to try and entrench himself more firmly. Nevertheless winning the battle of Spain is decisive for France. Alvarez Del Vayo, who was one of the Ministers in the old Negrin Government of Republican Spain, says in a recent report on Spain : "Franco is stronger than he was six months ago. The explanation is simple. The Spanish dictator has stopped taking allied statements about his regime seriously . . ." Although a prolonged wordy battle between the various delegates to the U.N.O. has been published in the press, the various reports that build up a powerful case against Franco, have seen little light of day. A few of the following facts would serve to throw light on the conditions obtaining in the Spain of today. There are still half a million prisoners rotting in jails. The world outside is deliberately misled and confused by a peculiar ruse of Franco's, under which he releases a few hundreds under what is called amnesty. Then after a short interval the same are arrested again on the pretext of having violated some regulation or another of the hundreds in force today. The recent wave of executions at the Alcala de Henares prison was provoked by such a silly incident as would have hardly been noted anywhere beyond calling perhaps for a reprimand. One of the prisoners was punished for a slight infringement of the rules by having his head shaved. This was retorted by the others by all getting their heads shaved. For this they were to be punished by refusing interview to every tenth man. These interviews were most precious. But as one man, the prisoners answered this uncalled-for provocation by all refusing interviews. Then followed the mass executions.

Black-marketing is one of the most lucrative sources of revenue the Franco regime has built up. The food which the farmers are made to forcibly disgorge by the Government at a low price, it sells back to the people at fabulous prices in the black-market. This naturally causes acute scarcity and runs up the prices of all foodstuffs even in the white market. Fifty per cent of the revenue is absorbed to keep the military machinery intact. For, the army is one of Franco's main props, abetted by five kinds of security police. Traditionally reactionary, the army has grown more rigid and arrogant, preened and pampered by Franco. Seven hundred thousand strong, it is the largest in Continental Western Europe, though few know it. The Falange, the Fascist Party, is the political arm but has no mass base. It rests on the big vested interests who want to prevent a mass revolution and a drive back to the old literal regime. But part of Franco's security also comes from the heavy pall of weariness which has settled on the people—the aftermath of a prolonged war and continued repression, and above all the dread of a resurgence of another civil war. It must not be forgotten that as has been pointed out by Del Vayo, Franco's power today rests mainly on the uncertainties and confused purposes of the democratic countries whose foreign policies are still tainted with past appeasements, in spite of the oft-repeated declarations of the war objectives to end fascism. It is no doubt directed partly by the growing fear of Russia just as in the past. Even the shattering experiences of a colossal world war have failed to teach these wavering powers that the challenge of Russia can be best met by the strengthening of the vital forces of democracy and not the arsenal and base of fascism. For totalitarianism, no matter whether of black, green or red tint, can be liquidated only by the gathering strength of democracy. However, the Republican ranks proved no better which is even a more tragic fact and it served to provide the fitful policies of the Allies ample scope to patronise Franco and give him an undisturbed sway over his kingdom.

Certain of the Spanish factional groups continued their customary campaigns against each other and against the exile government unabated even in exile, if anything with greater virulence. Even the fact that most of the big powers were still either lukewarm or indifferent to the fate of Spain, seemed to make no or little impression on these factions to whom their own petty little importance towered over that of the Nation's fate. Thus while several European exile governments and resistance partisans could get complete or quasi recognition from the Allied governments, the Spanish Republican Government got completely left out in the cold. On the contrary, members of the exile government were under a sort of a cloud, so meticulous were the Allies for a long time not to offend neutral friend Franco. Thus Dr. Negrin, the Spanish Republican Premier, found it no easy matter to move from England to America or carry on open propaganda for his cause. In the same way at the San Francisco Conference, when the first official steps were taken to present the case of the Spanish Republican Government to the governments of the United Nations and letters were addressed to the four Chairmen of the Conference, had not discordant notes been struck and the exile government been allowed to speak with one voice, the result might have been different. The acclamation with which the Mexican delegation's resolution excluding the Franco Government from the World Security Council was received, was undoubtedly an indication and promise

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of a more definite and direct policy that might have led to a practical decision to sponsor the Republican Government appeal at least by those countries which had either never recognised Franco or had broken with him, which would in practice have meant granting recognition to this Republican Government. Such an event might have set up a very different chain of events from those which have now emerged. The obvious disunity in the Republican camp prejudiced even those who were favourably disposed and strengthened the hands of those who wanted to evade the issue, with the result even those, especially the South American and other smaller countries that wanted to take some positive step, were successfully prevented. The logical step for the United Nations to take, that of breaking off relations with Franco, was never taken. These divisions provided the big powers an easy pretext for postponing action. After all they could always frown and occasionally growl to tell the world that they do not really smile on Franco ! Thus the appeal of the Spanish Republican Government protesting against the United Nations' decision to treat Spain as a neutral and preventing Dr. Negrin's government from participating in the World Security Conference, went unheeded. In vain the exile government pleaded :

> "Such a decision ignores the fact that during three years and before any other European people, the people of Spain fought alone against German-Italian totalitarianism in defence of its independence and its democratic institutions ; it ignores also the fact that neither the Spanish people nor their legitimate representatives ever yielded or gave up the fight . . . In stating our solemn protest, we take into account that two of the inviting powers and a considerable number of participating powers maintain releations with the regime of force established in our country by the rebels as a consequence of an internal aggression provoked by Mussolini and Hitler, in a form and under conditions identical with those used by Fascism in its later attacks on other countries."

The flutter in San Francisco had had its repercussions on the Franco regime. The Generalissimo set about a frantic reshuffling of his cabinet to stave off a complete collapse by a change of facade, and ministers like Arrese, Secretary of the Falange, were removed together with an attempt to sheer off the notorious Falangists who rather struck the international anti-Franco elements in the eye and stank in their nostrils. In fact the move seems to have been to show to the world that a new regime had been created to sort of nullify the San Francisco resolution, whilst in reality Franco was creating the new cabinet in his own imagination if only camouflaged. This made it imperative for the Republicans to act and act quickly. In spite of the endless obstacles and delays in his path that Dr. Negrin encountered, thanks to the dubious attitude of England and America, he eventually reached Mexico where the majority of the exile Republican Government people were to make one supreme effort to bring about some decisive action to offset Franco and his new tactics. But Dr. Negrin found his task immeasurably more arduous than expected.

No doubt the recent developments in Spain provided ample incentive to the Republicans to overcome their differences, but the personal animosities and differences which had sort of simmered and kept coming to the boil during the exile, had already created an atmosphere that was bound to make the solution of even pressing problems extremely difficult. A Government created under such circumstances was bound to find it difficult to count upon the support of all parties and organisations, several of which had, during their sojourn abroad, split and sub-divided into contending factions. The authority of the existing cabinet as well as the Parliament had suffered considerably as a result of attempts by some of the Republican leaders to use political institutions for their own factional manoeuvres. But obviously such a situation could not be allowed to continue now that the Republican issue had been forced to the point of imminent decision. A regime had to be organised to seize the earliest moment to direct the fight inside the country while sponsoring the cause outside. So it was a question of whipping up the largest measure of support from the Republican forces.

Dr. Negrin was of the firm opinion that whatever the changes, they should be made as far as possible constitutionally, for he felt that adherence to the original Republican constitution would strengthen the government's position at home and abroad. For this purpose, two things needed to be done, convening of the Parliament, the Cortes, and the election of the president, even if it be a provisional one, for after Senor Azana's resignation in 1939, the old regime had been left without a president.

Twenty-six parties and organisations sent their representatives to a preliminary meeting designed to bring the various sections together which in itself was an achievement. *After three weeks* of skilful negotiations, a formal procedure was arrived at whereby all the institutions of the Republic in exile became operative. The Cortes was summoned and its former president Senor Martinez Barrio, re-elected, whereby he also became the head now of this Republican State. Dr. Negrin in strict conformity with parliamentary procedure placed in the hands of the president the resignation of his government. And now started a regular whirlpool and dizzy political eddies and all the pent up factional bickerings came surging to the surface. It was, however, obvious from the first that dangerous manoeuvres by the rightist elements were afoot to cripple the old guard under Dr. Negrin and destroy the old policy of resistance. These elements seemed to have completely overlooked the fact that the arduous and complicated task of restoring the Republic which faced them just now, demanded that the Prime Minister be in a position to direct a policy in all its aspects, that national and international policies could not be separated, nor could the support of some nations be enlisted without guarantees of a national policy that would permit re-establishment of the Republic without unnecessary violence. However all these considerations seemed to have weighed less with some of the factions than their own group or factional interests. It is not uncommon to find the more sincere and disciplined groups giving way to the less patriotic in order to what is felt to be the need to tide over an exigency, for while the loyalty and the support of the former can always be counted upon unconditionally, that of the latter cannot, so the finer elements are sacrificed to the grosser at the altar of Exigency weakening the cause and the entire

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

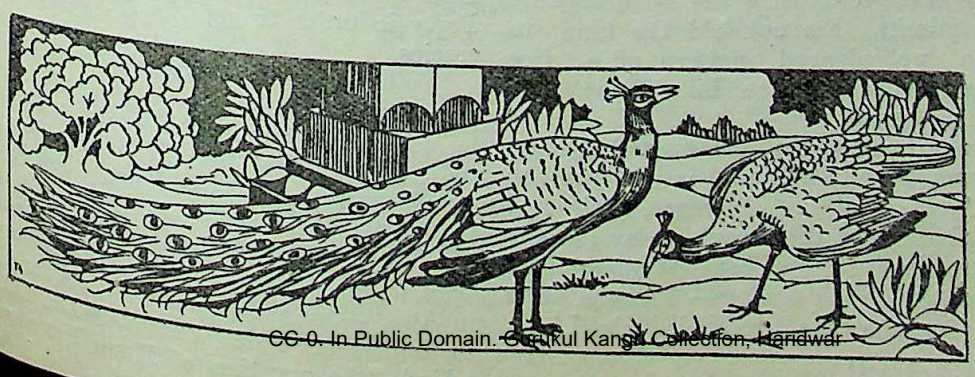
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

objective by doing so thereby. Thus President Barrio called upon Senor Jose Giral, one of the leaders of the Right, to form the new cabinet yielding to the rightist minority in the hope of preserving unity. Immediately the old threads snapped and a new situation arose. For it was obvious from the first that unity was impossible. The agreement stands today but without the workable part of it. Several groups, including the powerful Socialist Party, the U.G.I., the strongest Trade Union Organisation, an important section of the Left Republicans (party founded by ex-President Azana), the Federal Party, the Basque Nationalist Action, the Asturian Workers' Alliance, decided to stay out of the newly formed government asserting their joint responsibility for the decision. They rebuked Senor Giral at the same time for playing the same game as the enemies of the Republic during the war and explained that the reason for their decision was their belief that "only a strong policy of resistance" such as was maintained by the last Republican regime could secure the establishment of a democratic rule in the country —not a factional partisan one as now set up. They went further and asked Dr. Negrin not to accept any office under this cabinet for as they pointed out pertinently: "Dr. Negrin's political significance would have been neutralised, had his name appeared side by side with those of the persons now in the cabinet—very honourable men but some of them representing a policy utterly different from and even contrary to what we believe indispensable at the moment." This makes it abundantly clear that the decision for staying out has come from political differences. not personal or factional hostility, that while they will continue to remain loyal to this government, they do not see their way to assuming any responsibility for its policies. But as has been pointed out, it is an agreement but not workable. And although Giral has now proclaimed the decision of his cabinet to act, the cabinet itself has failed to evoke the necessary enthusiasm to carry the fight out, even though a few of the Left elements have agreed to join him now and Negrin has publicly pledged his support.

Internationally too the Giral Cabinet's prospects are far from bright. Up till now his government has in the main remained unrecognised, for apart from Mexico whose recognition was assured in any case even before the new cabinet was formed only the smallest of the South American countries, Panama, Venezuela and Guatemala have extended recognition. Senor Giral's friends who had banked on a quick-sure success because of their sober moderate views, a faint anti-Soviet flavour, have so far met with coolness all over and London and Washington seem more distant than ever. Herbert Mathews, the press-man cabling from London reported, "No government without Dr. Negrin and the Left groups can receive world-wide recognition." Nor has Paris taken cover under any ambiguous silence. It has come out in frank but polite terms through its spokesman, Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault that the French Government is in no hurry to recognise a Government not fully representative of all the Republican parties, if the Giral 'non-intervention,' the ugly symbol still flies high. Though France was for decisive action, she has feared to act and risk offending the United States to whom she is looking hungrily for a two-billion dollar loan—she dare not even bring the issue before the Security Council. It is Poland that does it, but it is unable to convince England and America that Spain is a threat to peace ! For with their tongues in their cheeks these powers demand proofs. The ghosts of 1936 haunt the world again. The evidence would only prove what everybody knew. The 'Democracies' had, however, to *say* something in place of action. So in the same antediluvian method, the three issued a note expressing a hope that "Patriotic and liberal-mindel Spaniards may soon find the means to bring about a peaceful withdrawal of Franco, the abolition of Falange, the establishment of an interim or care-taker Government . . ." It skipped hastily over a vague threat to sever diplomatic relations and ended up with a pious assurance (which was hardly necessary) that "there is no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain."

All this paper indictment was just so much puffing and blowing and did not get anybody anywhere. "God is with me," said Franco, "and those God helps along never fail to win." Franco counted as much on the rivalry between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers to enable him to keep his victory, as on his God. He evidently counts equally on his own ability to outbluff the democracies until this rivalry between the three Big Powers rises to the pitch of an open War when God will once again help him to sidle up to the Anglo-Saxon powers as one of their ardent and devoted allies, ready to resume the holy crusade against Russia.

In the meantime the stranglehold over the nation's regimented, venally exploited economy and social life continues—wealth and want keep spinning ever farther. The unfilled dugouts of the civil war house the jobbers and the hungry, and the landless sprawl over the vast estates, like outcasts.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I MEET LIN YUTANG

By S. CHANDRASEKHAR, M.A., PH.D.,
New York City

"No matter who is responsible for the idea of Pakistan, I am opposed to the division of India," emphatically declared Lin Yutang, Chinese author and philosopher, to my question concerning the fate and future of India, in a recent interview in his apartment in New York.

"At that rate, we would have to dissect China into a Confucian China, a Christian China, and a Moslem China!"

Dr. Lin, author of such widely read and best selling books as *The Wisdom of China and India, My Country and My People, The Importance of Living, With Tears and Laughter,* and currently, *Vigil of a Nation,* camouflages his wit and piercing observations behind a serene countenance and round-rimmed spectacles. Despite his extensive studies in Europe and America—he is a graduate of Harvard and Leipzig Universities—he continues to see things, he claims, from a Chinese point of view.

"It is my personal opinion that the British have created Pakistan by harping on it, encouraging it, and publicizing it, while on the other hand, they have minimized and hushed all efforts of other leaders toward unity." This was before the British Cabinet Mission decided against Pakistan and announced their plan for a united free India.

Some time ago, Dr. Lin had a brief stay in India where he met Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and Prof. Radhakrishnan.

"Oh these Indian names are so difficult," he smiled apologetically as he stumped over the last one. "The Professor is perhaps India's foremost intellectual. We talked of many things and I came away agreeing with everything he said! His powerful mind struck me as clear and original."

To Dr. Lin, Democracy is a hard thing to learn, both for the rulers and for the ruled. "It implies the ability of the majority to rule," he explained, "and the ability of the minority to criticize and abide by the majority." Any Indian unable to subjugate self-interest and religious differences as a price for freedom is not a true patriot, he declared with fervor. "Hindus and Moslems should get together to obtain freedom first."

I asked Lin Yutang what his answer would be to those adolescent imperialists like Churchill who deplored India's independence, fearing she is "not ready for it." India, he admits, has not had the time to develop along the well-planned pattern of a free enterprise in a democracy at peace. Like China, she is passing through a transition.

"But she has no time to lose," he warned. Everything must be planned and sped up into a general, national program." He did not, however, advocate rebellion. An immediate revolution would delay chances of progressive and orderly development. It would lead to the imprisonment of Indian leaders—"and you can't help your country from prisons," reminded Dr. Lin.

II

Lin Yutang, born in Changchow, China, in 1895, early age through his father who, before becoming a minister in the American Reformed Church Mission, sold bamboo-shoots and rice to the local prisons. Educated at mission schools and St. John's College in Shanghai, Lin thought of becoming a minister but found himself unable to accept certain religious precepts. He calls himself "happily a pagan."

Following his graduation, Lin taught English at Tsinghua College, the American Boxer Indemnity College. He later married a girl of a mission family. He pays her his greatest compliment of a "perfect housewife!" The Lins have three daughters, Adet, Anor and Meimei—all of them young and already successful novelists and writers.

After receiving his M.A. degree from Harvard University and his Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig, in Germany, Lin returned to China to join the faculty of the Peking National University. Because of his non-"non-violent" participation in student demonstrations, Dr. Lin was classified as a "radical" and spent many months hiding when his name was blacklisted.

When rebellion broke loose in China, Dr. Lin joined the new Wuhan government as Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But he soon discovered that while he "liked revolutions" he could not say the same of all revolutionaries. He quit politics when he discovered, "I was vastly better at minding my own business than that of others." Since then he has been resident in this country, devoting his time entirely to writing.

III

Of the civil strife in China today, Dr. Lin has much to say. He is bitter toward the communists in China. If they want to be a political power, Dr. Lin contends, they should first give up a separate army and not carry on an armed rebellion.

"The Reds won't come out and say they are for communism," he complained. "They try to confuse democratic opinion by saying they are democrats. This communistic strategy is practised in all countries" and he gave as example the communistic party revolt in Azerbaijan province of Iran. The Communist Party in Iran goes under the name of the Democratic Party in order to get the sympathy of Western democracies.

What were his feelings toward Indian communists? Not too cordial.

"Indian communists are all wrong. They ought to fight for political freedom first, see what it is the people want, and then have their own party in a democratic set-up."

We discussed Attlee's Labor Government and what part it could play in this post-war world, particularly in Asia,"—but judging how it has handled the situation in Indonesia, I am despair," said Dr. Lin. "I hope," he added, "the question of Hong Kong will be re-opened by the Chinese Government. And I hope the British

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ation peacefully and strengthen goodwill between ... two governments."

...World War II has very evidently been a fight for ... imperialism, not principles,—"everyone knows ... admitted Lin. "As Huxley put it, and as ...ill planned it, all Asiatic countries are in a ...ce between colonial and communist imperialism. ...t leads to war." He sank back into his armchair ...ddly, with the remark :

..."But I have given up educating blockheads."

...I asked him if he thought the United Nations ...anisation was the answer to the world's ills. Dr. Lin ...k his head.

..."The big powers killed the United Nations ...anisation before its birth by the veto power, by ...sing to let it become a truly democratic organiza... ...with all nations as equals before law and justice."

...There was so much I could ask and discuss with ...Yutang—dealing with personal matters his likes ...dislikes as well. He is like a suppressed volcano, ...bbling within. He himself admits his interests are ...st catholic, "from literature to electric shavers, ...m atoms to pretty girls" and his ambition still is ...invent the "best Chinese typewriter," which I believe ...has almost completed, though I do not know about ...e commercial possibilities of such a typewriter.

What about the United States and her role in the ...airs of the East ?—I asked.

Americans, Dr. Lin is convinced, are thoroughly ...nfused by Chinese politics. What America can do is ...o promote unity in China under Chiang Kai Shek and ...ot "become involved in an internal Chinese civil ...r."

As for India, Lin Yutang is struck by the simi...rities between his country and India, particularly in ...e "helpless frustration among the people" regarding ...e political situation. He is certain that in a re...onstructed, free Asia, India and China can get ...ogether.

"Once India overthrows the British, she will learn ...ot to look to England as the only civilized country ...n the world. India has the splendid leadership of ...Gandhi and Nehru, no matter what the West may say," ...concluded Lin Yutang. "All they ask is that they be ...given a chance to solve their own problem. But India ...cannot solve her internal problem unless she has her ...political freedom !"

As far as China is concerned, Lin is happy that ...China along with the Allies, particularly the United ...States, has emerged victorious from the long struggle ...when she fought Japan almost single-handed for ...a while. He was happy over the transformation. ...According to Lin, the seven years of war that ...ended last year, but not conclusively (for the ...Communist trouble is still there), has changed ...China from an Open Door country to a Front Porch ...country. The Open Door policy meant that the door ...of China was to be kept open for anybody to go in at ...any time of day, like a house without an owner, and ...if there was an owner, it was not his business to ...inquire about the visitors, who the visitors were, what ...they came for and what they did inside when they ...entered the door. Now the owner has returned. China ...has reached maturity. Her sovereignty is restored. ...There are no more extra-territorial rights. And now a ...sign is hung on the door reading : "Please knock ...before entering." The era of front porch is this : Like ...friendly neighbours, China's neighbours drop in at the ...front porch, light their pipes, exchange gossip until the ...moon is high and then bid goodbye and turn in for ...the night.

But this does not mean all is well with China and that she has become a unified sovereign nation. There is the well-known problem of Yenan. Besides this political conflict—the Kuomintang-Communist clash of ideologies—there is a greater battle, a battle of ideas, a rift deep and almost unbridgeable. Behind this seemingly incurable political fight is the fundamental opposing attitudes regarding the survival of Chinese culture. The question today is whether the traditional Chinese culture must be saved and salvaged or whether it should be uprooted and discarded completely. This intellectual conflict probably is not known abroad, but it is a seething and swift current invading the minds of men and women in modern China. This is bound to affect the face of coming China.

But is there anything worth saving from classical Chinese culture ? Has Chinese culture outlived its utility ?—I wanted to know. Lin is no feudalistic old fogey, for he is a deeply humanized and modern-educated scholar. And when the radical extremists say in all seriousness that Chinese students should not study classics and all classical Chinese books contain poison, feudalistic and fatalistic, it makes Lin mad, very mad.

Lin pointed out that past Chinese philosophy of life and national culture is worth defending and preserving and all Chinese history is not just a stinking pot of corruption and exploitation of the masses. What will be the outcome, one wonders. But Lin does not wonder, for he feels he knows the outcome. If the epitome of China's intellectual struggle is the never-ending bout between the quiet, mellow, wise and silken-bearded Confucius and crusading, vitriolic, dialectical-minded and bushy-bearded Karl Marx, China is bound to come out pro-Confucius. Why ? Lin's reasoning is simple. China can never be Marxist and Communistic, because, the humanistic viewpoint of Confucius is far, far away from the turbulent message of Marx. China can never embrace Karl Marx out of her own free will and volition.

Lin declared blandly that the Chinese Communist Party is not *Chinese* at all, for the *modus operandi* of the Communists is anything but Chinese, different as it is from the broad Chinese humanism. It is not Communist in the Leninist sense of the term, that is, no more Communistic than the present-day Soviet Russia is Communist. It is, however, Marxian in ideology because its whole intellectual outlook is based on materialistic dialectic. It believes in the necessity of class struggle and social revolution. It is inimical to popular conception of family and religion and all bourgeois institutions. It talks and thinks in Marxist symbols and cliches. Finally, to Lin, the most distressing thing is its anti-nationalist and totalitarian attitude toward China.

If Lin is so intensely opposed to Communism, it is not because he is "totalitarian" in outlook or too uncivilized to brook opposition or tolerate another and opposite point of view. He is for the Communists operating as a legal political party without a separate army and other governmental paraphernalia. He is for a free press and a Chinese *Daily Worker*. Talking of the freedom of the press, he said that it is more important than the enactment of laws and constitutions. People who do not know how to talk against their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

government do not deserve democracy. And the best government in the world, when it is deprived of the goading of democratic gadflies soon gets bored with its own virtues and dies of inanity. "I sometimes think God himself created Satan because He was so sick of the singing and flattering angels and wanted to save himself from boredom! If the Kingdom of Heaven cannot do without opposition, how much less can a human secular government?"—That is Lin.

Mr. Lin Yutang wanted to know a few things about India, that most foreigners, even a Chinese scholar, are puzzled about. After answering his queries, I found myself wondering what people can do to mentally bridge the ever-deepening chasm between Eastern and Western outlook and ideologies. I wondered what Lin Yutang had accomplished. He has acquired fame and a fortune through his books. But is that all?

There was a time, not long ago, when China was perhaps the most misunderstood country in the world, sharing that doubtful honor with India. The little "Chinatowns" all over the great cities of the world were openly looked down upon. The United States was perhaps the worst sinner in this respect. The first Chinese Exclusion Act debarring Chinese nationals from immigration and citizenship rights was passed at the close of the last century. In California and the West Coast in general, the Chinese, cultured and otherwise, were synonymous with laundrymen or at best the owner of the corner Chop Suey restaurant. A stereotyped Chinese character in American pulp magazines was the drugged, slender-bearded, Chinese denizen of the underworld. Whether a Chinese national was a Harvard graduate or an Alcatraz inmate, he was definitely a second class citizen.

Today after some thirty years, America's attitude toward China, her people and institutions, has remarkably changed for the better. What wrought this welcome change? It is difficult to be precise about the factors responsible for this change of heart. Quick transportation is definitely an important reason, for today China and America, the two Pacific Coast countries, are not really far away. Every day planes take off from San Francisco to Shanghai. The small, hard-working and law-abiding Chinese communities in all American cities have contributed no end to the mutual goodwill, for it is this common man in the traditionally forgotten Chinatown that forges unity at the bottom. Then there is the ubiquitous Chinese restaurant and the delectable, if spurious, Chop Suey that seems to please the American palate so well. The recent common enemy, Japan, drew China and America closer than ever before. But for the war America would have taken probably another hundred years to understand China. Important as these factors are, I believe the most significant reason for the change of attitude is the remarkable writings of Lin Yutang for the last one decade, for it was in 1935 his history-making *My Country and My People* appeared. Perhaps I should say Lin Yutang and Pearl Buck. Pearl Buck's novels and writings about China have been indispensable in dispelling many a popular misconception about China of that day not only here in America but in the English-speaking world. While we all like a country described by a national of that country, we seldom like that country being defended by a national, for obviously he will be prejudiced in favor of his country. But if a country is defended by a non-national, people give more credence. The why of this phenomenon I do not know but it is so. If a Chinese writer pleaded for the abolition of the extraterritorial rights, nobody cared too much, for what else could a Chinese say. But if an American pleaded the same cause, people took notice. I have noticed this particular human trait often in this country during the last five years of my sojourn here. During the war when the British Official Information Services here spread the canard that Gandhi was tremendously pro-Japanese and American hysteria about Japan being what it was then, Gandhi was easily the most unpopular man in the United States. All the writings and lectures of all the Indians here, including the present writer, only increased American skepticism. We had to wait for the appearance of Louis Fischer's little book *A Week with Gandhi* to do the trick. Fischer said the same things that Indians here have been shouting about, but he was an American and so couldn't just be pro-India without good reason. And there you are! So Lin Yutang described China and Pearl Buck defended her, and jointly they did the trick of changing the American national attitude toward China. Yes, that is what Lin has accomplished in the last ten years. And changing a national attitude is no mean task.

When China produced a Lin Yutang and converted Pearl Buck to her cause she acquired a pair of most articulate, mellow and moving voices in what had been before a voiceless wilderness,, at least to the Western world Lin's works—his ideas and his rare ability to combine sound scholarship with popular exposition—in explaining, defending, and criticising his country have made more friends for China than all her diplomats and Ministers of Information put together.

As I took leave of Lin from his well-appointed and book-lined study, I wondered, who in our own India, came closest to him. I was nonplussed for a moment, for it seems as though we have yet to produce a Lin. Perhaps Radhakrishnan comes closest but I am afraid the comparison is superficial. Radhakrishnan is too much of a scholar and an ivory-tower resident to wield the great popular appeal that Lin's writings have. *My Country and My People* and the *Importance of Living* are only ten years old but each of them has gone through some twenty editions not to speak of translations. But Radhakrishnan has another appeal which Lin lacks. When Radhakrishnan begins to lecture—as he recently did in this country to crowded audience—one is completely swayed by his forceful eloquence and the flow of his measured and well-rounded sentences. Lin is rather uncomfortable on the platform and lectures only on occasion, for I suppose no Chinese has yet mastered the English accent as some Indians have. As for his abilities in addressing an audience in the Chinese language, I have never heard him in his mothertongue and even if I did I would be least competent to have an opinion about it. While hearing Radhakrishnan is to witness a steady, subdued Niagara Falls, Lin's talks have the quality of a reposed, confiding, fireside chat. Had he entered politics he might have become China's Nehru. But as he decided that he is much better minding his own business than others' he has become China's Radakrishnan, the Radhakrishnan he so very much

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar
(*Author's copyright*)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE STRUGGLE OF INDIANS TO ATTAIN EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Tagore-Mukherjee-Mullick Foundation Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University

I

It is a matter of great pleasure on the part of Mrs. Singh and myself to participate in this meeting which I understand as a kind of victory celebration. It is a celebration of winning a partial victory in the long drawn out struggle for freedom of man from bondages created by men and their governments.

The immediate occasion for this celebration is that it has been decided by the enactment of a law by the United States that the people of India will enjoy practically the same rights for immigration and naturalization as the people of other countries, especially those of China and the Philippines. In celebrating this victory, we are here to honor those who worked for this specific objective for many years, and in particular, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, who with the aid of many Indians and a large number of devoted American friends, played a leading role in getting the Bill, which accords the right of acquiring American citizenship to the people of India, passed through the Congress of the United States. May I say that by honoring these and all others who have worked for the cause of human freedom, some of whom are no longer with us, and some of whom are not on the active battle-front, we are in actuality taking a new and solemn vow to uphold the cause of justice and liberty through many-sided activities, and also taking a vow to win a more complete victory on many fronts.

It may seem to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I am not very enthusiastic about the victory won because I refer to it as a partial victory. The reason for this is that the fight to obtain the right to become American citizens is only a very small engagement in the battle for the abolition of discrimination against men—discrimination due to the concept and practice of so-called racial superiority, color of skin, and even the religion of a man. The struggle—the great world struggle—is to end political, economic, racial and cultural imperialism so that this world will give every man an unfettered opportunity to give the best that is in him for human progress.

II

But the special task allotted me this evening is to give you a brief historical survey of the struggle for obtaining the right of American citizenship for the people of India. I am inclined to think that I have been selected for this job because I am one of the oldest among you who came to the United States more than forty years ago and because I became an American citizen after having won several legal battles as early as June 1914. It is quite possible that you might have thought that I would give some insight to the struggle, even before the days of the arrival of Sirdar J. J. Singh to the shores of the United States of America. Lack of time, however, will not permit me to give you a detailed story of the struggle, but I shall tell you some of the important points.

There have been two aspects of this fight. One is the point of Indian national honor—to remove the stigma that Indians, because of their race and color, *i.e.*, being Asiatics and also being brown men, are not worthy to enjoy full civic rights in the United States of America which is the most progressive of all Western democracies. The other point is that this is a fight to break up isolation of the Indian as well as of the American peoples.

As far as India is concerned, this struggle began centuries ago. It became victorious at times and then again it lost its ground in a peculiar way. In the past, one of the fundamental features of Indian victory was in the field of spirit and thought spread by Indians and those from foreign lands who went to India on pilgrimages in search of India's contribution to world culture. Those were the days when India was free and independent and her influence was a dominant factor in the schools of Alexandria, the cities of Greece, the Near and Middle East, China, Central Asia, Korea, Japan and all of the Indian and Pacific Islands. This Indian expansion was checked after the Moslem conquest of India. No nation has ever been great during the period of political slavery and that was also the case with India. Indian expansion virtually stopped after the European ascendency in India and other parts of Asia—except for the transportation of semi-slaves, indentured laborers, to various parts of the world controlled by the British and others in order to work for the material enrichment of their masters. This fate of India was a part of the fate of all Asiatic lands which were reduced to semi-slave nations politically.

Political isolation of the people of India was a necessary requisite for keeping them under subjection and therefore the British rulers devised every conceivable means to keep India isolated. To make this isolation complete, it was necessary that the people of India must not have the opportunity to migrate as freemen in a free world on the basis of equality. In this program of checking world expansion of the people of India, nay the peoples of Asia, all those nations that have been interested in keeping Asia in subjection consciously made a common cause of excluding the people of Asia from enjoying equal rights as men. They were forced to accept this position without effective protest and opposition because they were not strong enough to overcome the opposition and world conditions were adverse to them. It is not always easy to overcome the opposition over which one has no control. *But it suffices to mention that the struggle for Indian freedom and the struggle for the independence of Asiatic peoples is the fountain-head of the struggle for the peoples of Asia to acquire racial equality in theory and fact.*

One phase of the struggle for Indian freedom is based upon the desire of the Indian people to remove all obstacles which thwarted them from asserting their

* An address delivered on the occasion of a dinner given on August 4, 1946, at Ceylon India Inn, New York City, in celebration of Indians winning the right to become American citizens and also in honor of Sirdar J. J. Singh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mastery in their own home thus depriving the British rulers of their special privileges which they acquired or usurped and even sanctified by so-called legal sanctions. The other and larger phase of the struggle was that Indians must have the same right to participate in human endeavors in all parts of the world without any hindrance and on the basis of equality. Thus one may point out the often overlooked fact that the struggle for Asian Independence and the movement for free immigration of Asians are two aspects of the same great movement. *I may also emphasize the point that as Indian Freedom has a very close relation to Asian Freedom, similarly the right of Indians to have equal human rights in America and other lands has also very close relation with the efforts of other Asian peoples for the acquisition of the same rights.*

III

1. During the early part of the nineteenth century when Raja Ram Mohun Roy and others were working for re-assertion of Indian cultural life and spiritual assets, America was in contact with India through men of the type of Thoreau, Emerson, Channing and others. This might be regarded as the first stage of Indo-American contact, although one should not overlook the role of the Yankee traders in Indian trade and the role of some of the persons who made their fortunes in Indian trade and were also instrumental in establishing such institutions as Harvard, Yale and Vassar.

2. The second point that must always be kept in mind by Indians is American influence in the Indian struggle for freedom—the formation of the All-India National Congress. It is generally emphasized that David Hume, a British official, was instrumental in helping to organize the All-India National Congress movement for constitutional agitation and also to divert the youth of that generation from the underground revolutionary movement. It is not emphasized that the name *Congress* was adopted through the suggestion of a young Indian who had studied the history of the American and French Revolutions very carefully —the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee who was one of the founders of the All-India National Congress. In 1904, Surendranath Banerjee disclosed to me, a young man who was then a political agitator of some importance, that the Philadelphia Congress which had declared the independence of the colonies from British rule in 1776 was the ideal behind the All-India National Congress. We all know that at the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress of 1930, the "Independence Resolution" was adopted, but it is not emphasized that India's Declaration of Independence is something like a paraphrase of the American Declaration of Independence.

3. During the latter part of the nineteenth century when Asian peoples were preparing to resist further expansion of European powers, India sent her most enlightened and sainted patriot, Swami Vivekananda to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. This was in 1893. Vivekananda came to America with the same spirit as the Indian saints and sages went to all parts of the world in ancient times to impart India's cultural heritage to the rest of the world. *This is the Vivekananda Era of Modern India* which began in 1893 and which will last for centuries. The movement started by Swami Vivekananda in America is the only firmly established and truly Indian movement in America and it will grow and will one day be the most important factor in Indo-American co-operation having spiritual affinity as its basis. Vivekananda's idea was that India must not go to the world as a mere beggar and that her children should not be regarded as "coolies,"* but as teachers.

4. It should be remembered that the Vivekananda Era began about the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1895), and that it was followed bp the *Swami Rama Tirth Era* which started about the time when the Japanese were victorious over Russia (1905) and also at the time of the struggle against the "Partition of Bengal," a factor in the history of Indian national freedom.

It is very important for all Indian students to remember that if Swami Vivekananda had the idea of educating the American people with the highest spiritual ideals of the sagas of India, Swami Rama Tirth, who was a professor of mathematics and a philosopher of great repute and who hailed from the Punjab, was an advocate of *India should learn all that is best in America.* Swami Vivekananda came to the United States *via* Europe and Swami Ram came via Japan. In 1905, there was a large number of Indian students in Japan. Their number was larger than that in the United States at that time. Swami Ram, with his saintly character and unadulterated patriotism, influenced the life of some of the Indian students in Japan. After his arrival in the United States, he preached Vedanta and at the same time asked his American friends to organize a movement so that some Indian students would be brought to the United States to study agriculture and other useful subjects and so that these students would be able to help the people of India to raise their standard of living. Swami Ram helped some Indian students from Japan to come to the United States. This may be regarded as the beginning of the movement to enable "self-supporting" Indian students to come to the United States, and the beginning of the forming of societies for cultural co-operation between India and America, such as the Hindusthan Association of America, which was organized by me in 1909 in Seattle, Washington.

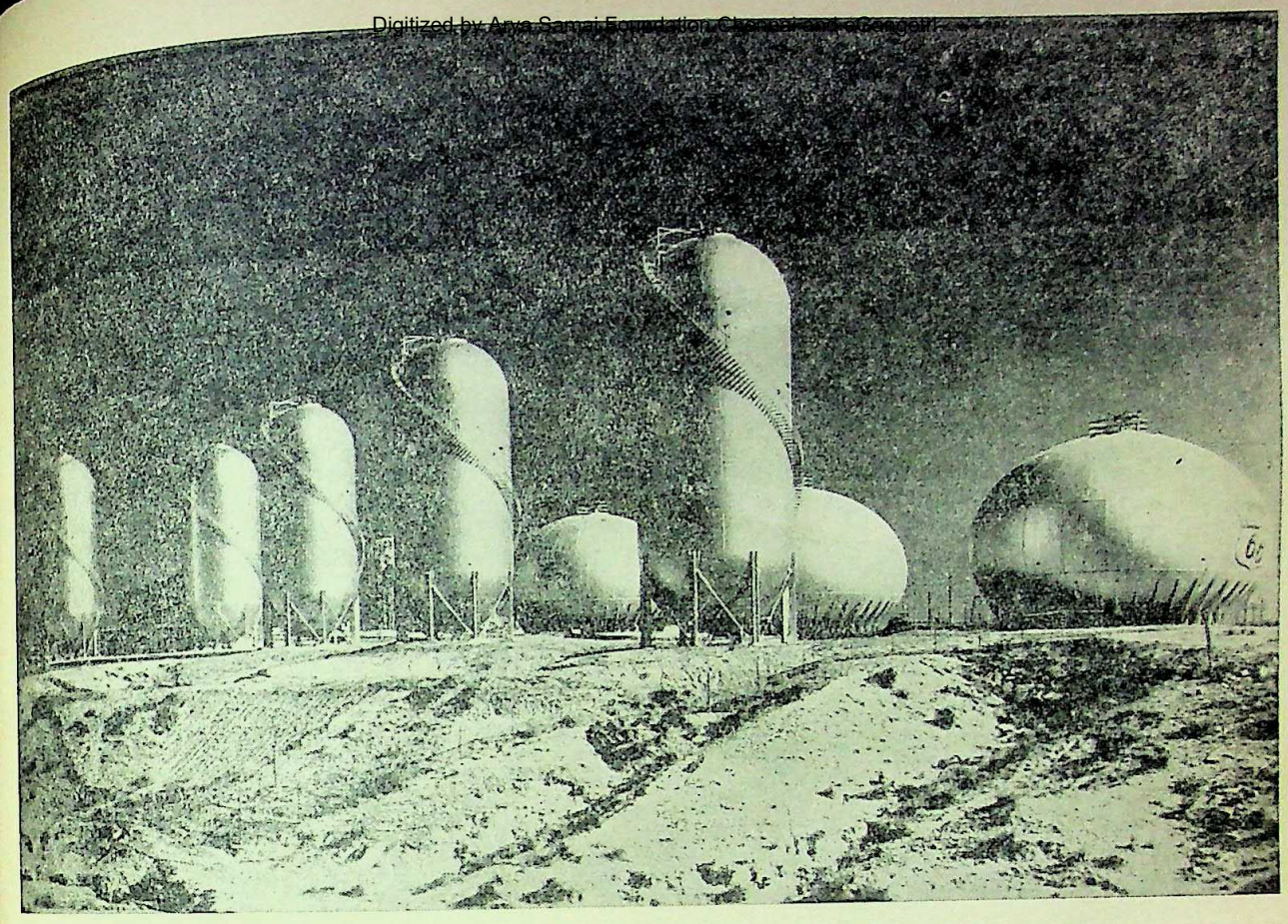
5. The fifth point that is to be remembered is that although Indian teachers and students began to come to the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Indian laborers did not lag behind them for any length of time. Around 1904 and 1905, Indian workers began to come to the shores of the North American continent. Indian soldiers, policemen and watchmen in China—Shanghai, Tiensien, Peking, Hongkong and other places, and in Malaya learned from their contact with the Japanese and Chinese that in America they could earn more in one month than they were able to earn in a year at their jobs in China. It was the stalwart Sikhs, Punjabees and the Pathans who were the pioneers to come to the American shores. At first there were a few dozen on a ship, but when their letters reached members of their family and their friends, all wanted to come to this country. Furthermore, the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company was anxious to induce Indian immigrants to sail to America so that this steamship company would be able to make money by selling them passage.

By 1906-1907, Indian immigrants began to come

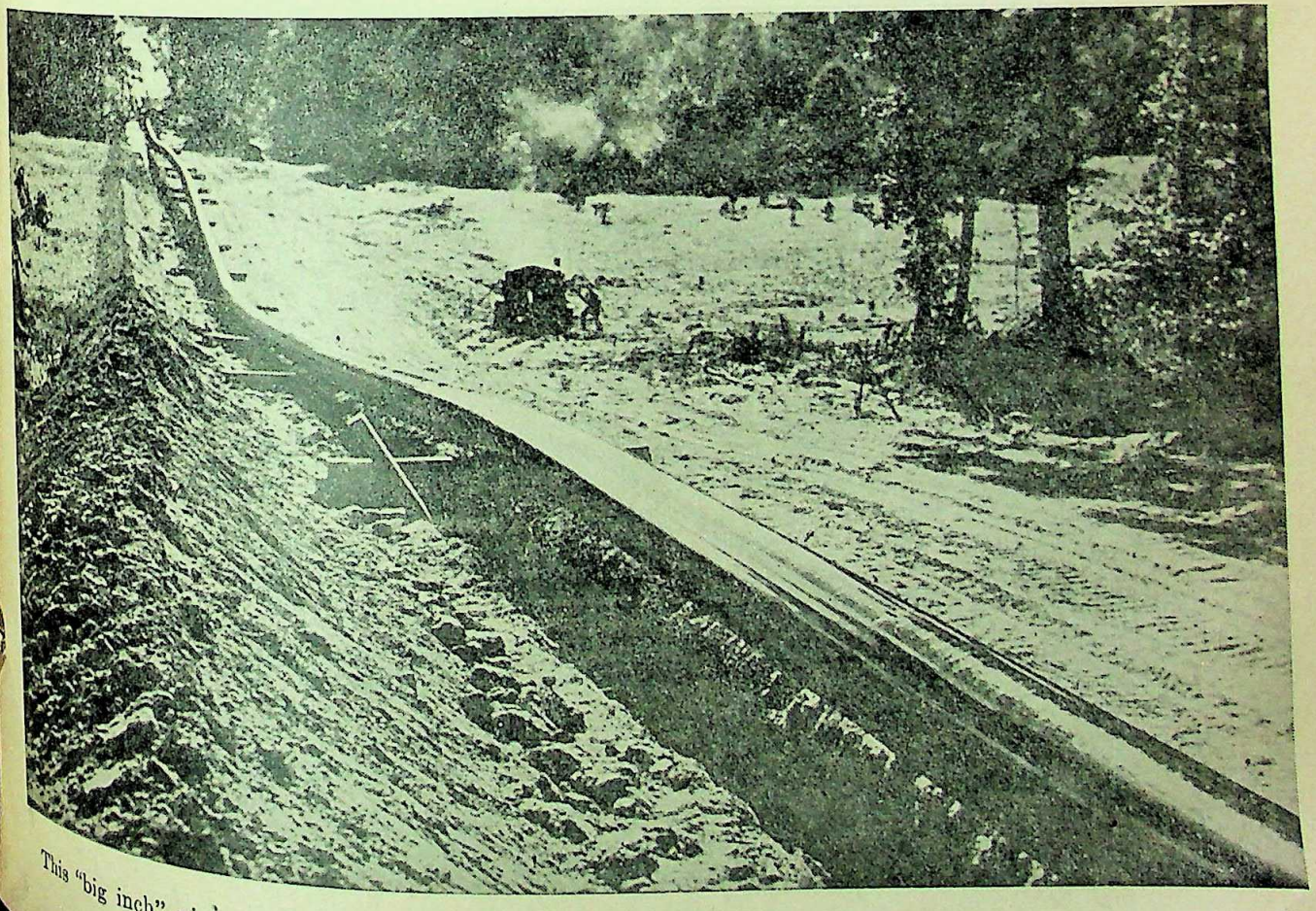
* By the way, Swamiji was once called a "coolie" in the United States.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



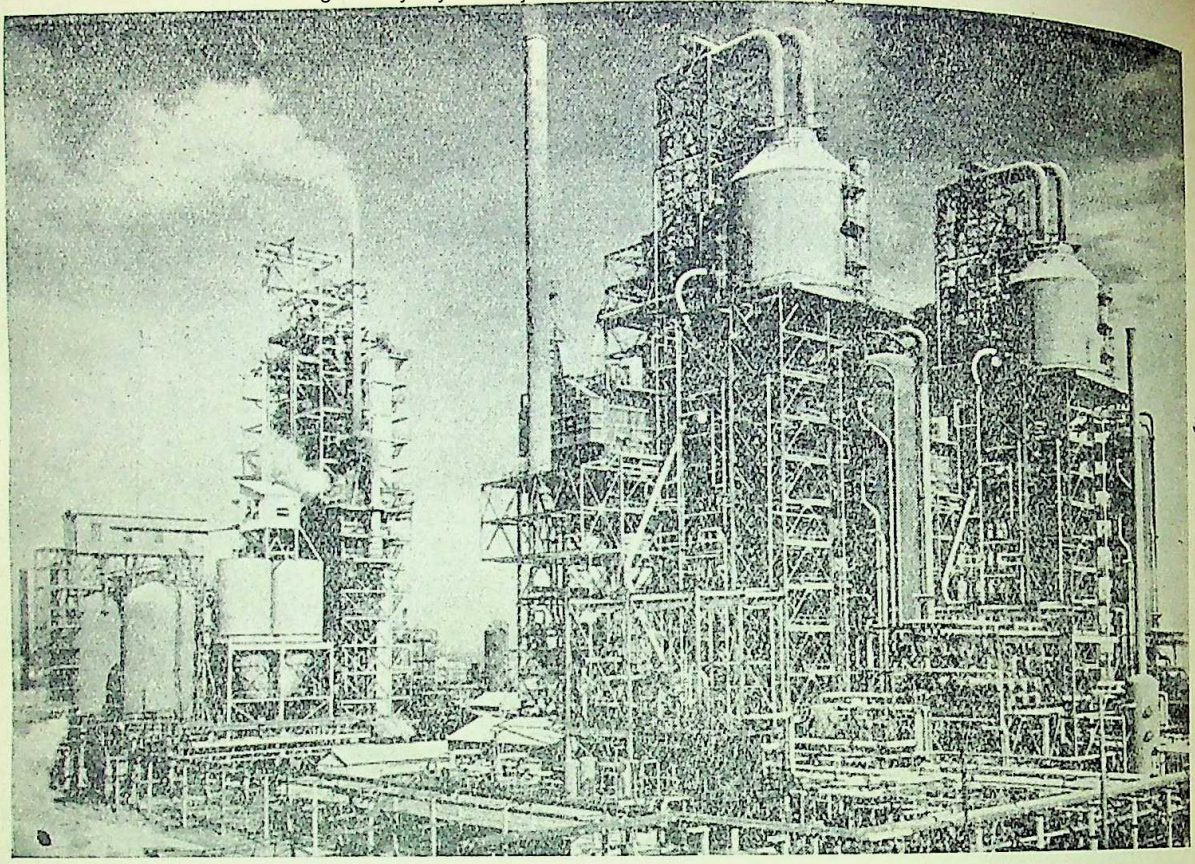
Large spherical and cylindrical tanks of unusual design are used to store the volatile refined products of crude oil at the plant of a southwest U.S. oil company



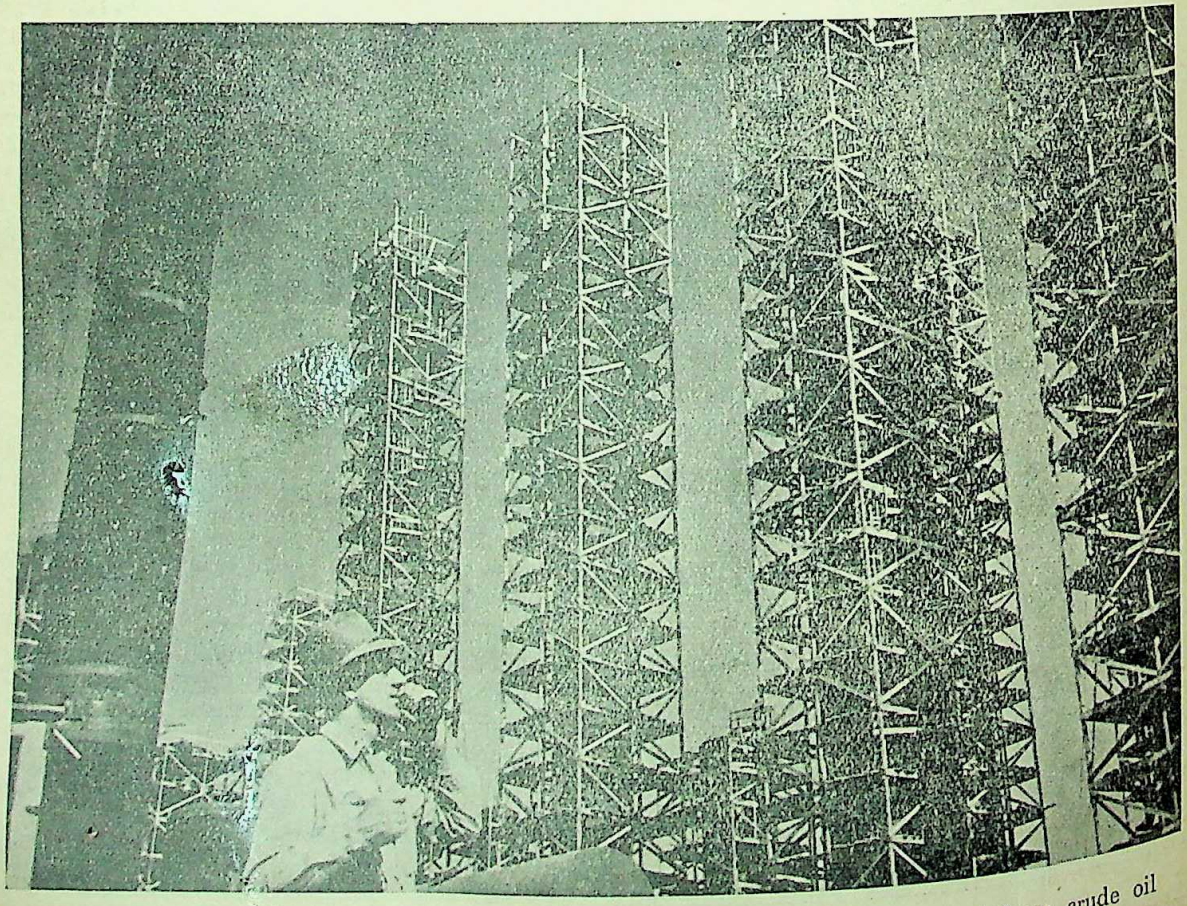
This "big inch" pipe line, 24 inches in diameter and extending from Texas to New York City, delivers daily flow of 300,000 barrels of oil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



These three new catalytic oil "cracking" units are turning out gasoline at the plant of a large U.S. refining company of Louisiana



Towers for the making of butadiene, an ingredient of synthetic rubber derived from crude oil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the hundreds to America—small numbers directly to the United States and large numbers through Canada *via* Vancouver or Victoria where they then crossed the Canadian border. By 1908, the Canadian and the American Governments were thinking of checking Indian immigration into Canada and the United States. There were economic and political forces behind this movement. Indians in the United States were showing signs of being influenced by free institutions and were thinking in terms of establishing a Federated Republic of the United States of India. The thought was spreading among the Indian workers and through them, slowly but surely, among a certain section of Indians who were in the British army. Furthermore, at this time Asiatics were already being excluded as immigrants from South Africa and Australia and the movement for Asiatic exclusion from North America was taking a definite form.

6. The next point that is to be kept in mind is this: Literally thousands of Indians, mostly from the Punjab, hearing the news of the possibility of making their fortunes by hard labor, sold their possessions, cattle, small land holdings, etc., and even borrowed money to get passage to the United States and Canada. Ninety per cent of these prospective immigrants were refused admission on technicalities—suffering from contagious diseases or liable to public charge—I was directly connected with the United States Immigration Service at Vancouver, B. C. and know many things about the struggle of the Indian people residing on the Pacific Coast. I cannot discuss these for want of time.

During this period, some Indians in the United States decided to become American citizens and at that time the American naturalization law was being so interpreted that Indians could become citizens. The law was: "All White persons and persons of African birth and nativity can become citizens of the United States by naturalization." The phrase "white persons" was then interpreted as "persons belonging to the Caucasian race" and Indians were regarded as Caucasians. But very soon opposition developed so that Indians could not be naturalized. The British Government secretly supplied the main inspiration in this opposition, because the British authorities felt that if Indians enjoyed greater rights in the United States than they enjoyed in Canada, Australia and South Africa, then there would be greater agitation against the British on the issue of Racial Imperialism. One must also keep in mind that about this time Indians in South Africa under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi started their fight* for human rights.

This issue of Indian immigration to the American continent then took an interesting turn which affected the movement for Indian Independence. The Canadian authorities, to check Indian immigration into Canada, passed an 'Order-in-Council" that Indians seeking entrance as immigrants to Canada must come from their land of nativity or citizenship by a *continuous* voyage. This legal subterfuge was adopted because at that time no steamer was running between India and Canada, and most of the immigrants from India used to take passage from India by the British Indian Steamship Co., or by the P. & O. Steamship Company. Then after arriving at Hongkong, they would take either a Canadian or a Japanese ship. The Canadian authorities, therefore, thought that by imposing this restriction Indian immigration would be completely checked. But the result was just the opposite.

Indian leaders in Canada—most of whom have died as martyrs, Bhai Balbant Singh, the priest of the Sikh Temple ; Bhai Bhag Singh, one of the five Trustees of the Sikh Temple ; Bhai Harnam Singh, and others in consultation with some other persons decided that a Japanese ship should be chartered to bring Indian immigrants to challenge the Canadian policy. If this failed, it would be a source of rousing the Indian people about the nature of British Imperialism. I can tell you definitely that Bhai Gurdit Singh who later chartered the S.S. *Kamagata Maru* was not solely responsible for this historic move. I can also tell you that to support the immigrants on the S.S. *Kamagata Maru* in their historic voyage, Indian workers in Canada and the Pacific Coast spent more than one hundred thousand dollars for meeting the expenses for chartering the ship, paying for the overdue damages, legal expenditures and feeding several hundred men for months while the ship which was opposed by the guns of the Canadian warship, *Rainbow*, was not allowed to enter Vancouver. It is well-known that many Indians from the Pacific Coast left America and joined the *Kamagata Maru* in its return voyage to India and were made martyrs in their struggle for freedom. It may be safely asserted that Indians in America have contributed more than their share in the struggle for Indian freedom.

7. The seventh point that should be remembered is that during the World War I, Indian workers on the Pacific Coast contributed their share in producing food—rice, vegetables ; at the same time the Indians in America carried on agitation for Indian freedom. During World War I, the British authorities in the United States went so far as to suggest to some of the American University Presidents that Indian students should not be allowed to study Chemical Engineering and such other subjects which may have military value because their knowledge might be used by Indian Revolutionists. But during World War I, anti-Asiatic agitation was temporarily suspended because the Asiatics, the Chinese, the Japanese and Indians, were fighting the Germans.

8. After World War I was over, there came the movement for absolute exclusion of the Asiatics from the United States. This movement coincides with the Washington Conference which was held to curb the Japanese power. In the meantime, new instructions were issued from Washington that all applications for naturalization of Indians should be opposed on the ground that they were not "white persons." This was done not only to please the British Government, but also to save the face of the Japanese and Chinese governments which were asking for the right of their subjects to become American citizens so that they would not be deprived of certain rights which were taken away from them by the anti-alien land laws of California and other states of the Pacific Coast. The issue came before the Supreme Court in connection with the case of Bhagat Singh Thind.

In this historic Thind case the late Solicitor-General of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Beck, was aided by the experts of the British Embassy at Washington, D.C. to prove that Indians were not "white persons," and the famous decision against the Indian right to become citizens of the U.S.A. was rendered by a Canadian-born naturalized American,

* This fight in South Africa is still going on.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Justice Sutherland. By this decision it was held that "Indians do not look white and thus they are not white persons according to the original meaning of the law." This was a significant political decision which deprived the Indians the right to become American citizens.

9. Immediately the Indian community in the United States felt the necessity for taking steps to right the wrong done them. At that time, the organization which was effectively fighting for India's freedom and also for Indian rights in the United States was the Friends of Freedom for India. This society was first organized to protect Indian political refugees from being deported to India. Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Dr. Norman Thomas, Mr. Roger Nash Baldwin, Agnes Smedley, Margaret Sanger, Sailendranath Ghose, Basanta Kumar Roy and others played an important role in its supremely important activities for many years. At that time, there was no India League of America which was, however, organised later as a successor to the Friends of Freedom for India.

As early as 1924, it was Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, the Director of Friends of Freedom for India, who first took the steps for introducing a bill in the United States Senate for recovering the right of Indians to become American citizens. This bill was introduced by the late Senator Copeland and supported by the late Senator La Follete and the late Senator Norris. Mr. Ghose made several efforts but he failed to accomplish the end, because the United States Government itself was opposed to it.

10. Then men like Dr. Syed Hossain, Dr. Haridas Mazumdar, Mobarek Ali, Ramlal Bajpai, N. R. Checker and many other persons also tried to enlist the support of some American Congressmen to recover Indian rights, but they also failed to gain the end for the same reasons.

11. One of the by-products of the Bhagat Singh case was that the United States Government, unconstitutionally, applied the decision retroactively to cancel citizenships of those Indians who secured their citizenships long before the decision of the Bhagat Singh case was rendered in 1923. Many of the Indians who were American citizens lost their citizenship, because they did not fight their cases, while some of us—Mr. S. G. Pandit of Los Angeles, Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Dr. Kokatnur, Mr. Profulla Mukerjee and others—fought their cases and after great difficulty retained their citizenship.

However, the most interesting and unfortunate development of this retroactive application of the decision affected the rights of those American women who had married Indians and who were American citizens. Because at that time, by the existing law, it was provided that American women, who married aliens who were ineligible to citizenship, lost their citizenship. This rendered some American women, including my wife, "stateless persons."

My wife, with the aid of the National Women's Party of which she was a founder-member, started the fight against this infringement of right of American women, and in 1930 the *Cable Act* was so amended that an American woman was not to lose her American citizenship unless she wished to renounce it. One may claim that in this case, American women became the beneficiaries of the struggle for retaining American citizenship by Indians and their American wives.

12. Now it is my pleasant task to mention that recently, during the last four years, it was primarily through the efforts of Sirdar J. J. Singh and his co-workers, the support of their American friends, and *above all the Indian workers and businessmen on the Pacific Coast who supplied the large amount of money that was necessary to carry on the educational campaign, etc.*, that the fight for this right of Indians to American citizenship has been recovered. It has a world significance because it means driving another nail into the coffin of racial bigotry. India, all Asia, and even America is indebted to Mr. Singh and his American and Indian supporters, especially those American legislators—Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut and Senators Ball and Capper.

IV

We are celebrating a partial victory and there is still much unfinished business: (1) There is the task of the promotion of co-operation between the United States, culturally, economically and politically. (2) There is the struggle for the enforcement of racial equality all over the world, particularly the present struggle that is going on in South Africa. India has a complaint against South Africa before the United Nations Security Council; and this fight must be won. I hope that Mr. Singh will take up the work as he did in the case of India's right in connection with U.N.R.R.A. (3) India must attain her rightful place in the world; and the Peace Conference now being held at Paris must recognize India's claims in settling the Peace treaties. It is a fact that India's contribution to the defense of the Near East, Middle East, Africa and the Mediterranean region is in no way less significant than that of Great Britain and the United States. It is well-known that a large section of the Italian and German armies surrendered to Indian forces. *India should have the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland as compensation for her sacrifices in men, power and money.*

Indians in Africa are being ill-treated. *India has historical interest in Africa and the Indian Ocean for her national defense. India's population should have an outlet. Vast territories in Australia, Canada and Siberia are closed to Indian immigration. Africa must not be fenced in by western powers for future colonization by white men and the barring of the peoples of Asia—specially India. India must demand this right and I hope that Mr. Singh and others will take up this fight.*

Lastly, while Indians are fighting for their rights all over the world, they must not be unmindful of the sufferings of other peoples. In the past all persecuted peoples received refuge in India and in that process the Parsees came to India to avoid persecution by the Moslem invaders of Persia. Today Parsees are among India's minority communities and the greatest assets of India. The Parsee community has done a great deal for the economic, the political and the educational progress of India. *Today the Jews are being persecuted all over the world and I hope that India will offer refuge to some tens of thousands of Jews who will be assets to India and also help the cause of the fight for human brotherhood.*

There are many aspects of the unfinished business of the struggle for Indian freedom which is a part of world freedom. We have won only a partial victory in one of the engagements and let us hope that Mr. Singh and the others will carry on the struggle for greater and more glorious victories.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WATUMULL FOUNDATION AND INDO-AMERICAN CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University and Spalding Professor Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford versity, England, arrived at New York on the 18th March, by S.S. "Queen Mary" and will spend six ks in the United States. As a *Visiting Professor to* erican Universities, under the auspices of the Watu- Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles, Prof. hakrishnan will lecture extensively in American versities. Briefly his programme will be as follows : During the evening of the 20th of March (Wed- day), Prof. Radhakrishnan will speak before a cial meeting at the Riverside Church on the topic *Religion in India*. On Thursday afternoon, the 21st, will address the Philosophy Seminar of Columbia versity. On Friday evening, the 29th, he will speak fore the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New k. On Saturday morning, the 30th, he will speak fore the Town Hall (New York) at 11 a.m., on the ic of *Can We Find a Spiritual Basis of Peace?* On day morning, the 31st at 11 a.m., he will be the st-speaker from the pulpit of the Community urch. The meeting will be held at the Town Hall. subject will be *The Role of India in the Present is of Spirit*. On Monday evening, April 1st, he will k under the auspices of the Institute of Arts and ces, Columbia University on the topic of *Essen- of Indian Culture*. On Tuesday, April 2nd, Sir S. hakrishnan will address a special luncheon meeting "Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion," the topic of *Meaning of Religion*.

Dr. Radhakrishnan during his tour of the United tes will speak before Harvard, Yale, Brown, Cornell, rinceton, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California and merican University (Washington, D.C.). At Washing- n, D. C., he will speak at the Library of Congress, the topic of *Purpose of Literature*. Before leaving England, he will address the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, on the 24th of April.

It is a part of the activities of Watumull Founda- on to bring to the United States distinguished cul- l leaders of India to promote friendly understand- between the United States and India. The ndation will also send American scholars to India well. Prof. Merle Curti, who was selected last year visit Indian universities as Watumull Foundation ting Professor to Indian Universities will be leav- for India coming September.

II

Watumull Foundation Fellowships for 1946-47

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles announces the award of twelve Fellowships this year to the scholars of distinction, listed below, who were chosen from among a large group of appli- cants. The Selection Committee composed of seven eminent educators and scientists in the United States selected candidates on the basis of outstanding achievement in their respective fields. Ten Fellowships were awarded for all India and two Fellowships to the province of Sind.

The requirements for the Fellowships this year were somewhat different from those of last year, the most important change being the one requiring the candidates to be members of Indian university or college faculties. Another condition also required is that each successful candidate return to teach in his university or college for at least three years after studying in the United States.

For each candidate selected, the Committee also chose an alternate. However their names will not be announced but should any candidate be unable to accept the scholarship given him his alternate will receive it. The complete list of the candidates selected, their subjects and their present university affiliations are as follows :

1. *American History, Government and Foreign Policies* : Mr. Devavrat Nhanubhai Pathak, M.A. (Bombay University), Assistant Professor of History and Economics, Seth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Arts College, Ahmedabad, Bombay University.

2. *Agriculture* : Mr. Sankata Prasad, M.Sc. (Benares Hindu University), Lecturer, Benares Hindu University.

3. *Education* : Mr. Salamat Ullah, M.Sc., B.T. (Aligarh Muslim University), Lecturer, Teachers' Training Institute, National Muslim University, Jamia Millia Islamia, Jamianagar, Delhi.

4. *Education* : Miss Binapani Roy, M.A. (Lucknow University), Member, Teaching Staff, Issabella Thoburn College, Lucknow University.

5. *Economics and Sociology* : Mr. T. M. Joshi, M.A. (Bombay University), Professor of Economics, Willingdon College, Sangli, District Satara, Bombay University.

6. *Political Science* : Dr. Harnam Singh, M.A., Ph.D. (Lucknow University), Member, Faculty of Law, Delhi University.

7. *Home Economics and Nursing* : Miss Sushila Maneklal Kusumgar, M.A. (Indian Women's University), Indian Women's University, Ahmedabad.

8. *Applied Physics* : Mr. Kantilal M. Gatha, B.Sc. (Electrical Engineering, Benares Hindu University), Lecturer, Engineering Department, Delhi Polytechnic.

9. *Applied Chemistry* : Dr. Madhab Chandra Nath, D.Sc. (Dacca University), Lecturer in Physiological Chemistry, Dacca University.

10. *Sanitation and Public Health* : Dr. P. R. Venkataraman, Ph.D. (Bombay University), Research Chemist, Department of Biochemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Province of Sind Special Fellowships :

11. *Education* : Miss Hari Valiram Vaswani, M.A. (Benares Hindu University), Lecturer in Sanskrit, D. G. National College, Hyderabad, Sind.

12. *Public Health—Maternity and Child Care* : Dr. (Miss) Ganga F. Lakhani, M.B., B.S. (Punjab University), Resident Medical Officer, Lady Aitchison Hospital, Lahore.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Foundation will arrange for the admission of its scholars into those American universities and technological institutes which offer the finest courses in the subjects the scholars have chosen for research. Since the transportation is apparently easing up, it is expected that all would be able to reach the United States early in the fall of this year.

III

WATUMULL FOUNDATIVN AND ITS FUTURE

Very broadly speaking, among other things, the ideal which prompted Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Watumull to establish the Foundation is to further the cause of *Service to Humanity*. No doubt, this goal is to be attained by manysided activities. With the limited means at the disposal of the Foundation, at the present time, special emphasis has been laid on two courses of action : (*a*) promotion of friendly understanding between the peoples of U.S.A. and India, through cultural co-operation in its various aspects, and (*b*) raising the standard of national efficiency of the people of India, *through Education*, in the broadest sense of the expression.

Thus, when the Watumull Foundation extends aid to various existing institutions, it gives effective expression to its policy of co-operation with agencies pursuing educational and cultural activities. It is the policy of the Foundation to work through existing institutions whenever possible and not to create new organizations, unless absolutely necessary to carry out its aims.

Visiting Professors, Research Scholars, Teaching Fellows, Travelling Fellows, ordinary Fellows and special scholarship-holders of Watumull Foundation are human instruments who are selected to carry out the ideal of the Foundation, through their activities. Thus, the responsibility of those Indians and Americans who have the privilege of receiving aid and recognition of Watumull Foundation have personal and collective responsibility of promoting better understanding between U.S.A. and India, and raising India from her present depressed position to a more prosperous and elevated status as a nation.

Although the economic strength of any organization of the type of the Foundation is a vital factor in its success, yet it is my firm conviction that the future of the Watumull Foundation lies not so much with the funds available for carrying on its activities, but rests primarily with *services and co-operation* of those who become associated with this adventure, which cannot be bought by pecuniary grants.

I sincerely hope that with active support of friends of the Foundation, it will flourish, and in the not far distant future accomplish much towards the attainment of the goal.

New York City,
March 22, 1946.

———:O:———

THE RESTORATION OF THE RIGHT OF INDIANS TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

BY DR. EMMA WOLD,

Washington Representative, America-India Feature and News Service

TWENTY-THREE years ago the Supreme Court of the United States declared natives of India to be ineligible for acquiring American citizenship by naturalization because they were not "white persons" as understood by the makers of the naturalization law more than one hundred and thirty years back. On July 2nd of this year President Truman, by signing a bill that has just passed Congress, approved the removal of the racial bar set up by this decision. By the same Act natives of India are given the chance to come to the United States as immigrants under the small quota of 100 allowed to India for immigration purposes.

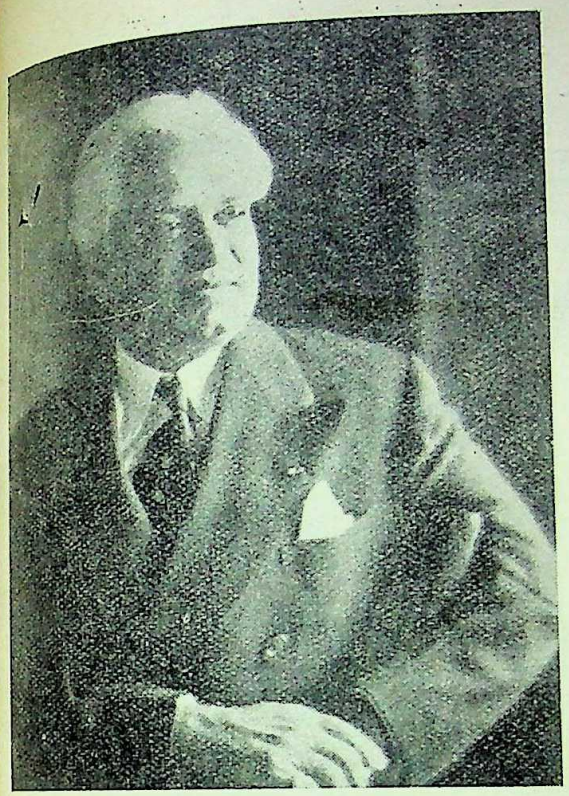
The immigration quota for India has, thus far, been available only to persons born in that country of races eligible for naturalization. Under the new law "all persons of races indigenous to India", wherever born, will be charged to the quota ; but up to seventy-five per cent of it will first be open to those born in India and still residing there, thus preventing the absorption of all the quota by numbers by those born elsewhere or long resident out of India.

At the present time a very small number of East Indians in the United States are naturalized citizens. They are those who became citizens before the highest court of the land in 1923 held them to be ineligible and who after that escaped government attention and cancel their papers. There are about three thousand who have been unable to obtain citizenship though lawfully admitted for residence and contributing a notable part to American economic and scientific advancement.

Our naturalization law was enacted in 1790. It conferred the right of naturalization upon "free white persons." To those of us who believed we knew something about racial lines the declaration of the Supreme Court in 1923 that natives of India were not "white persons" came as a shock. Had we not as children from our geography books learned that Indians of India were Caucasians ? And were not Caucasians white ? Some Federal Judges appear to have shared the same idea, for they had granted citizenship to Indians without challenge. Then came World War I and soon thereafter a period of enlightenment on racial questions. The Government began to oppose many who sought to become citizens. It was then that the question whether a native of India was a "free white person" within the naturalization law was taken to the Supreme Court. The judgment of the Court was that, whatever scholars might think about the Caucasian origin of the people of India, the common American man in 1790 would not have taken as a white person a native of India whom he might meet upon the street. Therefore, Indians did not come within the provisions of the naturalization law (United States v. Thind, 261 U. S. 204).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Taraknath Das, Ph.D.



Mary Keatinge Das (Mrs. Taraknath Das)

Since the decision in the Thind case no Indian has been naturalized except under special war legislation for those who have served with the armed forces of the United States. (Indeed, army draft officials have not hesitated to present the privilege of becoming citizens as an inducement to alien Indians to yield to draft.) Not only was naturalization denied, but the appropriate government department set out to cancel the citizenship papers of those who had been citizens for many years. This meant at that time that American women married to Indians automatically ceased to be citizens along with their Indian husbands. It meant that in those States in which aliens were



Hon. Clare Boothe Luce, U.S., Congresswoman from Connecticut

prohibited from owning real property, Indian owners must dispose of the property they had labored long years to acquire. It meant that they would be driven from their professions for which citizenship was a requisite. Sakharam Ganesh Pandit, an attorney of Los Angeles, California, facing such a loss of home and profession, while his American wife faced alien status, challenged the legal right of the Government to cancel naturalization papers he had earned and been awarded by court actions years before and won his case in a court of appeals. The late Chief Justice of the United States, in handing down the decision in favor of Mr. Pandit based it on the basic legal principle of 'res adjudicata." This judgment gave security to Indian citizens who had managed to survive the cancellation drive, but for those whose papers had been ruthlessly cancelled there was no remedy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Then began a long struggle to regain rights. Bills to include natives of India among those who might be naturalised were introduced in Congress and referred to Committees that deliberately ignored them. The first bill was introduced through the efforts of Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, the Director of the Friends of Freedom of India organization, by the late Senator Royal Copeland of New York. Members of the Congress worked and died without encouragement. High on the list of such friends of Indian rights must be named late Senator, Robert M. La Follette, who during the last two busy years of his life gave his



Mr. G. J. Watumull (Hyderabad, Sind), Founder of Watumull Foundation

instant help to every effort to aid Indians. Senator Norris of Nebraska and Senator Mac Cormick of Illinois were also active in this cause. So was Senator David Reed of Pennsylvania, who has, as he told a committee, learned to regard as his most admired friends the Indians, who served in his regiment during World War I.

During this fight, Dr. and Mrs. Taraknath Das did their best to aid the cause of restoration of Indian rights to American citizenship. Through their efforts a bill was introduced so that those who had lost their citizenships due to cancellation suits should be restored but they failed in getting this simple act of justice due to opposition of certain Congressmen and also the administration. However, Mrs. Das as one of the founder-member of the National Woman's Party roused this organization to adopt measures to amend the then existing laws of the United States, so that no American woman, due to her marriage, unless she voluntarily give up her rights would lose her American citizenship. In this fight the writer acted as an attorney for Dr. and Mrs. Das, who fought the U. S. Government in the United States Court and won their cases. It should also be noted that the late Col. Julius Peyser, a noted American lawyer at Washington volunteered his services to fight the case of Mrs. Das—an American woman—so that she might retain her citizenship. This agitation started by Mrs. Das and the National Woman's Party ended in a success.

So, throughout two decades, efforts were made to bring a restoration of rights taken away by a court decision by many Indians and their American friends.



Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation

This struggle has now ended in the marked success by the signing of the Indian Naturalization Bill by the President the other day.

Through the initiative of Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, the bill was introduced in the House of Representatives jointly by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Congresswoman Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce of Conneticut, They have shown for many years active interest in the cause of India and her people. Other members of the Congress who have taken part in the last successful effort to remove what many Americans regarded as an unjustifiable slur upon the people of an ancient and rich culture are Mr. Dirksen of Illinois and Senators Ball, Capper and Langer. Mr. William Phillips, the personal representative of the late President Roosevelt especially by the House Committee that considered the bill and reported it favorably.

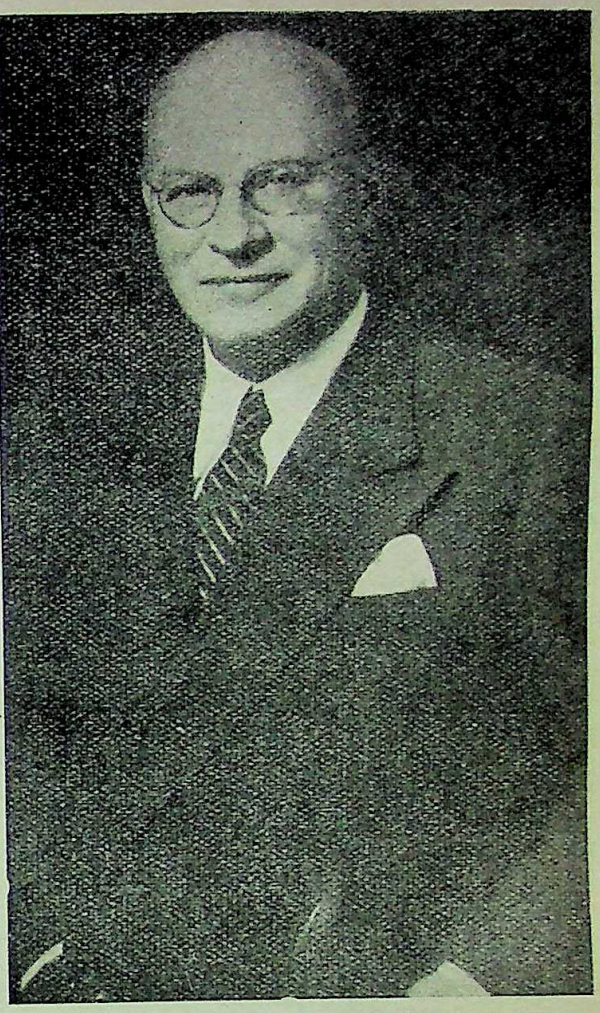
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

President Roosevelt himself, shortly before his death, wrote the Committee calling attention to the great services of India in the war against the Axis and urging the removal of discrimination against natives of India. The U.S. State Department and President Truman personally exerted their influence for the passage of the Bill. The support of the administration was an important factor in the passage of the bill.

In this struggle American friends of India, such as Mrs. Pearl Buck, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Dr. Norman Thomas, Roger Nash Baldwin and many others have done the most effective work to rouse the American public opinion. Some of the most important American newspapers, specially the *New York Times*, have supported the cause. These have led to the victory. But it should be carefully noted that American friends were wholeheartedly seconded by Indian workers, businessmen and residents, particularly Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Waturmull, as well as Indian organizations—India League of America and National Committee for Indian Freedom.

By the same Act applicable to India similar provisions for naturalization is made for the Philippine Islands. This particular portion of the bill served to hasten its progress during the last days of its consideration in Congress so that the rights granted might be a birthday gift to the new Republic in the Pacific which was to be launched on July 4th. The Indian part of the bill passed the lower house of Congress before the British Government moved to grant freedom to India. Yet undoubtedly the prospect of early coming of a great, free nation in the East supplied the final argument for putting the measure through Congress. It is, as J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, expressed it, "a fine gesture of fairness and friendship" to a new nation.



Hon. Emanuel Celler

———:O:———

THE COORGS

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER

II

Religion

The worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical, and Lingayat superstitions. The Malapalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their *Poiyoris*. The worship of Mari Amman (small-pox demon) is introduced by the Mysoreans, and the woes of people are ascribed to this demon. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva, Subramania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg.

Ancestor Worship

The ancestor worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside of the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a Kaimatta (a handy building close at hand) under a tree in his fields or in the yard close to his house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to land over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called Karana, and a female one, Sodalachi or Kara-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

trouble, and female ghosts even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk, and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month a fowl or two are offered at the Kaimada to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head-dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink and neighbours are allowed to come in and put in questions to the possessed. These gifts are called Karana Barana.



A Coorg male group

The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (Karanakola) with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, is requisitioned. At night he puts on one after the other five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companion and behaves as if he were possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each Kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a cocoanut, fried rice, and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called Karana Barani. The masks having been finished, a pig especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the Kaymada and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a Kaymada, the pig-offering takes place at the Karanakotta. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Sometimes, sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitation of certain formulae in loud tones, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggathnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the Kadevaru, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devaru-kadu which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent-Worship

Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The Natas or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the object of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the months of November-December, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March and to the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar in February, and Nanjangodu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon-worshippers because of the evil influence of certain malignant spirits which could render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a Kanya (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some evil who must have carried away the soul of someody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year in Kutta or any other place once in two or three years. The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the roof of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house-owner. Demon-masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika, and Guliga. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kali Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon-mask is the despatch of the pigs in front of the so-called Kuzhikota or demon-abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for a house affair, but several pigs are required, when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

Festivals

1. *Huttari* : The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be derived from the Malayalam, "puthari" or new rice. It occurs at fullmoon at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva," that is, "Increase, increase, oh God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends everyday with the peculiar cane-dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous sound of horns, drums, and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

2. *Kaylmurtha* : The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and dales, forests, and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the Grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to sharpen and polish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives, incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal-paste is dotted on them in profusion, and *naivedya* is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then



A Coorg married couple

proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs, and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment.

3. *The Bhagavati Feast* : The Bhagavati feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmans. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmans, Coorgs, and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmans who are an object of dread to the Coorgs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. *Devasthana* : The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu, and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs.

OCCUPATION

1. *Agriculture* : The principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families



A village Takka (headman)

with numerous dependants. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. Industry of the people of the highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, Tali-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble, and invoke their ancestors and Kaveri Amma for blessings. The young men make their obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice, and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the upturned earth, he takes a clod to the granary, offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. The recognition of the source of the material well-being is due to their industry that should command success. From 6 to 10 in the morning, the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with Gorakas, that rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee-deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting, in which all are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race ground offering a jolly good sport which greatly exhilarates their monotonous work. From the men engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. Wearing a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run for which their strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate person who sinks in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the same way struggling close to the winning post. Four or five only win the race. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack fruit, and the fourth with a bunch of oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about six feet are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then attended to and the failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and December, the paddy gets ripe, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days, it is bound into sheaves, carried

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ome, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. ...January or February, chiefly in moon-light nights, ...sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor ...ead round a stone pillar in the middle and trodden ...by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is ...nowed. The best quality is reserved for seed and ...rest stored up for consumption or sale.

2. *Cardamom Cultivation* : The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet was regarded as a great asset. The cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its growth. This is done by the felling of trees which let in light. February or March is the season for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered. A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big tree is needed to reinvigorate them. In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

3. *Coffee Cultivation* : The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced into Coorg by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to the renewed interest in the revival of their rice cultivation.

4. *Fruit Cultivation* : Of fruit trees, plantains or oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because of the rind of the ripe fruit being almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruits are abundant.

5. *Honey and Wax* : Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among the rocks. But the Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hives, while the swarms belong to the finder. The lines are made in hollowed up logs loosely fitting in set ends. The lines are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees, often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from the animals. To obtain honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the *sijne* is then fried out and all the comb is removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes bored in the interior, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with bees-wax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees gather together and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. When honey is finally gathered by ...ing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

6. *Hunting and Fishing* : The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and are still keeping up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow, arrow, and the slings. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odi-kathi*, is a most formidable weapon in aggressive hand to hand fight. The bulk of them hunts partly for sport, and partly for supplementing their



A Coorg in his national costume

vegetable diet. Hounds are set upon pigs, they are coursed, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are shorter, heavier, and broader in the blade or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go in party for hunting, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it.

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers, and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thaduvala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many of them are caught by hand. They use also another net known as Beesvala by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits.

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Haridwar. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials, such as pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions, cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m., *kanji* and in the evening, a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments are taken. Toddy is of the bastard sago palm ; also a kind of beer made of fermented rice brandy and arrack are also their usual beverages. Of late, European liquors have become their common beverages at festivities.

The Coorg women deserve much praise for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen and do all kinds of kitchen-work. They bear the brunt of the labour in the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds, and clean the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossipping. Some are expert tailors. Others with guns on their shoulders wander through the jungle in search of game.

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is by both sexes alike and very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on, with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any show of formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her for some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist-knife (odi-kathi) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass case with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the *kukri* of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand to hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is of red kerchief or the beautiful fashionable turban rather flat and large at the top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume, they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own.

The women are more conservative in their mode of dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by means of a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knitted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of the Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver, or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or those set with precious stones and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and, in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair-ornaments, *chourigubbi*, are worn. In this connection, it may be said that the Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work which is a speciality of needle work with which they adorn their white kerchief, and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress.

Martial Spirit of the Coorgs

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Conner, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises out of this happy combination of the soldier and husbandman. They are devoid of any trace of the savage disposition which characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which ch the highlander to the mountains and that dness for their country for which subjects of small tories are distinguished are observed among the Coorgs.

Physical and Mental Characters

The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in their encounter with their enemies. Military officers have highly commended their excellent fitness for the formation of a few regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong-limbed, and swift-footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well-trimmed moustache. According to Holland, a Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the Coorg (light brown) Coorg and the very dark-skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic index, and nasal indices are given below :

	Stature		*Cephalic Index*		*Nasal Index*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184·5	166·0	90·7	93·2	100·0	74·0
Min.	149·1	131·5	66·5	70·9	46·3	50·9
Avg.	167·1	151·2	80·6	82·9	65·2	60·3

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently, they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with the people of lower culture. The march of civilization during the last fifty years has brought about considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages ; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered as a mere local dialect.

Conclusion

The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males, and 20,274, being females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well-sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume. In the words of Sir Erskin Perry, they are by far the finest race he has seen in India in point of independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being.

Bibliography

1. Richter, *Ethnographic Compendium.*
2. Rice, *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Mysore and Coorg, 1908.
3. Richter, *Manual of Coorg.*
4. Conner, *Memoirs of the Codugu Survey.*
5. Holland, *J.A.S.B.,* 1901, Part III, p. 59.
6. Cipriani, *Su Alcuni Cruppi Umani Del-Coorg,* p. 105.
7. L. A. K. Iyer, *Notes on Coorgs.*

Amma Coorg

The Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. Their common name is Amma Kodaga, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities, the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go away. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse on the Coorgs that the Coorg population should grow less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind ; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying, she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the name of the place where this occurred, Balamuri (turning to the right). A *linga* was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is yearly visited in the month of Thulam at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar also built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs, but a few facts may be given as remains of ancient priesthood.

The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great festivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the professed patronage of the Brahmans and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Hayiga Brahman whose family exerted spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tradition current among them that in former times one-half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest, to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two *gotras* among them, the Bharadwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra.

Marriage Customs

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs and their separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, his uncle, and other close relations assemble. They formally talk over the matter and come to a settlement, when cocoanuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed over to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. *Nischithambulam.*

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after forty days that Ganga-puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

Funeral Ceremony

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists. They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing, and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

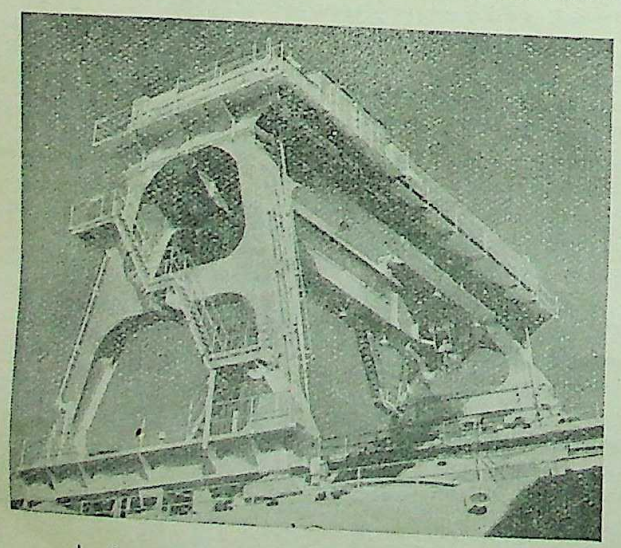
The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their present condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra*. This may eventually hasten their extinction. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 being females.

(Concluded)

———:O:———

TVA—AMERICA'S GREATEST PROJECT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

TVA, a public corporation, officially known as the Tennessee Valley Authority, harnessed the uncontrolled waters of a major river in southeastern U.S., transformed a flood-ravaged valley region into fertile land, and contributed toward the conservation of natural resources. TVA's achievements are measured in the economic and social betterment of the people of the valley area.



A giant crane does the heavy work at a TVA dam

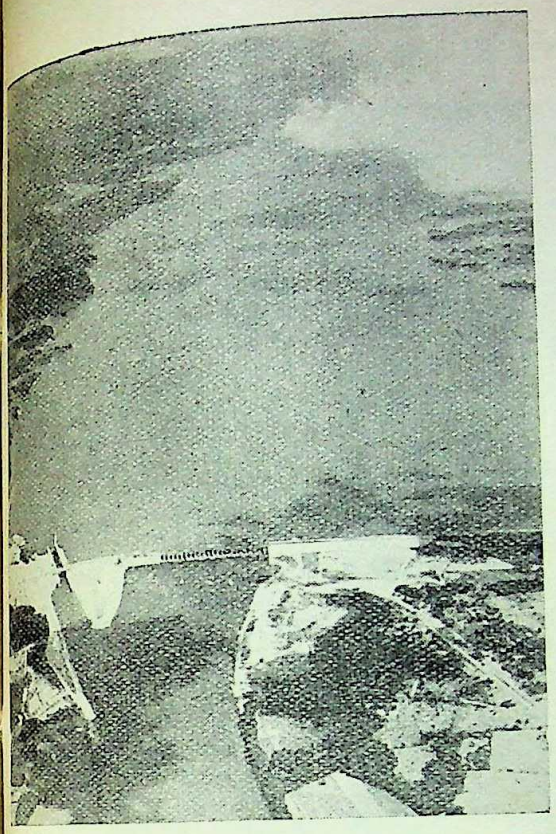
The TVA program, which transcends state lines, includes development and distribution of hydroelectric power, flood control, improvement of navigation, production of chemical fertilizers, prevention of soil erosion, re-forestation and improved methods of agricultural and industrial production.

Chartered by the U.S. Congress in 1933, TVA operates in the 41,000 square miles of watershed drained by the Tennessee River in the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi. The area, in which 5,000,000 people live, is about as large as England.

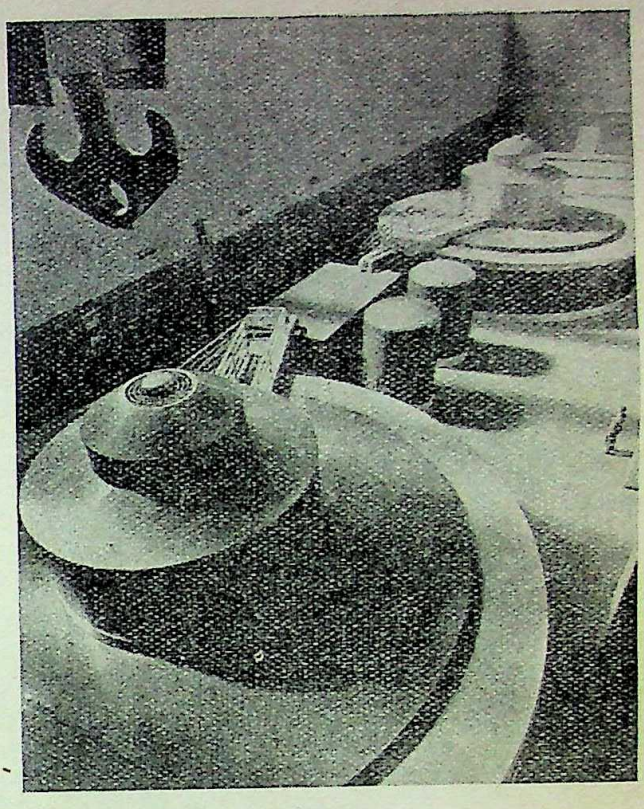
Previous to TVA control, the river in floodtime inundated cities and towns and hundreds of thousands of acres of farmland. Today TVA's system of 26 huge dams on the main stream and its tributaries harnesses the waters, providing a nine-foot navigation channel from Paducah, Kentucky, to Knoxville, a distance of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

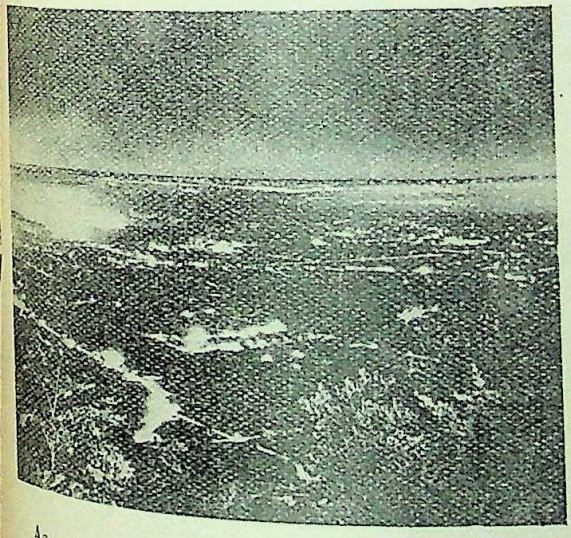
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



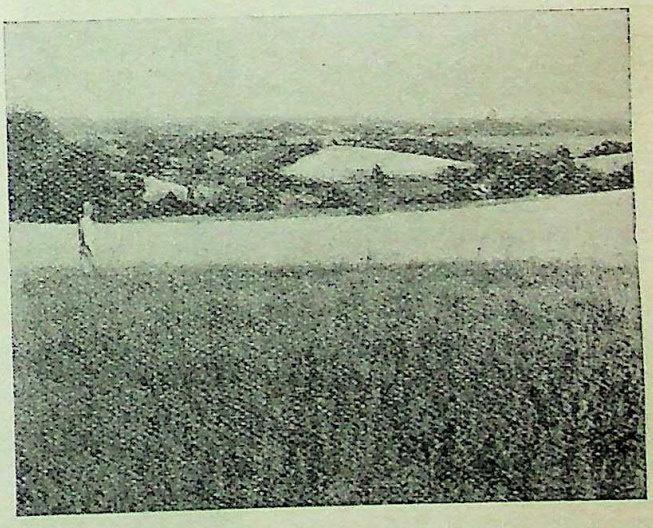
An aerial view of Kentucky Dam at Paducah, Kentucky, the most massive dam of the TVA system



The interior of the generator hall at TVA's Pickwick Landing Dam on the Tennessee River



As a result of TVA's power-producing and distributing systems, towns and villages are well-lighted at low cost



Farmlands throughout the Tennessee Valley area are restored to fertility by flood control and the use of TVA nitrates

650 miles. River shipping passes the dams through water locks.

Electric power generated at the dams is sold wholesale to 140 locally owned, financed and managed distributors, and through them reaches 650,000 homes, farms, factories and other places of business. In the fiscal year 1945, plants of the TVA system produced 12,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity. The net income from power is sufficient to pay two per cent interest and repay the entire power investment in sixty years.

A shoreline of more than 9,000 miles is available for recreational activities, and numerous parks, boat docks, fishing camps and cabin sites have been established on the banks of the system's man-made lakes.

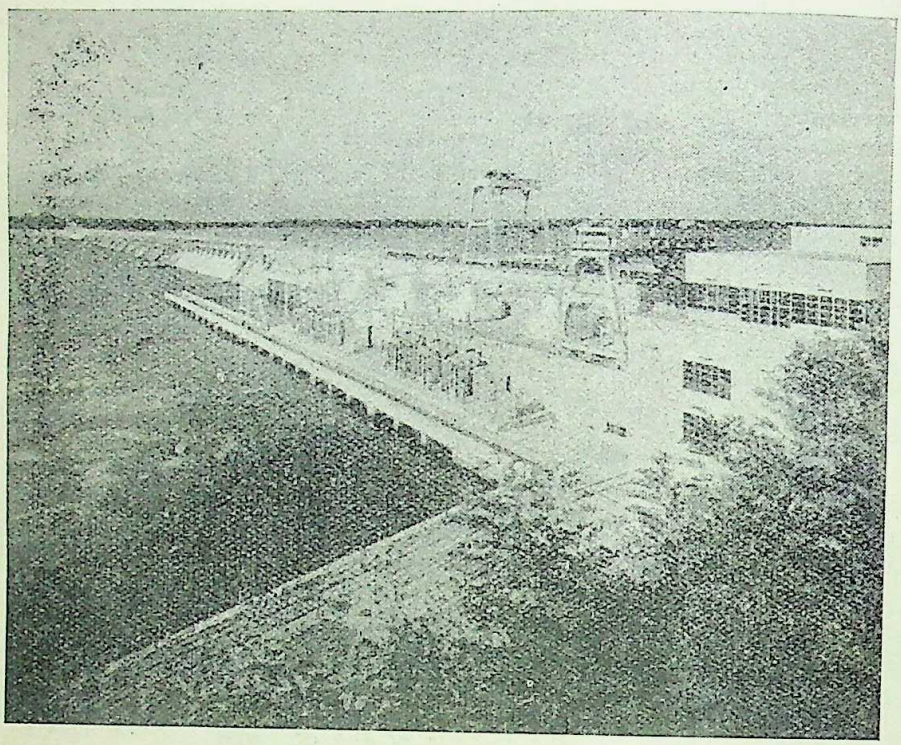
TVA, the subject of widespread interest in the United States and many parts of the overseas world, has served as a training ground for foreign as well as American agronomists, public health and community planning specialists, engineers and other technicians.

High steel towers carry the transmission lines which criss-cross the Tennessee Valley area to bring TVA power to 140 municipal and co-operative electric systems. Since 1933, rural electrification has made huge strides in the valley, the proportion of farms in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

region with electric service increasing from one in 28 to one in four. At the close of fiscal year of 1945, TVA's production of 12,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity exceeded that of any other integrated power system in the United States in the fiscal year of 1945. TVA electricity has changed the way of living in the Tennessee Valley area. It operates water pumps in the farmyard, community refrigerators at the cross-roads feed grinders in the woodsheds and machinery in factories which stand today where there were wornout cotton fields and rows of tenant shacks a few years ago. It cures hams, dries hay, processes sweet potatoes and cools milk in dairies. It supplies illumination for thousands of streets and tens of thousands of homes in urban and rural areas.



Wheeler Dam in northern Alabama, whose outdoor-type generators contribute 129,600 kilowatts to the TVA hydro-electric system

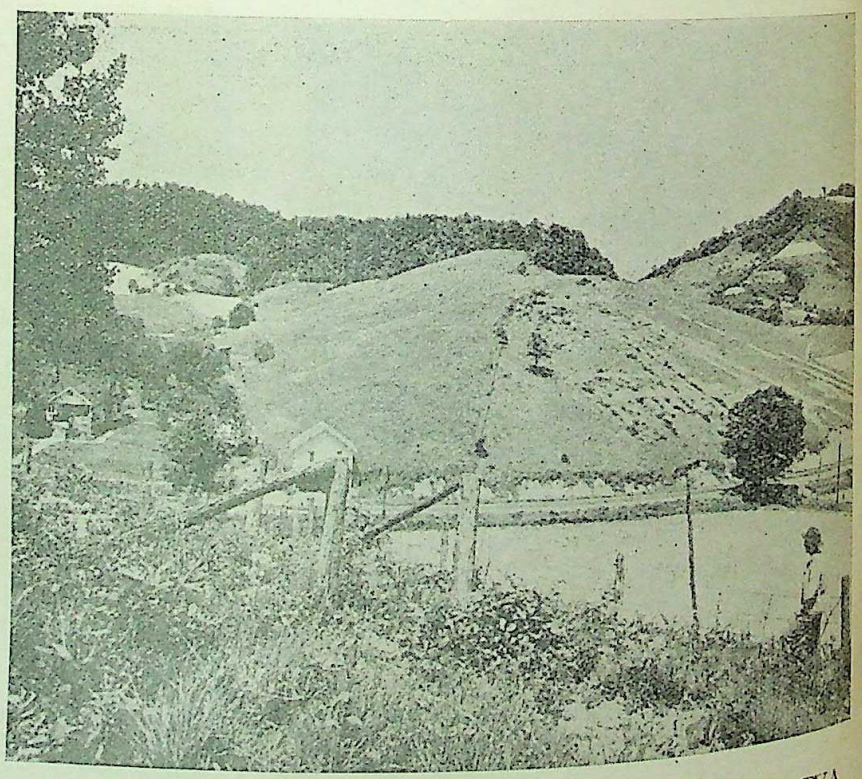
Water once ran largely wasted to the sea. It now pours through the penstocks of a connected series of TVA powerhouses to spin turbine and generator units totalling more than 2,500,000 kilowatts of fuel capacity.

Twelve years after establishment of TVA, the Tennessee is one of the most completely controlled river system in the world with 26 dams harnessing the flow from the Appalachian Mountains to the confluence with the Ohio, for the multiple purposes of navigation, flood control and power production.

distributors of TVA power were serving more than 163,000 rural customers, that is, consumers living on farms or in communities smaller than 250 population. The number of farms served exceeded 100,000.

As the TVA lakes came into being through dam construction, it became apparent that one of the important advantages they offered, aside from the major objectives of flood control, navigation and hydroelectric power, was the development of recreational facilities. Today, scores of parks, boat docks, fishing camps and cabin sites have been established on the 9,000-mile shoreline of the Tennessee River and its tributaries.

The TVA operation system follows the cycle of the season, withholding water in the wet periods of the winter and late spring from the crests of flood on the Tennessee, lower Ohio and lower Mississippi rivers, and releasing water in the dry periods of late summer and fall for navigation and power production.



A striking example of soil conservation. Through the use of TVA products of phosphate and lime this farmer produced cover crops that halted soil erosion and supplied fodder for his livestock

Agricultural extension services in states served by TVA report a steady increase in the number of farmers utilizing TVA-produced fertilizer in soil-conserving systems of farming with a consequent increase in production per acre.

—*USIS.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJENDRA PRASAD*

I came to know Rajendra Prasad first in 1904 when I joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a fellow student of Rajendra Prasad. He was pointed out to me as the most brilliant student of the year who had topped the list both in the Entrance and in the Intermediate Examinations with record marks. I was in awe of him but I soon found that he was the most unassuming of men and had not the slightest pride in him. I became one of his numerous friends. And I was closely associated with him till the end of his college career, which as every one knows was one of singular brilliance.

He was immensely popular with all the students, his seniors as well as his juniors, and this was demonstrated early in 1904 in a remarkable manner. There was no College Union in those days but Dr. P. K. Roy, our Principal, soon inaugurated one which later became the College Union. The first Secretary of the Union was a very senior student and belonged to a rich and aristocratic family of Calcutta but for some reason or other he was not very popular. Then somebody hit upon the idea of making Rajendra Prasad Secretary, and he was practically compelled to agree to stand for election. Dr. P. K. Roy presided over the meeting, and then the old Secretary was proposed for re-election. Rajendra Prasad's name was then proposed, and votes were taken by show of hands. Then to the astonishment of all, the old Secretary got only 6 or 7 supporters, and all the others, numbering nearly a thousand, voted solidly for Rajendra Prasad. For a Third Year student to be successful in a contest like this was a wonderful performance, and it should be remembered that in those days it was easier for a private to approach the Commander-in-Chief of an army than for a junior student to speak to his senior, without being asked. Dr. Roy was astounded and he was known to have asked some of the professors present who this young student was who was not evidently a Bengalee, and why he was so popular. Rajendra Prasad was never much to look at. Dark and thin and somewhat gaunt in his features, his appearance was not such as to impress any one at first sight, and it is no wonder that Dr. Roy was amazed at the result of this election.

Rajendra Prasad was constantly called upon to act as arbitrator in all disputes. Whether a particular football match was played as some alleged two minutes after dark, or whether Bepin Chandra Pal was a better speaker than Surendra Nath Banerjea, or whether in a quarrel A or his opponent B was in the right, students would come to Rajendra Prasad and ask for his decision. Rajendra Prasad would quietly hear both parties and give his decisions and the extraordinary thing about him was that his decisions were invariably accepted as final. We all knew and felt that he would never take sides, and that he would decide impartially and justly.

Our friend A was very argumentative and he would always argue, and argue on all conceivable subjects and he would never yield an inch. He had a serious quarrel with another student about some matter, and as usual they both came to Rajendra Prasad for arbitration. Rajendra Prasad heard both of them patiently and then a quiet voice gave it as his opinion that A was wrong. We all thought that A would explode. But such was Rajendra Prasad's hold upon all the students, that he did not. He sat silent for a few minutes and then he said that Rajendra Prasad was right and that he indeed was wrong and that he was very sorry.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad
(As he was in 1906)

I remember another incident. Our fellow student N was something of a bully. Tall and strong, and extremely violent in his frequent bursts of temper, he was feared by most of us. Professor Percival was then in his glory, and he used to take combined classes. There was always a great rush for the front seats in his lecture room. Rajendra Prasad could outrun most of us, and he usually managed to get a front seat. Our friend N would go more leisurely to the lecture room, throw away the books of those who had gone there before him and take the seat that he fancied and few of us ventured to quarrel with him over the matter. One day he threw away Rajendra Prasad's books though Rajendra Prasad had gone

* Written by a Bengali college-friend of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who prefers to remain incognito.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

there before him and had kept his books there as a sign of reservation. Rajendra Prasad who was talking with some one in the corridor at the time came back and found his seat occupied. He very quietly pushed the books of N and sat down in his old seat. N glared at him for a few minutes and we thought that he was going to fight with Rajendra Prasad. But Rajendra Prasad told him that if he would request him to give up his seat he would gladly do so but he would not yield to compulsion or force. N was silent, and he sat still for a few seconds. Then he apologised to Rajendra Prasad, and never again did he usurp the seats of others.

He frequently talked among us as to what he would like to be in after-life. I remember one such meeting of our friends when this matter was discussed. Our friend B said that he would like to be a great lawyer and it would delight him more than anything else to pulverise a witness by his cross-examination. Another friend of ours said that he would like to be a High Court Judge. Another would like to be an I.C.S. officer. A said that he would like to be the President of the Indian National Congress. Our friend N was a brilliant student, but he was very shy and unmethodical in his habits. J told him that all that he would be able to do would be to sell tobacco in a street corner. He then asked Rajendra Prasad what he would like to be. He was silent for a minute and then he said that his ambition in life was to become a teacher !

He spoke to me about this ambition of his several times. He told me that he would like very much to be a teacher in a school or a professor in a college and that he would not take more than Rs. 16 a month which according to him would be more than sufficient for his needs.

He realised this early ambition of his as we all know when he founded the Bihar National College.

I have spoken of his good qualities as a student. Let me now speak of his foibles—for he too had his foibles like the rest of us.

One great hobby of his was to purchase old books. Evening after evening he would go to old Maniruddin's shop and the other old book shops near the College Street corner, and buy old, dirty and tattered books, the dirtier they were, the better he liked them. He would then show us his purchases and tell us what great bargains he had made ! These books were on all conceivable subjects, and they had very little to do with the subjects in which we were to prepare ourselves for our examinations, but these considerations did not weigh with Rajendra Prasad, and he would buy them by dozens with his scholarship money.

He was a strict vegetarian and he eschewed fish, meat and eggs but one thing he liked, and this was *Kulpi* or ice-cream. Every afternoon old Bhajahari, the *Kulpiwalla,* would come to Rajendra Prasad's room, and then Rajendra Prasad would invite all and sundry to take *Kulpi* and this we all did, *at his expense.* Rajendra Prasad rarely took more than one *Kulpi* and he never took more than two, but would entreat and beg of us to take as many as we liked, and he did not allow any one to pass by his room without taking at least one.

At that time it used to be the fashion among the students to take, at the time of examinations, patent medicines supposed to be brain tonics and memory sharpeners and Rajendra Prasad was no exception to this rule. But he was a great believer in *Kaviraji* medicines, and so while we took Allopathic patent medicines supposed to contain phosphorus and other brain cooling elements he used to take *Chyabanpras* and honey, and he used to invite us all to take his medicine. He liked the *Chyabanpras* or at least the honey and we used to take a little of his *Chyabanpras* with plenty of his honey, and we thought that our memory was being sharpened then and there. Rajendra Prasad used also evil-smelling Kabiraji hair-oil which was supposed to cool the brain and he would ask us all to use that oil. We used to be great fops then and we drew the line at that. So while Rajendra Prasad used malodorous and stinking Kabiraji oil, we used sweet-scented *Jaba Kusum* instead.

Rajendra Prasad was never of studious habits and he never burnt the midnight oil. Indeed he used to work at his lessons much less than any of us, and he rarely worked even up to 11 p.m. He would yawn and doze after his evening meal, and he would tumble off to his bed at about 10 in the night. But he would top the list in every examination. But this was Rajendra Prasad's way. Even during the day he had not much time for his lessons. Much of his time was spent in settling disputes and in arbitrations, and he was as fond of gossip and talk as the worst of us. He would spend hours discussing with us the merits of renowned football players of our time, like Sibadas Bhaduri, Bejoy Bhaduri and Prafulla Biswas or of our college football stars like Gurudas, Ardhendu and Sudhir, and he loved frolic and fun like any of us.

He would never take credit for his invariably brilliant University results, and he would say that this was all chance or fluke. I remember having him once, when in the annual examination he topped the list in every subject. But he would not even then admit that he had any special merit. He said, and I remember his very words—"You see, the examiners are fools. You know much more of the subjects than I do. But, perhaps, I know better than you how to conceal my ignorance, and so I could fool the examiners."

His love for his friends was unbounded, and he would do everything possible or impossible to be of service to them. At that time some of his friends in Bihar conceived the idea of sending him to England to complete his studies, and they raised enough money for the purpose. We all rejoiced when we heard of this, but Rajendra Prasad was not happy that he alone would go to England and he definitely declined to accept the offer unless money was found for his two intimate friends, (who happened to be both Bengalees) to go to England with him. His Bihari friends had to agree and money was found for all three of them. Arrangements were then pushed on and even passages were booked. Then a telegram came that Rajendra Prasad's father was ill. Rajendra Prasad had to hurry home and he could not then leave for England. But he wrote to his friends and indeed entreated them to go to England with the money that he had got. But without their friend and leader they did not venture to go and so the idea had to be abandoned. But then a friend of ours heard of this matter and he requested Rajendra Prasad to allow him to go, and to lend him that money. Rajendra Prasad was only too willing to be of service to his friends and he readily agreed. So that a friend of ours went to England, and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is now adorning the Bench of a High Court somewhere in India.

I remember one other incident. A friend of ours, who was unsuccessful in the previous year, came to Rajendra Prasad before the University Examination, to borrow for the lecture notes of Professor Percival taken down by Rajendra Prasad. Rajendra Prasad could write extraordinarily fast, and he could take down practically verbatim all the illustrative things the great Professor said in the class, and none else in our class could do so equally well. I knew that Rajendra Prasad had not touched that particular book even once after class work, and that he had meant to read that book with the notes that he had taken just before the examination concerned. But he did not hesitate even for a second. He at once made over the notes that he had taken with so much care to his friend and he did not get them back till the examination was over and he never asked for them.

Rajendra Prasad was very fond of attending lectures, and his favourite speaker was Sister Nivedita. I do not think he ever missed a single speech of this great and saintly lady so long as he was in Calcutta. These were Partition days and the Swadeshi agitation was then in full swing. Rajendra Prasad, like the rest of us, then took the vow of never using anything but Swadeshi things but unlike the rest of us, he never departed from this vow. One incident I remember in this connection, two or three years after he had taken the vow, I took a fancy to some *Bilati* thing and purchased it, forgetting all about my vow. Rajendra Prasad came one day to my room and saw the *Bilati* thing that I had purchased. He did not utter a word of reproach to me, he did not even ask me why I had purchased that *Bilati* thing or had forsworn the vow that I had taken. He sat silently in my room and burst into uncontrollable tears.

The memory of those tears still haunts me.

I met Rajendra Prasad once or twice when he was practising in the Calcutta High Court. He was then living alone and his family was then in his native village Zeradi. But his house was full of students. Every poor student who had no means to prosecute studies was welcome to his house, and he used to take his food with them and to bear all their expenses. I do not think that he then spent more than Rs. 16 a month for himself and this as I have said was his ambition as a student.

I met him once after he had completed his Champaran tour with Mr. Gandhi. He was not Mahatma then nor was he then so widely known. But Rajendra Prasad told me that a man like Mr. Gandhi was not born even once in a century and he told us tales of all that had happened there, and how happy he had been in the companionship of Mr. Gandhi. We could see how profoundly he had been influenced by Mahatma.

Our ways of life lay apart and I met him years after in a Bengal village. Seeing me he came running and clasped me in a long loving embrace, smiling but with tears in his eyes and asked me thousands of questions of our common friends, of old, familiar faces and we recollected many incidents of our happy student days, and we remembered and remembered. So, when I think of Rajendra Prasad, I do not think of his intellectual pre-eminence, or of his great qualities as a leader, or of his unrivalled organising abilities or even of his immense sacrifices for the cause of his countrymen, but as the best and the most loving of men, and the kindest and dearest of friends.

May he live long!

———:o:———

PRAMATHANATH CHAUDHURI

An Appreciation

By Dr. KALYANI MALLIK, M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

'Birbal' is no more. 'Birbali bhasa' (Birbal's language) has become an important feature in the history of modern Bengali language and literature. With the passing away of Sj. Pramathanath Chaudhuri, better known as *Birbal* in Bengali literary circles, a landmark of the Bengali language has been removed. With the passing away of Rabindranath, with whom Pramathanath Chaudhuri was connected by marriage, Bengal had suffered an irreparable loss, but with the passing away of Pramathanath, Bengal has lost one of its most witty critics, as well as a great litterateur. Both Pramathanath and Rabindranath were bound by a two-fold tie of affection and literature, and it is a curious fact that Pramathanath's date of birth, the 7th of August, coincides with the date of passing away of the great poet Rabindranath.

Rabindranath's style of writing and that of Pramathanath differed vastly, yet each was an admirer of the other. While Rabindranath (here I may mention also his elder sister Swarnakumari) could not get over the style of Bankimchandra, Pramathanath was bent on creating a revolution in Bengali language by using colloquial Bengali even when writing on serious subjects. I distinctly remember Swarnakumari's advice to me, when I was yet a child, that Bankimchandra's language should be followed if one had the ambition of creating a literary name for oneself. Saratchandra, at that time I think, was just coming into the limelight, it was just before the last Great World War, and he was not appreciated by the old school. But Pramathanath possessed powerful literary genius and he popularised spoken Bengali by starting his new magazine *Sabujpatra* (the green leaf) which he edited so ably. I remember as a child the great commotion it created in our family circle, the plain but well-printed little magazine, with a deep green cover and a black palm-leaf printed on it, with no other picture or advertisement, brought a revolution into the world of letters.

We were not old enough to understahd the merits and demerits of the new magazine, (it was before the Great War in the year, 1914) but were told that it was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pramathanath's own creation, a magazine which was meant to contain Rabindranath's and Pramathanath's articles, and that it had a new style of writing.

As children we played in the garden of Pramathanath's own residence 'Kamalalaya' (No. 1, Bright St., Ballygunj, the present 'Nadia-House'), the long flight of marble steps leading to the hall attracted us, and the small demi-rooms and arches on the ground floor were our sources of inspiration for playing hide and seek, what a disturbance we must have created, the ten or twelve of us! But Pramathanath was never angry with us, neither was his wife Indira, of whom I shall write later. In one corner of the long verandah,



Pramathanath Chaudhuri (*Birbal*),
Editor of *Sabujpatra*

overlooking the lawn and the garden, sat the editor of the *Sabujpatra*, with his books, pen and paper, an amber cigarette-holder and a lighted cigarette in his hand, his sharp eyes peering through his glasses at us, but unperturbed! Sometimes we would even thump on the piano in the drawing-room, and he would sit on the adjoining verandah, with never a word of remonstrance. Such was he, kind, thoughtful and forbearing towards us, who tried his patience. We, as children, never spoke to him much, but later on in my riper years, I was amply compensated by his discussions on philosophy, and on the style of writing of modern fiction writers.

In 1927, when Pramathanath went with his wife Indira, to their Ranchi bungalow *Satyadham*, at Morabadi Hills, I had the good fortune of being with them with my daughters. In the evenings Indira Debi, who liked a little stroll, would go out regularly with her husband, I may here remark that their days were spent in perfect regularity of time. But Pramathanath would soon get tired and return, and sit down on an easy-chair in the verandah, Indira Debi would take my daughters with her to go out again for a little gossip with neighbours, while I was tempted to stay behind with the old man and listen to his talk. Nani, a very old servant of theirs, would be somewhere nearby, and appear whenever called for. And thus seated comfortably, with his cigarette lighted, he would start his discussion. Often he would remark on the grammatical and spelling mistakes of modern authors. I do not know why, but it seemed to me he found more fault with modern authoresses than authors. So, playfully I asked him one day, the spelling of the word *adbhut* in Bengali. I had learnt this little trick from my father, who was very particular about spelling. Imagine my joy, rather childish of course, when I found an author and not an authoress, making a mistake in spelling the word. Then a dictionary was brought, and our argument was settled, the word *bhut* is spelt with long 'u', but *adbhut* has only a short 'u'.

At other times he would tell me of his travels both abroad and in India. Sometimes he would discuss philosophy. I remember he spoke very highly of the learning of Swamiji Hariharananda of Madhupore, he remarked on Swamiji's commentary on Patanjal-Darshan and said, "At present he is the most learned of all Swamijis in India." Thus Pramathanath would go on with his discussions till Indira Debi returned. Then visitors would sometimes drop in and talk, or we would sing and Pramathanath listen, for he had a keen ear for Indian *ragas* and *raginis*. At other times we would play 'Charades' and let Pramathanath guess the riddle. Thus our time passed pleasantly till the dinner-gong sounded. One day we had a picnic in the garden of his Ranchi house, nearly twenty-five to thirty of us, all cousins and relations. The meat was cooked by our enthusiast Subir (Indira Debi's nephew) with a lot of sugar in it, and we had our lunch some time late in the afternoon, but Pramathanath and Indira Debi never grumbled, they both joined in our merry-making. This is the last occasion when this ideal couple went to their Ranchi residence, and those days will be ever cherished by myself and my daughters.

Only a month ago, Indira Debi arranged a musical entertainment by little children, of Rabindranath's songs for children, to the accompaniment of dance and music. The children of our family went regularly for rehearsals to Pramathanath's last residence at No. 1, Palm Place, Ballygunj. And on the occasion of his last birthday, on the 7th of August, he distributed small but cherished prizes to all the children who took part in it. Who ever knew that this was to be the last occasion we should have him amongst us in our enjoyment? But this was ordained by God, and a few days afterwards he fell into a semi-conscious state, till he passed away on the night of the 2nd of September. By God's mercy he was saved the nerve-racking tension of the last Calcutta tragedy, due to his mentally unconscious state.

Pramathanath Chaudhuri had commenced his literary career at an early age as a poet and story-writer, but, soon he became a critic of no mean order under his pen-name Birbal, and as such he will be remembered and admired by future generations. With satire he would expose the angularities of modern society, yet he was never unfair or undignified in his criticisms. Though he was a scholar in French, [illegible] other languages, yet one finds in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

published works a simple style, using spoken
gali with tit-bits of foreign words in it; a written
nguage, which was decidedly his own, and spoken by
many in modern society. In his *Ghosaler Trikatha*,
come across delightful story-tellers, companionable
ks and women of rare beauty and greatness of heart.
his story 'Ghosaler Heyali,' he portrays a professor
who was a critic like the author. Ghosal, the delightful
and story-teller says about the professor, "he became
great critic, nearly like yourself." It is said, his book
ar Iyari Katha, depicts his own life in some places.
ferway, two cities, Calcutta and London, with which
e was familiar, figure in his stories and the impersonal
the listener, is always in them. This makes his stories
teresting. Even children in their teens are familiar
th his *Amra and Tomra*, in which he portrays the
st and the West, according to his own convictions,
d the article has given the students food for think-
g; his *Mantrasakti* showing the strength which a
ntra can give a 'lathial' (a player of sticks and
words) has also found favour with children.

Pramathanath has humour, yet his stories do not
ring forth roars of laughter, his writing is uniform in
s cheerfulness, one never feels bored with his stories
d his sarcasms go deep into the mind. Once he
rote an article on Rabindranath's "Wit and Humour"
published in *Tagore Birthday Number*, 1941), in
hich he describes wit as a spiritual lightning, as both
ave the same suddenness and swiftness, the same
rilliance and immaterial piercing quality. Pramatha-
ath says, "Sparks of wit clear our mental atmos-
here" but "humour, on the other hand, betrays an
ttitude of amused tolerance of the comic aspect of
fe and things. It is more human than wit and appeals
o our whole mind, both emotional and intellectual.
The art of the humorist is a creative art." And thus
id Pramathanath himself create characters, which
re not always persons taken from life, but who lived
nly in the mind of their creator. This is the immortal
reation of literary art, the humorous characters com-
ng out of the mind of a great writer, but based on his
bservations of persons in real life. 'Nil-lohit,' 'Ghosal,'
'Pandit Mahasay,' 'Ujjala-nilmoni,' are such creations
of Pramathanath's, he calls them the 'Nava-ratna'
(nine-jewels) of Rai-mahasay's court, except 'Nil-lohit,'
who is a character by himself and a friend of the late
Kaiser! Pramathanath had chosen for himself the
pseudonym of *Birbal*, the name of a courtier in the
court of the Emperor Akbar and under this name he
wrote for several years, even before he started his
Sobujpatra. Indeed, he was born to the role of a
courtier and would have happily shone as such had he
the opportunity, but alas! he was recognised too late,
and that only by the cultured few.

Born in Jessore, on the 7th of August, 1868, in the well-known Chaudhuri family of Pabna and brought up in Krishnanagar, Pramathanath found stimulation for his courtliness, for Krishnanagar still held the tradition of court-culture and wittiness. Pramathanath learnt the art of word-play and of repartee from Krishnanagar. From Krishnanagar, once the capital of Bengal, came the beautiful models and dolls made of clay, and from Krishnanagar came too the court-poet Bharatchandra's *Anandantangal*, in which the great art-patron Maharaja Krishnachandra has been immortalised. But it was an age when Sanskrit words were being vernacularised; Mukundaram's *Chandi-kavya* is a prelude to the style of which Bharatchandra in later age was the finished master. Art was more welcome than nature to these poets and rules of Sanskrit rhetoric were more valued than the simple dictates of the heart. Pramathanath came to Krishnanagar at the age of five and stayed there till the age of thirteen, later on too he would often go back from Calcutta to their home at Krishnanagar, his literary career started at this place, but he was not influenced by the pedantic style of the old school. Our poet had a horror of vulgarity and abhorred the cheap and the commonplace, he was a critic of life and a connoisseur of arts, and as such he followed his own way of thinking and expressing himself in a non-Sanskritic language. While he made fun of pedantry, his opponents raged and foamed, but he was tolerant, till he won the battle



Pramathanath and Indira Debi at Santiniketan

and once for all, his 'Birbali Bhasa,' the spoken tongue, was established in literature and with Rabindranath as an ally in this new venture, henceforth their ship sailed smoothly.

The ancestral home of the Chaudhuri family is in Haripur village in the Pabna District. Pramathanath's father Durgadas Chaudhuri was an officer in the Bengal Executive Service, his mother, a pious lady, died at a ripe old age at her third son Kumudnath's residence at Ballygunj. The parents could be well proud of their seven stalwart and handsome sons, all well-placed in life and of their two daughters who survived them. The eldest son was Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, married to Pratibha Debi, a niece of Rabindranath and the founder of Sangeet-Sangha, the well-known music school; the second son is Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Bar-at-Law, the editor of *Weekly Notes*, married to one of the daughters of the great Sir Surendranath Banerjea. The third son is K. N. Chaudhuri, also a barrister

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and a famous *shikari,* married to a daughter of the well-known homoepath Dr. Pratap Chandra Majumdar. The fourth son was our Pramathanath, known also as P. Chaudhuri, Bar-at-Law, married to Indira Debi, B.A., the only daughter of Satyendranath, the elder brother of Rabindranath, and the first Indian to enter the Civil Service. The fifth son was Lt.-Col. Manmatha, the first Bengali to act as Surgeon-General, he was posted in Madras, he too married another of Rabindranath's nieces. The sixth son is Capt. S. N. Chaudhuri, I.M.S., married to a grand-niece of Tagore ; and the last and the youngest is Mr. A. N. Chaudhuri, the well-known barrister, married to Promila Debi, B.A. (Cantab), a daughter of W. C. Bonnerji, the first President of our Indian National Congress.

Of the two daughters of Durgadas Chaudhuri, the younger is Mrs. U. D. Banerji, wife of the late Dr. Umadas Banerji, and the other was Sm. Prasannamoyi Debi, an authoress of some repute and the mother of the Bengali poetess Sm. Priyambada Debi, B.A., known for her short but sweet poems and (some) books for children. To such a family did Pramathanath belong, a family which held its head high in Bengali society in an age which is not very distant. The family had settled at Krishnanagar, so Pramathanath was admitted to the Chhatravritti School and later on to the Collegiate School there. In 1881, he was sent to Calcutta and was admitted in the Hare School, and from here he passed his Entrance Examination. After studying for his F.A. in the Presidency College for two years, when he met the famous Hirendra Nath Dutta, he went back to his home in Krishnanagar, and there began his study of English poets, Byron, Shakespeare, etc., in his father's library. It was here he met Rabindranath's friend Srish Chandra Majumdar and it was here again that later on in 1886, he met the greatest of Bengali poets, Rabindranath himself. Pramathanath's eldest brother Ashutosh, while going to England had met Rabindranath on board the ship and then had become friends. Rabindranath returned home from Madras, but on Ashutosh's return from England, Rabindranath went to see him at Krishnanagar, and it was in this connection that Pramathanath came to know Rabindranath, Lord Sinha, Byomkesh Chakravarti and Loken Palit were also Ashutosh's friends, whom Pramathanath came to know too. These friends discussed law, science and literature, and Rabindranath discussed music with Ashutosh. Pramathanath was often present at these discussions.

After passing his F.A. from the St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, Pramathanath graduated from the Presidency College in 1889, with honours in Philosophy, and was placed first class first. For his M.A. he took English as his subject ; in answering his examination paper, he gave his own criticism of Shakespeare, and this, together with his good English, secured for him the first place in the first class. While studying for his M.A., he read a paper on Jayadev's *Gitagovinda* in a small literary club, which later on developed into the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. It was here that he came to know literary men like Jnanendra N. Gupta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Akshoy Baral, Suresh Samajpati and others. The members criticised his first Bengali article on 'Jayadev,' and it was published in the *Bharati,* a magazine, edited by Rabindranath's elder sister Swarnakumari.

In 1893, Pramathanath went to England to study for the Bar, he stayed in England for two and a half years or more, and his father passed away while he was there. When Pramathanath was in India, he had learnt French and Italian at home. He had also translated French stories into Bengali, which Suresh Samajpati published in his magazine *Sahitya,* and Rabindranath criticised in his *Sadhana.* Pramathanath had a vast collection of French books in his residence 'Kamalalaya,' which later on he donated to the Benares Hindu University. A man of leisure and of letters, he was always surrounded by books, many of which have been donated to the Visva-Bharati Santiniketan.

On his return to India, Pramathanath devoted himself more to the study of literature than to the study of law. His first short story 'Prabash Smriti' in Bengali was published in the *Bharati** of 1888. Pramathanath continued his connection with *Bharati* and other periodicals for a long time, till he started his own paper *Sabujpatra* in 1914. Pramathanath's first book of poems called *Sonnet Panchasat,* was published in 1913 ; another of his poetry books, is called *padacharan* ; his essays are, *Birbaler Halkhata, Nanakatha, Duyarki, Amader Siksha, Pranchin Hindusthan,* etc.; his story books are, *Char Iyari Katha, Ahuti, Nillohiter Katha; Nillohiter Adiprem,* and *Anukatha Saptak,* etc. *Visva-Bharati* has brought out an edition of his collected stories called *Galpasamgraha,* with a foreward by Rabindranath.

Pramathanath's contributions are of inestimable value, though they are not so vast as Rabindranath's. The Calcutta University decorated him with honours by giving him the Jagattarini Medal in 1937. And on the 6th of September, 1941, a public reception was given to him to celebrate his seventy-third birthday by a Jayanti Utsav. The function was held at the Ashutosh Hall of the Calcutta University. At this function Pramatha Chaudhuri remarked, "This gathering proves that my holding the pen has not been in vain." It was Indira Debi who read out what Pramathanath had to say, as for some time past his health had been failing, but he was fortunate in having a wife who was devoted and loving and nursed him till the very end. She was his *grihini, sachiva, sakhi* (wife, adviser and companion), she was always patient and kind. Indira was brought up in luxury, in the midst of art and music, and she also passed the B.A. of the Calcutta University. The only daughter of her father, the loving sister of Surendranath Tagore, the favourite niece of Rabindranath and Swarnakumari, she became the pet of all her family by her affectionate nature. She is also a gifted musician, well-versed in both Eastern and Western music, the authoress of *Narir Ukti,* and the notation writer of many of Rabindranath's songs, she is an authority in the matter of the poet's old songs. She too is tall, fair and goodlooking like her husband, her sweet melodious voice, grace, beauty and achievements have endeared her to all of her family members, whether old or young, and to their hosts of friends. An early part of her childhood was spent in England with her parents and later on she often visited the Bombay Presidency, where her father was posted. Perhaps, these influences of places, where there is no

* Probably Swarnakumari's two daughters, Hiranmoyee Debi and Sarala Debi, were then the joint editors, as Swarnakumari edited the paper for twelve years from 1884, and then after a brief interval again for seventeen long years.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ght-system, together with her family culture, has ...bowed on her the rare gift of being alive to every-...ing surrounding her, whether the cooking of a ...ecial dish or conducting a musical performance, ...ether writing an article for a magazine or finding a ...uzzle-design to be drawn on the wall by home artists! ...e is equally interested in everything. Without her, ...Pramathanath's life would not have been what it was, ...n aristocrat's life spent in an old-world splendour. ...e reminds me of 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ...ever.' They were both perfect as regards their choice ...f wearing apparel, which always suited their ...eautiful complexion. Unfortunately this ideal couple ...ave not been blessed with offspring, but she is the *Na-Ma* of all the children of her husband's family, and the children of her own family love her nonetheless.

Thus helped and encouraged by his wife, who lately worked also as his secretary, coaxing him to dictate his own life-sketch to her, and by receiving contributions from Rabindranath for the *Sabujpatra*, Pramathanath, the humorous aristocrat among writers, effected a far-reaching revolution in the literary style of Bengal. An erudite scholar and a barrister of the Calcutta High Court, he could not shake off his early attachment to Bengali literature, at whose altar he served unfalteringly till the very end, and in his passing away Bengal has lost one of her most powerful literary geniuses.

———:O:———

BOYHOOD DAYS*

Vignettes of a Vikrampur Village

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

Vikrampur in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca District (the land of my birth) is a peninsular tract of about 300 square miles, washed by the gigantic river Padma on the south and the west and by the comparatively smaller river Dhaleswari on the east and intersected by small streams and canals which flow out of and into the big rivers. It is the most congested rural area in the whole of India, the population being about 9 lacs. Vikrampur has an old, old history dating back to the Buddhist age (hundreds of Buddhist images of the earlier and later schools have been in recent years unearthed by archaeological scholars and preserved in the Dacca University Museum) and bears to this day its ancient fame of scholarship, culture and daring patriotism. It was here that Dipankar Sri Jnana, the Buddhist scholar who travelled to Tibet in the ancient days was born: later on it was the home of the Tantric cult of *Sakti*: it was one of the far-famed centres of Sanskritic learning, taking its place alongside Navadwip, Bhatpara and Mithila: and in the era of British occupation, it has produced scholars like the late Dr. Aghore Nath Chatterjee, father of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, besides hosts of pioneer educationists who made their mark throughout and beyond Bengal: it was the stronghold of Chand Roy and Kedar Roy, one of the twelve *Bhuyias* (semi-independent Chieftains under Moghul suzerainty) of Bengal, it fought the Arakan Maghs and the Dutch and Portuguese marauders in the 17th and 18th centuries: and in this generation it has produced an outstanding patriot of superlative charity and self-abnegation like Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and others of fine calibre, a saintly patriot like Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta, intrepid self-sacrificing workers like Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose and Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee besides thousands of fighting zealots in the cause of Indian freedom, who have contributed their mite of patriotic service to far-away districts and provinces. The conditions of life tend to rear up a people, hardy and resourceful, expert boatmen and swimmers from boyhood who have to hold their own against incursion of flood when every house is an islet isolated from every other house, when snakes and reptiles and crocodiles infest the entire region, when people's homesteads get under swirling masses of water and a sort of amphibious existence comes into being for months and cottage floors and mud-walls are washed away and people have to improvise temporary *machans* (small sheds on stilts of bamboo and wood) for themselves and their cattle and poultry. Much of it is *chur land*, where sturdy nomadic Muslims and Namasudra Hindus of intense courage in search of land and homestead settle, fight for years against heavy odds and natural impediments and marry and multiply, and make of these regions reclaimed from water smiling gardens full of vegetation and crops, paddy and rice and other crops of the finest variety. Here Muslims and Hindus have lived side by side for endless generations in perfect amity and concord; there have been and are robbers and river-dacoits, but the heart of the people is sound and humane in spite of aberrations. The cultured and virile middle class is the back-bone and the hardy peasantry the muscles and sinews of this wonderful part of Bengal. The beauty of its wide-flowing rivers and streams, the abundance of its ponds and tanks, most of which have inflow of fresh water and fresh fish during the rains, the wide stretches of its paddy and jute fields where paddy and jute crops have to be harvested often in four or five feet of water, the big and small marts throbbing with life and alert business with thousands of river-craft of all kinds and sizes careering full-sailed along rivers and canals manned by vigilant and cheerful peasant-producers, has only to be seen to appreciate their charm. It is one of the finest and most romantic and adventurous parts of India. The village of my nativity has been a prosperous village of over three thousand souls, studded with zig-zag watery channels banked by leafy gardens and wild jungle growths (in my grandfather's time leopards and wild boars were trapped or hunted inside the village and men had to travel to neighbouring market-places in strong batches, armed with lathis and spears) which look eerie in the moon-light and send a shiver along the spine in the dark nights and which are a labyrinthine puzzle

* Extracts from the autobiographical volume *At the Cross-Roads*. The writer is a well-known Congressman and educationist who had been also Editor of the now-defunct Calcutta daily *The Servant* and *The Rangoon Mail*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

through which no stranger boats might find their way at night. This village was bossed, sixty years ago by a few Brahmin and Vaidya families, small landed gentry, of whom my family was one and had a dense population of Muslim and Hindu tillers, of a strong contingent of milk-men, of small traders and of artisans of every shade and colour.

What a transformation in recent years ! Vikrampur, all this garden-plot of Bengal, hoary, full of health and vitality, whose denizens were to be found after English education and ways had been injected into them, in all parts of India, Burma and the Near East, in all manner of cultured avocations, teaching, doctoring, engineering, law and business, has suffered woeful deterioration first by the incursion of the pest of the water-hyacinth about 20 years back—and what vestige of old glory and material comfort remained has vanished in the throes of the man-made famine of '42 and '43, which took a toll of a lac, one-ninth of the population !

I was born on the 15th of June, 1885 (2nd of Ashara, 1292 B.S.) in the village home of my ancestors, (Madhyapara) in the Vikrampur Pargana of the District of Dacca in Eastern Bengal on a day of earth-quake. The family was one of gentlemen-farmers who, in the days of my grandfather, added to the agricultural income by business in Northern Bengal in tobacco, oil, and lending money to peasant-proprieters on security. On the mother's side, I have been told, my grandfather was in affluent circumstances, having been manager of a Zemindary Estate besides being a small landlord owning several villages on his own account. Both of them were leaders of the rural *samaj* of those days, the maternal grandfather being one of the coterie of leaders of the Brahmin community. Six decades ago, life in an East Bengal village was self-contained, fairly prosperous and disciplined in manners and conduct. Prices were low, rice selling at approximately two rupees per maund, pulses at about the same rate, fish and meat, butter and ghee were plentiful, vegetables mostly home-grown, every family keeping all assortment of cows for milk and the necessary contingent of bulls and agricultural implements for farming. All disputes were settled by the village Panchayat and hardly any cases short of murder reached the police and law-courts. Every house had its spinning-wheels plied by women-folk and every village or group of villages had its families of weavers. Lancashire and Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt had not yet been able to penetrate the rural markets, of which there were not a few, and the usual clothing of a respectable village gentleman comprised nothing more costly than 5 or 6 coarse dhooties and a chaddar with a silk outfit for ceremonial worship and festive occasions and a shawl for ceremonial visitings : the ladies were content with home-made saris of ordinary texture with a Dacca sari and a silk sari for luxury. Underwear, chemises and blouses were undreamt of luxuries. The village granaries kept full, the tanks were flush with fish and as floods from the big rivers, Padma and Dhaleswari, swept over the country-side for practically five months in the year, catching of fish by various devices and of tortoises (which are very much relished in East Bengal) also was a favourite leisure-time pastime in which the big and small folk joined bands in flotillas of boats. Gold and silver were not plentiful, currency notes had not yet made their appearance and ordinary sales of commodities for everyday consumption were often by barter. Copper coins and cowries were the usual currency in the villages and a man who could produce five thousand silver rupees or a hundred tolas of gold from the home-chest was accounted quite rich. The conveyance during the season of floods was by boats, every household owning one or more boats, big and small. During dry months, men took a twenty-mile walk to relatives' and friends' homes or to the District head-quarters as a normal thing and women were carried on small palanquins drawn by a couple of sturdy bearers : it was only very rich families who maintained their own palanquins and the necessary retinue. Life was conducted on a community co-operative basis and relations between Hindus and Moslems were of the friendliest ; servants male and female were treated as junior members of the family and accosted like relations. Very often Hindus and Moslems became almost blood-brothers, participating in each other's religious and social ceremonies and offerings were made by Hindus to Moslem shrines and vice-versa. Every village had its *Dharma-gola*, a granary of common use in times of scarcity, and it was a point of honour for the more affluent to look after, cherish and maintain the less affluent. The weaver, the brass-smith, the milk-producer, the washerman, the fisher-man, the barber, the cleaner and sweeper, the potter and the day-labourer and the boat-man, domestic servant—each had his appointed place and fixed perquisites (in the shape of *chakran, i.e.,* free tenancy of fixed areas of cultivable land and also of presents in kind and clothing on ceremonial occasions) and the village economy was a self-acting, self-sufficing machinery which kept working on easy, greased wheels. Hospitality was a matter of routine and no guest could be sent away without food and shelter at any time of the day and night. The village *chandi-mandap* of the richer gentry was the location of the rural school, where the three R's were taught with very little expense, plantain-leaves, reed-pens, and ink manufactured out of soot-black and one or two printed primers containing lessons also in social etiquette and charity, a book of mental arithmetic (*subhankari*) teaching complex calculations by time-honoured formulae couched in doggerel verse which could be easily memorised and verbal story-telling from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, supplemented by the telling of folk-tales and hair-raising fairy-stories and demon-stories on evenings by the mothers and grandmothers and aunts—forming the entire paraphernalia of a basic elementary education which stuck and helped the learner to find his way through life as a commoner. The women-folk had their early schooling in the observance of various *bratas* (worship of village deities, or saintly women of legendary fame or of various phases of Nature and of the seasons) which required habits of early rising before the faintest streaks of dawn, of culling of flowers and holy green grass and *Tulsi* leaves, of early dips in the tanks even in the intensest cold, of lighting of lamps and incense and preparations of sandal-paste—often punctuated with modellings in clay of various kinds of birds, fishes and reptiles, and of deities and of *alpana*.* These ceremonies had their group worship-

* *Alpana* is nice designs of leaves and flowers and of birds and beasts and ingenious curves and circles made on the house-flooring and walls by semi-liquid and pounded rice, and has been an outstanding folk-art in Bengal and Orissa. An interesting account of these and illustrated drawings of designs of *Alpana* has been published by Abanindranath Tagore and others.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...s and they had to memorise and chant *brata-kathas* ...legends and stories in homely verse, which were ...t the aroma of the simple, natural, unsophisticated ...life and the charms and beauties of nature—and ...ged in lessons of heroism, charity and social service ...faith in the unseen power. This was an excellent ...paration for the married life or for the life of ...renity or widowhood. Sweetness of disposition, ...rsical fitness, a strain of selfless service and modesty ...d chastity of soul were all imbibed in the process. The more ambitious and richer boys were sent on to ...e higher vernacular and middle schools (the latter ...ching some English and advanced courses in Mathe...ics, language and History and Geography): a very ...ited number went up to the Higher English schools ...ch were just being started by Government, Mis...nary and indigenous agencies. The Government-...nsored Dacca College and the Dacca Collegiate ...ool as also the Jagannath College and School ...ted by princely benefactors were functioning and ...was to the Dacca College that my father, Govinda ...ndra Banerji, went up after his schooling at the ...legiate School, the first in the family to do so, ...ut the year 1880 or thereabouts. A Mr. Pope was ...n Principal. The call for going out in search of ...uments from Government or semi-Government ...ce was not yet very insistent in our parts and my ...her was preceded in such adventuring by a few ...ked men from the Pargana of Vikrampur, some of ...m distinguished themselves as Executive and ...icial and Accounts officers and doctors in Govern...ent employ, the less fortunate joining as clerks in ...e Criminal, Civil and educational Governmental ...blishment, in the District or Divisional head...rters. The prestige of Sanskrit and Persian scholar...p was still high and Brahmin Pandits learned in ...e Smritis, in Astrology, in Vedic and Pauranic ...ls and Maulanas versed in Islamic lore, and ...ishnavite gurus, disciples of the Chaitanya cult, ...re widely respected and made an honourable living, ...ving examples of plain living and high thinking and ...gh morals which are rare in the present days. ...skrit and Islamic learning had not yet been ...ndardised by Governmental or semi-official Boards ...d Associations; and Sanskrit Tols and Muslim ...drasas were real centres of old-world culture and ...rning. Nor did the villages lack in healthy diver...on and edifying and stimulating entertainment. The ...rgans of mass education still functioned: and ...thakas (cultured Brahmins with trained musical ...ices versed in the ancient scriptures, Puranas, the ...ta and the Bhagavata and *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, ...e Bible of the Vaishnav cult who were also apt ...gers and reciters) kept thousands spell-bound by ...eir recitals given in rich houses from time to time: ...e *Jatrawallas*, the *Kabis*, the *Torja-singers*, the *Bauls* ...kept the minds of village folk sweet and clean and ...ttered them to piety, human solidarity and good ...llowship by dramatic improvisations from Pauranic ...re or by performances of set pieces in stages beneath ...a big *shamiana* (canopy of canvas) in the open or ...der the shelter of the rich man's *Chandi-mandap*. ...Competitions in poetic improvisation (by Kabis and ...Torja-singers) were as much an order of the day as ...boat-racing, lathi-exercises, javelin-throwings, sword-...play, etc. Then there were festive ceremonies in every ...household throughout the twelve months of the year, ...the Durga Puja (worship of Sakti in all its phases), the Saraswati Puja (worship of learning and the fine arts) and the Jagaddhatri (sustainer of the universe) and Manasa (serpent-goddess with a variety of legend and romance about the deity) pujas being celebrated with comparative pomp and splendour according to the means of the richer families, which gave play to the art-instincts of the village men-folk to which every man and woman and child in the village and its environs were bound to be invited and entertained and feasted: Pundits receiving presents, servitors their prescribed fees, the officiating priests making their fortunes (in piles of clothing and rice and sweets and fruits and money presents), the beggars and mendicants receiving their doles. Even the poorest householder observed certain rituals of daily worship and the blowing of conch-shells and the plucking of fruits and flowers in a spirit of religious humility, the morning and evening prayers and Bhajan-singings, pilgrimages to distant villages which sheltered shrines of saints or were the sites of religious temples of repute—all these conspired to place and maintain men's spiritual longings on a level of sweet decency rare in these days of hustle and grab and greed, of the western cinema and the tainted stage which often make of sex an obsession and direct green minds to the by-ways of immoral conduct by open or subtle suggestion, which trail the sweetness and purity of the normal sex-life and the decent community-life to the dust, and make of life one abnormal medley of sensationalism and sex-hunger and kill the decencies of social behaviour.

It will take the nation another generation of suffering and heartache to retrace its steps and to find out that the trappings of the West hardly fit us of the East and that what may be meat to some may easily be poison to others. The machine-civilisation of the West with its surfeit of easy locomotion, cheap luxuries, surface culture, and its creation of 'robot-men' and 'robot-women,' and its mass-production and mass-distribution of goods wanted and unwanted, its sex-orgies and its tearing away of the draperies of private and domestic life, and its huddled life in factory-towns is fast producing conditions in which the barbarianism and philistinism of sugar-coated human apes and tigers will swamp all real cultural and spiritual values, and end, unless better counsels prevail, by the foul abuse of science harnessed to the ends of mass-terrorising and mass-killing of the human species in every part of the world, in an extinction of the human races and peoples: and yet it is to this machine-civilisation which kills personality and encourages anti-social codes of national and international behaviour that large numbers of our so-called 'intelligentsia' swear their conscious or unconscious allegiance and our education, our politics, our economics are tarred with the black brush of this poisonous fungus-growth masquerading as 'modernism.' It is here that Gandhiji has spotted the real disease and malaise of the modernised East and pointed the way back to our ancient moorings—the decentralised, destandardised rural life of self-sufficient economy with its spinning wheel and the weaver's loom and the simple cottage industries, lit up with the mild lamps of incense, music and sacrifice and bubbling into laughter and song, and bursting into a blaze of sweetness and purity and a halo of harmony and divinity! This is not really going back to the slow tempo of devitalised India and this new orienta-

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion will certainly have room for electrical, steam and water-power. . . . . .

It was in such an atmosphere of simplicity and robust good-fellowship, of wide charity and tolerance, of a co-operative community-life that I was born and nurtured. My reconections of childhood are faint but I was a rather sick child who was often in the throes of physical agony, the despair of the family—it was the angelic ministration and vigilant care of my maternal grandmother with whom I lived for the first 4 or 5 years of my birth (much reduced in fortune by large charities and expensive ceremonial celebrations of my grandfather on the mother's side but with her soul and body attuned to service of the poor and the lowly, of the sick and the suffering, sparing nothing in the doings of good turns to the families of the erst-while retainers and dependants of the house) that kept me alive. I remember the *hate-khari* (initiation into learning) ceremony of childhood, when with a new cloth tucked on to my waist and a new scarf attached to my chest, a sandal-paste imprint on my forehead, I had the sweet sensation of this my initiation into the portals of learning by a far-famed Sanskritic scholar who made me sit serious and silent, on an *asana* (a small carpet) and after the usual prayers, held my tiny fingers of the right hand and made them write some of the alphabets of my mother-tongue with a piece of chalk on a plate of ebony-black sandstone. And then, as a big feast was out of the question, being beyond the slender resources of my sweet and pious grandmother, how I was given sweetened balls of fried rice to present to groups of men and women and children who attended the ceremony of initiation of the *Burra-Karta's* grandson as a matter of duty, and a mark of reverence for the wide-hearted head of the family who had spent away all his fortune in charities and presents to deserving Pundits and needy people, irrespective of caste or community or religion, and left his widow virtually penniless with a big *pucca* mansion and its appendages and worships to maintain out of very slender funds and landed properties! Another remembrance of my days of infancy also shoots up how I was sometimes taken to the houses of the milk-producers of the village, tenants of my grandfather, and how I was always cheerfully treated to milk, curds and fresh butter by these grateful servitors of the house! Also my first essays in learning, by writing on banana-leaves with reed-pens with sooty-ink, under the direction of the village school-master in the outer courtyard of the house—and how I could not produce the required curves and scrawls and was the despair of the school, being dubbed a slow-witted child with no promise at all! And how my grandmother, the grand old lady steeped in old-world pieties, never despaired of her grandchild, and had always a kiss and a sweet embrace ready for the dullard! These are precious memories sweeter far than those of school and college failures which came to the soft-headed, slow-witted child quickly after! Another reconection comes up to the surface—of joining a party of elders and coevals in attending a feast given to Brahmins by a non-Brahmin family in a rather distant village, where I was carried in the arms of some relation, and from which I returned with copious presents in the shape of a two-anna bit and a bell-metal glass of very small dimensions appropriate to a child-Brahmin and how I cherished them! The next phase is when I was transferred to my father's home at 5 years of age, in 1890, a good eight miles' distance from my maternal grandfather's; and after some months with my paternal grandmother, another grand old dame of the old stamp, thoroughly selfless and intensely religious, and my mother transported to the far-off subdivisional centre of Gaibandha (then a small hamlet of straw-houses with only the Courts, the High School, the Jail and the Subdivisional Officer's quarters housed in pucca buildings, with a straggling population of probably one thousand, a market where stationery, clothing, leather-goods and other commodities of daily use, utensils and 'hurricane' lanterns, umbrellas and such like things were sold by standing shops, and there was a buying and selling of milk and fish and vegetables, country-grown fruits, *gur*, etc., every afternoon with a bigger assortment of goods for sale on *hat* days (twice a week), in the district of Rangpur in North Bengal, where my father was serving as an Inspector of Primary and Middle schools under the District Board with ultimate control by the Provincial Government.

———:O:———

TAXATION ON SALT

By JITENDRA K. NAG, M.SC.

Our countrymen watched with great interest the recent gesture of Mahatma Gandhi for the abrogation of the Indian Salt Act, so that they might be relieved of the burden of paying a tax of Re. 1-9 as. on a single maund of salt, the use of which commodity can hardly be dispensed with so long as they take food and food is available to them. Very few have scrutinised the benefit derived from the great leader's march to Dandi (Dharasua) in 1930, that culminated in the grant by an alien government of concessions under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact afforded to the village manufacturers of salt along the entire sea coast of the Peninsula to consume and sell their salt without paying any duty. And this blessing came to them practically after hundreds of years, for even in the days of Hindu suzerainty, an impost, however insignificant in amount it might be, was indirectly levied on the common salt.

What does the salt tax mean to poor Indians will be evident from the observation of Mr. Ratton made seventy years ago in his book on *Common Salt*:

"To return to the natives of British India, a rice-eating family of five, that is, a typically destitute family, in its most dependent state, consumes 60 lbs. of salt per annum on which the tax mounts to 2s 1-1/3d or 3 per cent of his income. . . . It seems a great deal . . . .

"It is unfortunately true that there are countries, in which salt is taxed, without any provision whatever being made for its free use in agriculture or for cattle. British India is open to this reproach. No one could argue in favour of a tax which tends directly to impoverish a country . . . As regards loss it should be premised and it is commonly recognised that what is lost in salt revenue by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

remission of salt duties for agricultural purposes is induced in the increase of revenue from other direct taxes consequent on the increased prosperity of the country.

"There is nothing to say in favour of the tax, where it exists in its worst form, as for example, in British India, where manufactures are deficient, chemicals are imported, and salt is not allowed duty-free for manufacturing purposes; except that alteration of the salt laws in favour of manufacturers would purge the tax in a great measure of its objectionable character."—(Ch. XVI, Ratton).

The salt duty reaches every inhabitant of the country who takes salt with his or her meal. Prof. J. Ratton, M.Sc., M.C., incorporated the above elements in his valuable book, which was placed on the list of text-books for the examination of candidates applying for posts in the Salt Department of the Government of Madras in the last century. His exhaustive study on the subject, as manifest in his *Common Salt*, was the outcome of his being deputed by the said Provincial Government to investigate into the possibility of employing the latest methods of salt manufacture adopted in Europe and advise them in developing the Bay Salt industry of Madras.

It was not only the Mahomedan rulers who had imposed this taxation, under the Sikh Government of Northern India also, salt was among the forty-eight articles liable to Customs, Excise, town or transit dues.

Almost every province in India has a different story as regards salt trade and industry; the most interesting perhaps is that of Bengal.

Before going into details of the pros and cons of the salt duty in India, I think a brief history of the salt revenue with its salient features will not be out of place here.

Pliny mentions that king Buckh probably a Persian, had a greater tribute in salt paid from India, than in gold or precious stones (A.D. 70 circa). The Romans were probably the earliest in making a great use of salt taxation. At the beginning of the Second Punic war, 215 B.C., a tax was levied on salt which gained for its authors the nickname of salinators. Later, from the twelfth century downwards, the salt tax became almost universal in its application in European countries. In Russia it dated from the time of Peter the Great. France had such tax from the beginning of the twelfth century. Napolean abolished the turnpike and re-imposed the tax to meet his expense for invading Italy.

In Hungary salt was taxed from the thirteenth century. In Germany also the tax existed during that century. In England the tax was first imposed by the Romans as early as 640 B.C. In later times it was reintroduced by William III (of Orange) in 1694 to the extent of a shilling per bushel of 56 lbs. Up to the time of the Commonwealth, salt was free from any tax in England and the levy that was then imposed was taken off at the Restoration. The impost of 1694 went up to 3s 6d in 1698 to 3s 4d in 1699 and remained at such high rate till 1729 when the tax was temporarily non-existent. It was re-imposed by Sir Robert Walpole in history in 1732. During the American War of Independence, the tax was raised from the existing rate of 3s 4d to 5s per bushel and with the exigencies of all increased revenue the tax was increased to 10s in 1798. In 1805, it was again raised and put in the maximum level of 15s per bushel. This led to a violent agitation in the island that brought it down to 2s only in 1823 and ultimately caused its abolition in 1825.*

England was the first country in Europe to repeal the salt laws and she was followed in 1844 by Norway and by Portugal in 1846. The dramatic end of England's taxation on salt may be put here precisely. On May 13 1824, a motion was introduced for continuance of the duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, opined that if any tax on salt were continued it ought to be much more than 2s. The motion was withdrawn but matters moved swiftly from that time towards the complete withdrawal of the tax. On May 31st, 1824, the Salt Duties Repeal Bill by Goulburn, Hill and Brogden, appointing January 5th, 1825, as the date of expiry was read for the first time in the House of Commons. On June 3rd, it was read for the second time and eventually on the 9th June, 1824, the Bill was passed by the Parliament.

We in India are strongly expectant of such an event to happen and see that the taxation on salt is cancelled for ever and its repeal brings forth a relief to each and every people of this sub-continent from the lien of impost, enjoined by an alien Government, on a very necessary condiment.

Poor India needs more salt than any other country in the world except China, for her poor people, poor soil and poor cattle. Since a man in poverty requires a greater quantity of salt than a rich one, the burden of taxation falls more heavily on that general mass of people that cannot afford costly protein food but consume mostly starch *e.g.*, in his staple food rice. The late Dadabhai Naoroji wrote in his *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*:

> "What a humiliating confession to say that after this length of the British rule, the people are in such a wretched plight that they have nothing that the Government can tax, and that Government must, therefore, tax an absolute necessary of life to an inordinate extent."

In India the system of salt revenue was different in different provinces up to the year 1870 after which it became standardised by Queen Victoria's Government which succeeded the East India Company in the enjoyment of the right to impose a duty on salt. Before the passing of the Salt Act of 1882, the duties also differed in different parts of India.

In Madras salt revenue had been rather insignificant before 1805, when the Government of the East India Company began to exercise their monopoly in the trade and manufacture of salt. In 1802 they had already reserved their right of manufacturing salt to themselves. Mr. Plowden was of opinion that the monopoly was designed to meet the expenses of the new judicial establishment in the presidency.

The history of the salt duty in Madras and Bombay may be precisely put here. It is summarised from a study and research on the subject made by the

---

* Hostility were redoubled in the beginning of the present century when the tax was raised to 15s a bushel. Sir T. Bernard and Samuel Parkes, a chemist, being the principal pamphleteers. A parliamentary committee was then appointed to investigate the question and it held its sittings in 1818. A great number of people of all kinds were called for interrogation before the committee. The weight of evidence was in favour of the repeal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1929.

In 1809, the price of 1 garce (120 mds.) of salt in Madras was Rs. 105 including the cost of production, duty and all other expenses. The price was reduced to Rs. 70 and this level was maintained till 1828 when it was again raised to the former figure. In 1844, the company abolished the transit duties but increased the price to Rs. 180 per garce, *i.e.*, Re. 1-8 per maund. Eventually this had to be lowered down to Re. 1 per maund under orders of the Court of Directors. On the foreign salt that entered in small quantities the ports of Madras an import duty of Rs. 3 was fixed but the Court brought it down to annas twelve only in 1851. The rate of duty on the indigenous salt in the presidency of Madras was raised from Re. 1 to Re. 1-2 in 1859, to Re. 1-6 in 1861, to Re. 1-11 in 1866 and to Re. 1-13 in 1869, when a uniform rate for Bombay and Madras was introduced.

In Bombay regular excise was enforced from 1838 before which different systems of management were in vogue in the collectorates of Bombay, Surat, Ahmadabad, Kaira, etc. Some salt works were owned by private parties, some were owned by the Government who used to run them and sell the salt produced, or used to lease to private manufacturers from time to time on a rental basis. A duty was levied on the import and export of salt by sea and a duty was levied on transit by land. Sometimes a land revenue was derived from the salterns and crystallising pans on higher assessment than that of the agricultural land.

The idea of a salt revenue in Bombay by creating a monopoly in salt, similar to that already introduced in Bengal on a substantial basis, seems to have been first mooted in 1816 when the district officers were deputed to explore possibilities of an increased revenue. But the Court of Directors considered the proposal premature in the then unsettled state of the presidency and did not agree to it. Later, however, the Court approved of a recommendation of a customs committee, formed with Mr. Bruce as a member, and as a result of that from 1838 an excise duty of 8 annas per maund of salt was levied and licensing of salt pans (solar of course) was introduced. The rate was on the point of being increased in 1844 but a timely agitation became very effective and a dissenting note was issued by the Court of Directors in England. The rate after all was raised later to twelve annas and again to Re. 1 in 1859 by the Government of India, as a new machinery of England's Government, following the footsteps of the East India Company.

The new Government again raised the duty to Re. 1-4 in 1861 to meet the deficits in finances caused by a general depression of the country due to the mutiny of 1857. It was further increased in 1864 to Re. 1-8 and this rate remained till 1869, when Government introduced a general rate of duty on salt for Bombay and Madras by raising it to Re. 1-13. At that time in Bengal, the duty remained at Rs. 3-4 per maund though the agency system was already withdrawn. With the enactment of the Indian Salt Act in 1882, a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per maund was introduced as Salt Duty for the whole of India.

The late Mr. Kapilram Vakil rightly pointed out in his latest brochure on salt published last year that many of the States in India had no salt duty. The States of Kathiawad and Cutch of the Eastern States Agency, being the most productive of sea salt in India, have no impost on salt which their four million consumers derive from the local factories.

II

Bengal has been paying a regular salt tax since 1817 when the duty was at its topmost level. The rates as current in different periods are shown below:

Per maund (82 2/7 lbs.)

1817 to October 1844	(27 years)	Rs. 3 4 0
October 1844 to April 1847	„	Rs. 3 0 0
April 1847 to March 1849	„	Rs. 2 12 0
April 1849 to April 1859	„	Rs. 2 8 0
December 1859 to March 1861	„	Rs. 3 0 0
March 1861 to January 1878	(15 years)	Rs. 3 4 0
January 1878 to July 1878	„	Rs. 3 2 0
August 1878 to March 1882	„	Rs. 2 14 0
March 1882 to January 1888	„	Rs. 2 0 0

(From 1882, the rate of duty was standardised for the whole of India.)

19th January 1888 to 17th March 1903 (15 years)	Rs. 2 8 0
18th March 1903 to Dec. 1903	Rs. 2 0 0
1904 —	Rs. 2 4 0
1905 to 1907	Re. 1 8 0
1907 to 1916	Re. 1 0 0
1916 to 1923	Re. 1 4 0
1923 to 1924	Rs. 2 8 0
1924 to 1931	Re. 1 4 0
1931 to 1946	Re. 1 9 0

(Additional Import Duty on salt was passed in 1931 and the Extra Duty for European salt was 4as. 6p. from 1931 to 1933, 2as. 6p. from 1933 to 1936 and one anna six pies from 1936 to 1938 only. It was withdrawn in 1938).

During the Mahomedan period, a tax on the salt consumed by the people of Bengal was levied by means of imposts on the privilege of manufacture and duties on the transportation from the places of manufacture to the interior of the country. A monopoly for the manufacture and sale of salt was established by Clive in 1765 in his creation of the society of trade for salt, betelnut and tobacco to provide emoluments from the profit for the higher members of the Company's Government who used to enter into questionable transactions to amass enormous fortunes in those days. In his Minute of September 3, 1766, Clive assumed that his share would yield 12 to 13 lakhs of rupees annually. The rate fixed for deliveries was Rs. 2 per maund.

The existence of this monopoly was of short duration, as the Court of Directors wholly disapproved the arrangements. But the Court did not object to the levy of Salt Duty which had been in force prior to British occupation.

In 1772, the manufacture and wholesale trade was farmed out by Government to private individuals but the system was extremely complicated and was never very productive. Eight years later Warren Hastings introduced the Agency system. In accordance with this system, the *molunghis* (salt manufacturers) received advances from the agents on condition that they delivered their salt to the agents who stored their salt and sold to the wholesale dealers at a price fixed by the Government from time to time. The profit between the purchase price and the selling price, taken to be a Government Duty, swelled the revenue from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

£827 in 1780-81 to £4,57,687 in 1786-87* as estimated by Plowden in his report on the working of the agencies as a special officer (Salt) in 1860. The system was, however, strongly disapproved by the Court of Directors in 1837, after it had worked for more than half a century. Though it continued for some time with modifications, it was totally abolished in 1863 and on the recommendation of Plowden, the excise system was re-introduced causing great hardships during the Orissa famine of 1866. As an aftermath of the withdrawal of the agency system, the *molunghis* suffered, the duty was then Rs. 3-4-0 per maund. Effective reduction in duty commenced from 1882 when the Indian Salt Act was passed.

During the period of 1865 to 1890, the Liverpool salt had already obtained a regular market in Calcutta, gradually ruining the national industry in salt. The British India Association submitted a petition to the Government signed by Raja Radhakanta Deb and others complaining against arbitrary selling prices for salt with the definite purpose of enabling imported salt to be profusely dumped and stated that as salt was a necessary of life, duty should have been entirely taken off.

Before 1882, when the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2.90 lakh maunds. With the reduction of duty, consumption at once began to expand and rose to 337 lakhs in 1887. But Lord Dufferin raised the duty to Rs. 2-8 in January, 1888. The result was that the expansion of consumption which had gone on so steadily during Lord Ripon's time, at once ceased. Since that year the consumption remained stationary till the end of the nineteenth century.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee strongly criticised the duty on salt in 1925 in endorsing the viewpoint that if India could be made self-sufficient by the granting of a purely temporary advantage to the local manufacturer, whether by way of a rebate of duty or a different duty on import or both it would be a desirable end to achieve. The Committee stated in their report at page 133 :

"It (Salt Duty) falls on a necessary of life and to the extent that salt is essential for physical existence, it is in the nature of a poll tax. The bulk of it is paid by those who are least able to contribute anything towards the State expenditure. Salt is also required for various industrial and agricultural operations and for cattle. Unless it is issued duty-free for these purposes (at least) some burden is thrown upon the industries in which it is paid."

Refund of duty paid on Common Salt used for industrial or fish-curing purposes has been, of course, made by the Government, but the concession does not extend to the salt for cattle. Cattle are fed with salt almost everywhere, for salt not only saves them from disease but also improves their constitution and increases their utility.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce rightly stated in their report of 1929 that, the puny Bengal bullocks needed more salt. The poorer the bullock of Bengal the more he stands in requirement of salt. In the Select Commlttee's Report of 1836, evidence of one medical expert runs thus :

"I have not a moment's doubt in my own mind but that the want of salt is one of the causes, which makes the horned cattle, sheep and horses of Bengal, by far the smallest and the puniest and the worst conditioned which I have ever met, in any part of India whatever . . . The heavy tax on salt in Bengal is a prohibition upon all improvement."

Salt for agricultural purposes is, of course, duty-free as it is denaturalised by being mixed with tar, napthalene, etc. to be used as manure with lime or other substances. The denaturants are so chosen that they would neither harm the soil nor allow the general consumers to use the mixed salt as an elimentary salt. Bombay salt department denaturalise salt by mixing it with bone dust and crude oil. In Bengal napthalene powder and sodium-thio-sulphate are used as denaturants.*

For the fish-curing salt, the collectors of Salt Revenue of both Bombay and Madras, where there are many fish-curing yards, build sheds, fences, etc., to guard them and post checking officers who are vigilant enough to see to any abuse of the concession.

In Madras, Mr. Agarwallah says that before the suppression of the use of salt earth, the fishing classes were accustomed to cure with earth salt, the fish which they could not sell fresh. The practice should have revived now partially as the coastal villagers are allowed to make earth salt under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. For the big-scale fish-curers, of course, the Department of Fisheries, Madras, it is gratifying to note, have been taking regular steps in supplying duty free salt to them. And I think the Director of Fisheries of Bengal should also take initiative to provide Bengal's fishermen with duty-free salt in making proper arrangements for its distribution to the different *Khuttis* periodically opened in different parts along the seacoast or on banks of big rivers like the Meghna, Padma or Tetulia.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that although Bengal will not be much benefited by the remission of salt duty, the Indian Salt Act of 1882, lately revised and incorporated in the Central Excises and Salt Act of 1944 should be repealed, as Mahatma Gandhi pressed the Viceroy to do, to the interest of the country as a whole, and for the welfare of India's poor millions. The abolition by the Government of India of the Salt Laws which have so long infringed the right of an Indian to consume an indispensable commodity, that he can get in abundance from his bountiful country's salt seas, salt rocks and salt lakes, was long due. Government must be aware that a tax on a particular commodity which has no substitute and which is a necessity of life, if prolonged, would result in a very bad distribution of the burden. It might swell the revenue, but, the poor paid a much larger proportion of his income than the rich.

The province of Bengal is still unfortunately ninety per cent dependent on salt from outer countries.

* The revenue of the Company from the Salt Duty amounted to £3,60,000 in 1793.

* Salt tax is a bar to scientific farming, the backbone of a nation's strength. This was the chief consideration in the repeal of the salt duties in England in 1825. Although in that country, facilities were afforded beforehand to the agriculturists for use of salt free of duty, it was conceived that the tax operated as a restriction upon the use of chemical manures. Free salt for agriculture is a recognized provision of salt taxation in all civilized countries. In France, Belgium, as formerly in England and Ruisia, such salt was not taxed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Of her entire requirement only ten per cent is met by the manunfacture of indigenous salt, revived since the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Local Government as well as the capitalist public have so far been unable to develop this industry on a commercial scale. Their venture in late years to promote the industry may lead the future generation to be self-sufficient, but there may be some difficulties brought in by the abolition of the salt tax. Bengal's salt which is mostly made by the costly process of utilising artificial heat cannot be sold at low prices, regulated by the fluctuating market due to the dumping of the foreign salt (inclusive of salt from other provinces) from abroad or the inland sources of India. So, in apprehension of a situation caused by the abolition of the Salt Act, when Bengal salt would be unable to compete in the market, I think Government would do well to render adequate tariff protection to the newly revived industry of salt in Bengal. The industry, though still in a very nascent stage, should be fostered tactfully, so that, the history of 1863 may not be repeated. Besides a specific Custom Duty, a protective duty will be necessary on the salt traders, who will supply salt to Bengal for the inland sources.

———:O:———

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIEGFRIED SASSOON

By Prof. MANOJ KUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

The Great War of 1914 saw Siegfried Sassoon reaching his full stature. It saw him battering the shallow facades of complacency and depicting the dirty of mess of blood and decaying bodies which actually is the modern war. Not for him was the celebration of the heroic exploits of the dying heroes; his predominant mood was not lyrical but satiric, not resigned but peevish and rebellious. The verses in the *Counter Attack* (1918) and *Sorly Books of the War* reveal the Georgian turning from the lyrical moment to the socially significant, abandoning his romantic attitude under the stress of disillusionment and achieving, by stumbling rhythms and forthright epigrams, a highly cynical mood of sustained pungency and pathos. Very few of these verses rise to the level of great poetry, but they are specially significant as showing the brutal realities of war without gloss or evasion of truth.

This is the early Sassoon, writing in verbose and pungent epigrams, but kept vital by the message his poetry sought to convey. A change, however, is detected in him ever since he published his *Nativity, Heart's Journey, Vigils* and lastly, *Rhymed Ruminations*. Here, in all these verses, he has relinquished the satirical pursuit of temporary nuisances and opened out his soul into songs of release. These poems show an amazing advance in expression as well as content. Here his genius has not only a universalising quality, but a quality of insight and penetration that has enabled him to pierce to the heart of phenomena by stating them, recording them. He has something to say and he has said it effectively and poetically too. The mood that is in evidence in these verses is foreign alike to purposeless bitterness and uncontrolled sentimentality.

It is eighteen years since Mr. Sassoon published the *Heart's Journey* in which we left him setting out to find the "peace that shines apart," "the simple secret thing." In *Vigils*, he may be said to have consummated his desire. Mr. Sassoon has already had a solitary, meditative turn of mind; the Great War of 1914 wrung from him a universal poetry, post-war conditions lashed him into satire, but now he has more definitely than ever turned his back on the contemporary situation, the world of action to

"Seek, in seeing
Your own blind being,
Peace remote in the morning star."[1]

He has, therefore, all too easily relapsed into the dreams of youth. "They were not true, those dreams," he says, nevertheless he returns to them—his "firstling friends." This search for a perpetual spring, a forgotten simplicity, is the theme of many of his poems, and he finds the inner peace that he is looking for in a state of unwisdom; his solution is

"To walk in childhood's land
With trusting looks,
And oldly understand
Youth's fairy-books—
Thus our unwisdom brings
Release which hears
The bird that sings
Beyond the years."[2]

This mood is typical of his last book of verse—*Rhymed Ruminations*—the magic of childhood is evoked and the mind is allowed to move backward in time to catch up the silent chords of the past:

"For me it shines far far—too far—away;
For time has changed this 'View' into a vision."[3]

Most of these poems, which were privately printed, suggest the mood of contemplative retirement which pervades the volume as a whole. As a man "with blank discarded youthfulness behind him," he exercises

"A mind, matured in wearying bones,
Toward years revisioned returning slowly richly while
A mind, renouncing hopes fruitions fail him—
and finding lost loves holy."[4]

Generally, however, it is the ghosts of a gentler, unmechanized time who draw him out of the harsh

1. Peace—*Vigils*.
2. *Vigils*.
3. A View of old. Editor.
4. Progressions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

present into the "past's provincial peace," the ghost of an old lord waking for the last time along the ornamental ride which he had cherished, or of Sandys translating Ovid, "in a quaint narrow age, remote from clay," or of Pyne, "a small honest painter, well content to limn out English landcapes.' It is a vision as well as a view that he gives us, in his picture of Kent of thirty years ago when trees "knew no threat of over-head invasion," of King Alfred on his march to Ealhundun through the 'grassed' and 'terraced' hill, or of the old house from which, eight centuries gone, Queen Matilda went :

"If I could see that wild and warring Queen
Who lived here for a time, old histories claim ;
If she, revisioned by my thought, could come !
* * * * *
Attuned, I could watch Queen Matilda go
Hunched on her horse across the crunching snow."[5]

Sometimes, the poet's search for harmony of heart drives him to seek out "winged lovely moments" in the grandeur and stillness of Nature. By solitude imbued, he is responsive to such beauty without resistance. After all, he says, his "unambitious maturity' deserves the contour lines and curves of the landscape !

"One with these garden silences that pass,
I know that life is in my saturate sense
Of growth and memories of what lifetime meant.
I am yet young with my unheard unspent
Awareness of slow-stored intransience.
And still, where trees like sentinels look for day
I feel what all have felt and know what
none can say."[6]

A mystery beyond man's grasp, thus, breathes from the luxuriance of Nature, that simpler world from which we have been evicted.

There is, indeed, more in these verses than vivid recollection. There is the beauty of the immediate moment too. Most of these poems were undoubtedly written under the gathering shadow of war and this gives a particular poignancy to Sassoon's record of tranquillity, "intense with harmony of heart." The vision of anarchy and havoc that the last war let loose was correctly apprehended by the poet, as he rode along a pre-Roman pack-road. The drone of engines above Stonehenge made him feel sad :

"Cities, I thought, will wait them in the night
When airmen, with high-minded motives, fight
To save futurity. In years to come
Poor panic-stricken hordes will hear that hum.
And Fear will be synonymous with Flight."[7]

A sense of the bitter frustration with the talks of the tyrants and the politicians moved him to the depths of his being and he wrote :

"Out of the nothingness of night they tell
Our need of guns, our servitude to strife.
O heaven of music, absolve us from this hell
Unto unmechanised mastery over life."[8]

It is to be absolved from this hell that he retires to the safe tranquility of the past and explores in his memory peaceful vistas which may resolve the harsh actuality of today in the music of a deeper reality, not very remote from homely human things. To this end the ghosts of those who have wrought the English past are also invoked to

"Stand near us in unimpassioned ranks
Till we have braved and broken and overcast
The cultural crusade of Teuton tanks."[9]

Past and present thus mingle throughout these poems, enhancing or contrasting with each other. Such a ruminating mood is difficult to sustain at a creative pitch. But without ever striving after compelling images or complex rhythms, Mr. Sassoon succeeds in giving these "quietened cadences, these tragitones, these stilled interior cadences," a quality of deeply felt experience. Denied a fruitful relation with a society that for all its material achievemests was drifting into chaos, he has sought within a coherence that was so lamentably lacking without.

In true art man expresses an achieved unity and is so truly himself that he can be unconcerned with himself and wholly given over to the experience which he values. He is free to be aware and to love, to create out of a sensibility enriched equally by joy and pain instead of nursing a lacerated one. And it is because he values intensely, that in realizing truth he communicates beauty. It is this intensity of value, of self-forgetful and self-realizing love, and no external tradition, which forges a living link between the true poetry of any age, however, unexpected or exciting its idiom, and what Mr. Eliot has called the "living whole of all the poetry that has ever been written." And so far as the poet concentrates upon this he need have no fear, particularly in an age of unexampled betrayal of human values, that he is seeking escape from the harsh demands of the present in the graces of the past. For he will be in something deeper than the literary sense, in the true tradition.

In his later poems, Siegfried Sassoon is such a poet. In an age when poetry has lost its natural and its homely roots even as human life has, when the minds of poets are as much tormented by abstract questions as by concrete cruelties, and the soul itself is torn by a war of ideologies, he has retained the continuity of human tradition. In doing so he has mostly turned a blind eye to what is involved in the shattering of that tradition. He is too wise a poet to tread ground over which his imagination has not intimately worked. And consequently the tradition which he maintains, he also renews. And it is rooted in the soil. Its ground is narrow but deeply cultivated. The nearest parallel to it is the poetry of Edmund Blunden, in its homeliness and simplicity and it is only out of touch with its times so far as it is in touch with the perennial. It is not an accident, however, that his last book of verse—*Rhymed Ruminations*—is dedicated to Edmund Blunden.

5. A Remembered Queen.
6. Wealth of Awareness.
7. Thoughts in 1932.
8. A Prayer From 1936.
9. The English Spirit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NATYASASTRA AND THE POST-BHARATA WORKS ON SAMAGANA

By SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA

Music is the greatest art in the world. It is called the foremost amongst the fine arts, for, it has the keenest and quickest appeal to the aesthetic sense of men and animals. But the question is what do we mean by music? The music is known to us by its present-day use of modes and practices. We know of it with its classical and modern styles, its graces, theories, combinations and permutations, *alapas, tanas* and *gamakas,* etc. But if we try to trace its history of evolution we find that they are the developments of the later origin and additions.

The real music (in the sense Vedic) was the *Samagana* which saturated the air and holy atmosphere of the Vedic antiquity with its divine tune and melody. It was the original form of music of India of which we know very little at present. It was really the womb (*yoni*) from which the fully developed present classical and other systems of music originated.

Really speaking, not only Indian, but the music of all nations of the world have their common source in the Samagana of the Vedic age. The present development of music has reached its climax, but it is also a fact that it was first crystallized in the Vedic society and then chanted by the Rishis before the blazing fire of the sacrificial altars. It was the outpourings of their blessed hearts with tunes and melodies as the offerings of worship for their great deities.

The Rishis and the Samaganas of the Samic period used to chant hymns with only three notes, and then the music (*ganam*) gradually evolved into the *svarantara, odava* and *sadava* and culminated at last in the seven notes or *sampurana*. The Samaganas were chanted in full seven notes also as we are informed by the *Naradi-siksha* and the *Puspasutra,* the *Pratishakhya* of the Sama Veda.[1] In the *Brahmanas, Sikshas* and *Pratishakhyas,* the real form and modes of the Samagana are evident and clear. But we shall not deal with these ancient works here. Our intention is to get into the *Natyasastra* and other works on music of the later age for finding out the hints and traces of the Samagana if there be any.

For the detailed knowledge of the Samagana we often knock at the door of Bharata Muni, the author of the *Natyasastra,* but true to confess, we become rather hopeless. He really furnishes us with a very poor information though he is said to be the father of systematized Indian music. Bharata deals with the music proper in the chapter 28th of his celebrated *Natyasastra*. But when we fix our searching eyes upon the valuable pages of his book we find no satisfactory hint of the Samagana except the word *ganam* which is the only source of the *gandharvam*.[2] By the word *ganam,* he means to say the Samaganam which was favourite and pleasing to the Devas.[3] But it is quite true that except this particular word *ganam,* we get no other hint of the Vedic music from him.

It is interesting to note that Bharata has mentioned again several times the words, *ganam* and *gitam,* which signify only the music current in the then present society and not the Vedic (except in one place). He says: "Music and drumming,"[4] 'music for the *natyam,*'[5] "and music,"[6] "and musics,"[7] and "the forms of music,"[8] etc. But all these words indicate the particular music which was in vogue in the time of Bharata and that was nothing but the *laukika* or the *deshi* music.

In Bharata's time we get no mention of the word *samgitam,* but it is quite true that it was getting gradually materialized under the shade of the *gandharvam*. Although Bharata never uses the term *samgitam,* yet he fails not to indicate its traces in two different ways: one by the stanza "it includes music, drumming and drama."[9] and the other by "it is composed of *svara, tala* and *pada*."[10] The latter is the definition of the music *gandharvam* which was discovered by the Gandharvas.[11] It is said that the Gandharvas learnt the art of music from the Devas in the Svargaloka (?) and it was brought down by them to the earth (Martaloka) to be practised by human beings.[12] Really the Devas, Manusyas, Rakshasas and the Gandharvas were the human beings and they were classified in different sects and communities as we are informed by the *Brahmanas* and ancient Sanskrit literatures. The Gandharvas were perhaps the settlers in ancient Gandhara (Kandahara) in the North-West of India. They were such great lovers of music that they spoke, thought and dreamt music in their lives. Bharata tells us that these Gandharvas favoured too much the music *gandharvam,* and it was not the Samagana.

---

1. The *Naradi-siksha*, 1.8-14 and the *Puspasutra*, 9.2.1-7. *Vide* also the commentary by Ajatasatru on the *Puspasutra*.

Swami Abhedananda also says: "The Greeks had five notes of music at first, but the Hindus developed seven notes of music and had three octaves long before the Greeks had them. During the Vedic period, Sama Veda used to be sung and chanted with those notes."—Vide, *Ideal of Education*, p. 6.

2. "अस्य योनिर्भवेदगानम् ।"—*Natyasastra*, 28.10.

3. "अत्यर्थदिष्टं देवानां तथा प्रीतिकरं पुनः ।"—*Ibid*, 28.9.

4. "गीतवादित्र"— *Ibid*, 27.91.

5. "गानं नाट्यकृतम् ।"— *Ibid*, 27.98.

6. "एवं गानम् ।"— *Ibid*, 28.7.

7. "गीतयश्च ।"— *Ibid*, 28.14.

8. "गीतयोऽत्रयवा ।"—etc. *Ibid*, 28.16.

9. "एवं गान च नाट्यं च वाद्यं च विविधाश्रयम् ।"
—*Natyasastra*, 28.7

10. "स्वरतालपदाश्रयम् ।"— *Ibid*, 29.8.

11. "गन्धर्वानामिदं यस्मात्तस्मात् गान्धर्वमुच्यते ।"
Natyasastra, 28.9.

12. There is an allusion in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (III.2.4.1-7) that Visvavasu, the Gandharva stole the Soma from Gayatri and when the Devas came to know it, they sent the unmarried young Vakdevi to rescue it. The Gandharvas were very fond of women it is said and so when Vakdevi approached them the Gandharvas were charmed with her divine beauty. The Gandharvas then came to her and said: "Let yours be the Soma and Vak ours." This Vak is the music.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After Bharata we come across with the work of ...a who was a contemporary of Bharata. In the ...s of Dattila we do not find any term as the ...gana. He remains also silent with regard to this ..., excepting that a faint trace of the word ...*samudbhavam* is found in Sl : 222.

Next to Dattila comes Matanga, the author of ...*Brihaddeshi*, as an able and wise exponent of Indian ...sic. He also tunes on the same harp, but he too fails ... to confess that his noble attempt for composing ... *Brihaddeshi* is only with a view to expound the ...ory on the *deshi* music and not that of the Vedic.

We are glad to admit now that after a ... silence for a long period we find a ray of hope in ... works of Shrangadeva, Somanath, Narada, the ...thor of *Samgita-Makaranda*, Ahobala, Damodara ... others. In the *Samgita-Ratnakara*, an elaborate ... systematic work by Shrangadeva (in the Narada's ...*karanda* too) we get a reference to the Vedic music ...m which the *gitam* was 'chased' and then 'collected' ... Pitamaha Brahma. The *Ratnakara* mentions some ...rs hints by saying : "Which was chased by Virinchi ... others,"[13] "Pitamaha Brahma collected the music ...m the Sama Veda and others,"[14] and "Brahma is ...gged in chanting the Saman"[15] Kallinath, the com...tator makes these references more explicit when ... admits the words : "*Iha tu ta eva.*"[16] Like Narada ... the *Siksha* and *Sayana*, the commentator of the four ...das and *Brahmanas*, Kallinath really makes a bridge ...r the gulf between the ancient and the modern. ... shows that ancient notes of the Vedic music or the ...man were used in the *laukika* (*Venusvara*) with ...eir names changed into new ones. He says : "The ...even notes which were used in the Saman chant were ...e *krushta, prathama, dvitiya, tritiya, chaturtha,* ...*mandra* and *atisvarya*. At present the Samic notes have ...en identified or rather substituted to the *shadaja,* ...*shava, gandhara, madhyama, panchama, dhaivata* and ...*shada*."[17] The expression "*iha tu ta eva*" signifies that ...ough in the Saman chants the names of the seven ...tes were krushta, prathama, etc., yet in the *laukika* ...e *Venusvara*, they have taken the new names of ...hadaja, rishava, etc. These were chased (*margita*) and ...collected (*samjagraha*) by Brahma. Kallinath says ...t Brahma collected the divine music to have it ...tilized by all classes of people on earth.[18]

It is true that the Vedic music was the Saman, ...d Simhabhupala, the commentator of the *Ratnakara*, ...nerally admits that the *laukika* or *Venusvara* as defined ...y the *Naradi*, was simply chased or seen (*anvesita* ...*Sruto*). When Shrangadeva uses the term *gitam*, he ...eally means the *laukika* music and Kallinath also comments on it by stating in an ingenious way : "The *gitam* is Vedic being the collections from the Sama Veda."[19] And so it is "excellent," *i.e.*, acceptable by all the lovers of Indian music.

Kallinath informs us again that Virinchi Brahma chased and found music in the four Vedas. He and others took the vow of composing the Natyaveda with its history and so they went thoroughly through the four Vedas and then collected the music.[20] We are informed that the Sama Veda is the song-book that contains the stanzas inter-woven with notes and melodies. The Riks are the stanzas and when these stanzas are again applied in the sacrifices, they are called the Yajus. The aesthetic part of the music, it is said, was taken from the Atharva Veda.

But a doubtful question here arises that though Brahma taught Bharata and others and Bharata specially applied the music in his celebrated work *Natyasastra* as an art of drama, yet no clear evidence of the Vedic music is left in his book anywhere except some of the insignificant hints or traces. It is also a fact that Bharata did know the real structure and beauty of the ancient Samagana as he learnt it from his expert teacher Brahma, but yet he absolutely kept silent regarding this Samagana except a faint link that occurs once or twice in his *Natyasastra*. So it may be possible that the Vedic music was completely out of practice in his time and people had forgotten the art of it, and as the practice of the *laukika* was very current in the then society, Bharata did not pay his attention to collect the principles and laws of the Samagana or Vedic music.

After Shrangadeva, Somanath, the author of the *Ragavivodha*, echoes the same voice. He says in the text and also in his commentary that Brahma collected the krushta, prathama, etc., seven notes from the Sama Veda and made it applicable for the society.[21] He taught Bharata first the art of music and Bharata applied it before Sambhu, the Mahadeva.[22] But it is interesting to note that Ahobala in his *Parijata* leaves some hints which are clear and evident. He admits the *samgitam* as the *vaidikam*,[23] and he says that music

---

13. "या मार्गितो विरिच्यंद्यैः ।" —*Ratnakara*, 1.22.

14. "सामवेदादिं गीतं संजग्राह पितामह ।"
Sangita-Makaranda, 1.18.

15. "सामगोतिरतो ब्रह्मा ।" —*Ratnakara*, 1.25 ;

16. Vide, *Ratnakara*, p. 15.

17. "सामानि हि कृष्ट प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रा-तिस्वार्याख्याः सप्तस्वराः,इह तूत एव यथायोगं षड्जादिव्यपदेशभाज इति ।" —*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

18. "ब्रह्मनाऽपि वेदादुद्धृत्य संग्रहणे सार्वनिकत्व प्रयोजनमिति
—*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

19. 'गीतस्य सामवेदसंग्रहरूपत्येन वेदिकत्वात् ।"
—*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

20. "मार्गीतं च विरिच्याद्यै ब्रह्मादिभिः 'नाट्यसंज्ञामिदं " वेदं सेतिहासं करोम्यहम्'इति प्रतिज्ञाय चतुर्षु वेदेष्वन्विष्य कृतत्वात् ।" —*Ratnakara*, pp. 14-15.

21. "सामवेदात कृष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रा-तिस्वार्याख्यान् सप्त स्वरान् संगृह्य प्रवर्तित इत्यर्थः ।"
—The Commentary on the *Ragavivodha*, 1.6.

22. "विरिंच्याद्यैः । अन्विष्टो भरताद्यैः शम्भोरग्रे प्रयुक्तोऽर्च्यः ।" —*Ragavivodha*, 1.6.

23. "संगीतं वैदिकैर्वाक्येर्बोधितं* ।" —*Parijata*, 1.3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is like the Saman,[24] and it has been advocated by the Vedas and the Smritis.[25]

Then comes Damodara, the ingenious author of the beautiful work *Samgita-Darpana*. He mentions really no name of the Saman and the Vedic notes, but he uses the term *marga* which has been chased by Brahma and applied by Bharata for the cause of the human society.[26]

Now, without entering into detail we may conclude that though Bharata and later authors on music are aware of the fact that there was an ancient system of music which they admit as the Vedic, yet they do not feel any necessity of mentioning them. Because even in their time the Vedic system of music was absolutely forgotten with its science and practice. So, it is quite natural that all the authors on music intend to show the origin of the seven notes from only the Nada or the unmanifested and undivided causal sound[27] neglecting their womb or the *yoni* which is the Samagana.[28] And so they do not turn their eyes towards the history of their evolution, but step forward to the philosophical ground gradually mystifying the whole thing and thus make the system and practice of the sacred Samagana remain buried under the grave of oblivion.

24. "भवन्ति सामतुल्यानि* । —*Parijata*, 1.5.

25. "वेदोक्तत्वात स्मृतिप्रोक्तकर्तव्यत्वास्मनीषिभिः ।"
—*Parijata*, 1.4.

26. "द्रुहिनेन यदन्विष्टं प्रयुक्तं भरतेन च ।"
—*Darpana*, 1.4.

27. But we know it correctly that Bharata and Dattila never deal with the Nada theory anywhere in their work. It begins properly with Matanga, the author of the *Brihaddeshi*.

28. The writer does not mean to say by it that the practice of the *Samagana* has ever been effaced from the earth, but he means to say that as its practice and melody are not able to charm and conquer the hearts of the modern artists and audiences, so it is neglected by them.

———:O:———

PADMAVATI*

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

We apologise for a year's delay in reviewing this valuable publication of our Bibliotheca Indica Series ; and the excuse is that Malik Muhammad Jaisi having been somewhat of a favourite with us also, this learned translation interested us more than an average book for review. Mr. A. G. Shirreff has the credit of completing the English translation of Jaisi's enchanting love-epic of mystic lore, so popular alike with the scholar and the unlettered of the greater part of Northern India. A great Bengali poet of the seventeenth century, Alawal, made a translation of Padmavati, and through Alawal's blessings the peasantry of Bengal love Hiraman and hate Raghava as the country-folk of Oudh where Jaisi is a living inspiration, next only to Tulsidasji. For half a century admirers of Jaisi's *Padmavati*, Grierson and Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi, Pandit Ramchandra Sukulji and Lala Bhagwan Din, had been fighting over the *text* of *Padmavat*, and the fight which became dull for a time owing to the death of the first three—may enter perhaps an acute stage with the appearance of Mr. A. G. Shirreff in the field as the translator and the arbiter.

First twenty-five cantos (though very short each) of *Padmavati* were edited by Grierson and Dvivedi for the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and their English translation of I to X has been incorporated in the present translation. The first complete and authoritative edition of the text of *Padmavat* with a long and learned Preface by the editor, late Pandit Ramchandra Sukulji was published by the *Nagari-Pracharini Sabha* of Benares. In spite of his unrivalled knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit, his years of patient and conscientious efforts in restoring the most approximately correct reading of the original, Sukulji honestly admitted that perhaps much was yet to be done with the text and annotation of Jaisi's *Padmavat*. Perhaps, a still greater service he rendered was to expose the unscrupulousness of Sudhakar Dvivedi in explaining what he did not understand. He proved that his commentary on *Padmavati* under the title *Sudhakar-Chandrika* was really no *Moon-beam* illuminating the path of scholars but in truth what we in Bengal call *aleya* and in Europe *will-o'-the-wisp*. Ramchandraji thought that his few pointed thrusts at Dvivediji were enough warning for the future generations. We wish he had written a commentary on Sudhakar's commentary under some such title like *Sudhakar-bhanjika* for the benefit of scholars like Mr. Shirreff.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal perhaps foresaw the danger ahead and in its generous appreciation of the merits of Sukulji's edition "asked (the translator) that Benares edition of the work should be used in the translation." But we are sorry to notice that Mr. Shirreff has not kept himself to this instruction with the result that lured by the deceptive flare of *Chandrika* he has verily fallen into a quagmire. This translation will surely provoke a severe criticism if Hindi learning is not dead in Hindustan. Mr. Shirreff has strayed into the field of textual criticism, and that without any acquaintance with the fundamentals of an art now raised to the exactness of a science in classical studies. It is sheer presumption on the part of a *translator* to scatter judgments sometimes in favour of Grierson and sometimes in favour of Ramchandra and to choose a word here and reject a word there from one or the other as he pleases. His excuse is that words in Persian scripts of some MSS afford a latitude to the extent that *parbat* (mountain) may be read also as *priti* (love) ! Even he has taken the freedom to add to Jaisi's geography an imaginary island "Palanka" somewhere

* *Padmavati* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, translated by A. G. Shirreff, Esq., I.C.S. Bibliotheca Indica series, Issue No. 1552, New Series, 1944. Calcutta. Pp. 372. Price Rs. 8-8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lanka. (P. 130, foot-note). Mr. Shirreff's work evidence of his honest industry and wide reading. pains to make the translation intelligible average reader. But his labours unfortunately produced opposite effect. One feels smothered the load of his glosses and notes leaving the hardly any respite to admire the skill of the We sometimes wonder whether we are reading the tion of an allegorical love-epic or Raverty's tion of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* ! Mr. Shirreff's tran- would have been much better appreciated but his superfluous and occasionally irritating notes.

A perusal of the first ten cantos, which is a reprint the already published translation by Grierson and vedi raises grave doubts whether Grierson took care revise this portion himself. English—as like ours— outlandish, and slips in which it abounds could have been made by an Englishman conversant more than fifty languages, besides numerous dialects. This is a serious charge, and we bring deliberately quite aware of the risk and responsibilty. Mr. Shirreff our grievances are that

(i) his translation is rather prosaic ;

(ii) he has lowered the value of this translation by transgressing the instructions of the Society, namely, the of *Nagari-Pracharini Sabha* edition of *Padmavat* ;

(iii) he has not illuminated but obscured several passages and thereby produced wrong impression about by adding irrelevant notes.

It would have been wise on the part of the translator to leave untranslated any passage he and his more learned predecessors have failed to interpret satisfactorily.

Let us now turn to the contents :

प्रथमें आदि एक करतारू =Alawal : प्रथमे प्रणाम करि एक करतार

"I *bear in mind* that one and only primal maker" (opening line) *bear in mind* is perhaps not Grierson's English so bereft of *sentiment* as the phrase is. As Dwivedi rightly the rendering of *adi* as *first* is more in accordance with Hindu and Muslim practice of invoking or remembering God first ; so Alawal is more correct than Dwivedi and Grierson who take *adi* with reference to the Creator.

2. "Then made He (for the Light) the *mighty* mountain Kailasa" (3rd line from top). Wherefrom comes *mighty* which is not in the text ?

Note (a) is misleading. No one in Urdu script mistakes *parbat* for *priti*. Sukulji (in his first edition of 1924 which is before us) writes *parbat* clearly. If in the next edition of 1935 (used by Mr. Shirreff) Panditji at all changed it to *priti*, the change is definitely for the worse and *not* "preferable" as the translator suggests. Mr. Shirreff says, "If Jaisi wrote *priti* he was approaching his subject *more from the Muslim than from the Hindu point of view* : if he wrote *parbat*, the reverse would be the case." Jaisi was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu but a Hindustani loving both and combining in himself the best of the two creeds. Kailash in Jaisi is perhaps the Indianization of the garden of Paradise, (not Sarag) the abode of the primal pair, Adam and Eve transformed into Hara-Parbati. That *parbat* is the correct reading is proved beyond doubt by Alawal's seventeenth century Bengali translation—

तहां परे प्रकटिल सेई कविलास

That the poet does not mean any earthly creation becomes clear from the word प्रकटिल. Jaisi could not create the Himalayas before the creation of four elements that come in the next line.

जाति सूर औ खाँड़े सूरा— —"By *caste* a Sur, with his sword a hero." Grierson knew too much of the Sur *clan* to mistake them for a *caste* which as every child knows is absent in Islam (p. 10).

4. "On the highways do men cast about gold (yet no one *snatches it*)" (p. 12). What is cast about on the road may be *picked up* and not *snatched*.

5. दुनौं पानि पियहिं एक घाटा —"both drink water together at the same landing-*ford*." This is school-boy's translation with the help of a Hindi-English dictionary. Grierson would have written *ghat* or *ghaut* which became domiciled in English in Grierson's life-time.

6. दीप गभस्थल आरन परा दीप महुस्थल मानुस- हरा

It is a very difficult passage which has not been explained by Sukulji nor by Alawal. But Dvivediji was equal to any occasion, never nonplussed by any passage which he would confidently explain to others anyhow. Perhaps it is from his *Chandrika* that Mr. Shirreff has taken his note 4 of Canto 2 (p. 21). There *Mahusthala* (*madhu*-sthala) is explained as *the land of secret parts* of a woman of Simhala. This is positively indecent and atrocious. If Grierson had read it, he himself would have been shocked, and perhaps at least substituted 'secret' with a more decent word 'hidden'. Mr. Shirreff's translation runs : "The land of Khumbha-sthala fled to the forest (before it), but the land of *Mahusthala* had destroyed mankind (and how, therefore, can I compare it with *Simhaladvipa* ?)" (p. 22). We are not competent to hazard an explanation or offer a comment. Like an average layman we take this passage as an allegorical reference to human heart which is Jaisi's *Simhala* and Padmini is *buddhi* (intelligence) हिय सिंघल बुधि पद्मिनी चिन्हा. Human heart is perhaps compared to hidden wilderness within where lies the isle of honey *i.e.*, nectar of life that does not *destroy* .but entices mankind (मानुस-हरा). We are very sorry for English readers for whom perhaps this translation is meant—a wish that Grierson himself expressed as we learn from the Preface of this work.

7. "Gandharva was a *fragrant prince* (सुगन्ध नरेषु) Man has smelt many a fragrant thing but not a human being (p. 22).

8. जनु कैलास परबत बली —each like the mighty Airavata *of* Kailasa (p. 22).

Kailasa of Mahadeva was not the elephant-stable of Indra. Airavata was not caught from the jungles of the Himalayas. The poet perhaps means that the elephants were high like a mountain and as strong as Indra's elephant.

9. घन अमराउ लाग चहुँ पासा (text p. 12)

—Alawal : आरि पासे नाहार सघन उपवन (p. 26)

Mr. Shirreff has not the fairness to quote even in a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foot-note Sukulji's correction of the Chandrika, which the translator here as elsewhere follows blindly out of deference to the names of Grierson and Dvivedi. Nevertheless an error is an error howsoever venerable the source of it might be. Here the passage is translated : "Dense *mango-groves* lie on every side." If the translator had looked about, he could easily make out that Jaisi calls a mango *amba* (c.f. काहु गही के आँव के डारा p. 87).

But now that a twentieth century Pandit (Sukulji) and a seventeenth century Maulana (Alawal) agree on the meaning of *amrau* as 'garden' we ought not to cling to the Chandrika's 'mango-grove'.

10. मौलसिरी बेइली औ करना (text p. 15).

"The Maulsiri *creeper* and the citron . . ." (Trans. 29). Have the countrymen of Jaisi ever seen a *creeping maulsiri*—(which is the same as our most common *Bakul* growing as large as a mango-tree) ? The translator's work reminds of the scribe's (माछिमारा केरानी) device of "fly for fly" (*makkhi be-makkhi*). The translator ought to have scrutinised that the poet in his description of flowers and fruits has *not* mentioned the common flower, *beli* before. So the passage means—"Maulsiri, beli and *Karna*." Karna in Hindi, no doubt, means "a kind of citron"; but citron is not a flower-tree. Here the poet has used it in the sense of Karna (*Persian*, small bugle equivalent to our Bengali *sanai*), meaning perhaps *kaner* or *kalki* flower.

11. लील समन्द चाल जल जाने (text p. 19).

"The paces of *iron-grey* . . ." (trans. p. 35). Nothing strikes a reader so much as Jaisi's wonderful knowledge of horses. Such passages have hitherto baffled commentators and translators, even Alawal. Those who have been to horse-fairs in the Punjab and talked with old Pathan horse-dealers can only appreciate the poet's description of horses. Sukulji has discreetly avoided लील but Mr. Shirreff ventures on the literal, iron-grey. Jaisi means *nila* species of horse, and a *nila* is not blue but *pure white*. We read in the *Rajabyvahara-Kosa* :

(राजव्यवहार-कोष)

नीला शुभ्रः परिज्ञेयो शोनो बोर इति स्मृतः ॥
श्यामलस्तु कुमैतः स्याद् अम्बरी मेघ मेघवर्णकः ॥

This is the only source of our medieval acquaintance with horses giving Sanskrit equivalents for Persian and indigenous specification of horses.

12. What a faithful picture of Padmini's beauty peeps through the translation ! Padmini's lip, the blood-red *wild gourd* (p. 76); upper arms of Padmini are like golden shafts (कनकदण्ड) turned on a lathe ; her fore-arms like a pair of young plaintain shoots [कदली-गाभ (p. 79), and so are her thighs also—as the poet says elsewhere.

13. Nothing is so offending as the *Hell*, an equivalent for पाताल where dwell Jaisi's *Lakshmi* and the serpent-king Vasuki.

14. बसै मीन जल धरती अम्बा बसे आकास ।
यों पिरोत पै दुवौ महुँ अन्तु होहिं एक पास ॥ (text, p. 88).

"The fish dwells in water on (the surface of) the earth, the mango dwells in the air. But if there is love between the two they will in the end meet together" (trans., p. 117). Mr. Shirreff keeps himself on the safe side saying that "it is not one of Jaisi's happiest similes." Our first objection is that no one has seen mango dwelling in the air ; secondly, the process of union of lovers is atrocious. Here Mr. Shirreff is not to be blamed so much as the old Pandit's (Ramchandra-ji's) sense of humour. He repeats with slight alternation the comment of Ramchandraji : "The fish and the mango meet when the fish is *cooked with a flavouring* of mango-juice" (*ibid.* note q.).

Is it justice to the poet ? Ramchandra Sukla ought to have spared us this violent explanation got up in the same way as Dvivedi did elsewhere in the Chandrika. *Amba* ought to have been retained untranslated, because Jaisi never uses the word *amba* as an equivalent of *anba* (mango). Here as the context shows three parties are concerned, Padmini, Ratansen and the parrot Hiraman corresponding to *min* (fish), *darti* (earth) and *amba* (?). The plain sense is that when two strange persons are in love with a common friend they will meet together. Fish desires rain-water at the mating season which is generally toward the close of summer ; and so does the parching earth looks up to heaven for the first shower of summer. It is for masters to decide whether *amba* denotes *ambu* water from heaven, *i.e.*, rain drops. Does Jaisi allude to a common phenomenon when some species of fish as *koi, magur, shail* and *boal*, get excitement after the first shower of summer and are found moving across embankments of lakes and ponds in search of fresh rain-water ? At any rate *amba* is not mango, and there is no poetry in making common friends unite in love in the cooking-pan.

15. तेहि कै आगि उहौ पुनि जरा ।
लंका छाड़ि पलंका परा ॥ (p. 96).

". . . he began to burn again : he jumped over Lanka and fell upon *Palanka*" (p. 130). Mr. Shirreff adds, "Here and in 30 (15) 3 *Palanka* means an *imaginary island* beyond Lanka ; but both Sudhakar and Sukla give the *tame* explanation, he fell on his bed (*palang*)." Both the Pandits improvise no doubt a *charpai* for Hanumanji, and it is unfortunate. Mr. Shirreff makes a wild and wide jump from *palang* (bed-stead), and knowing not where to alight he creates for himself and Hanumanji "an imaginary island beyond Lanka." It is clear from the text that *palang* of the Pandits and *Palanka* of Mr. Shirreff were both somewhere close to Kailas where Hanumanji immediately went to tell of Ratansen's incendiary love that threatened to burn heaven and earth. So what Jaisi meant was neither *palang* nor Palanka but an Arabic word *falak* (celestial sphere). Examples may be quoted where Jaisi has made a fun of the *Pandits* by cleverly importing Persian and Arabic words distorted in vernacular. As regards the other passage referred by Mr. Shirreff—

चारिहु पवन झकोरै आगी ।
लंका दाहि पलंका लागी ॥ (p. 171)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"All the four winds fan the flame : the burning heat of Lanka spreads to *Palanka*" (trans. p. 214). Nagamati, the deserted wife of Ratansen, thus bewails her lot in the palace of Chitor which lies in Jambhudvipa of Jaisi. The fire of severance either catches the *palang* of Suklaji or Palanka island of Mr. Shirreff's fancy. Which way are we to go ? Here too *falak* (celestial sphere) is perhaps the only refuge for lovers of poetry.

16. हिया जार कुच कांचन लारू ।
कनक कचौर उठे जनु चारू ॥ (text p. 50)

Alawal—

स्वर्ण-स्थल जिनिया हृदय परिपाटी ।
कनक कटरा दुइ राखिछे उलटि ॥ (p. 58)

"a bosom like a tray on which breasts are like golden *sweet-meat balls*, yea, they rise like beauteous golden bowls" (trans.. p. 80). Here Mr. Shirreff accepts the version of the Chandrika in the text but is afraid of either quoting Sudhakar's ingenious commentary on this passage or drawing the attention of scholars to the home-thrust dealt at it by Suklaji. This betrays the lack of open-mindedness and intellectual honesty on the part of the translator who has given currency to error because it is committed by Grierson and Dvivedi. We quote the Chandrika to break the tedium of this review : "On her traylike bosom, breasts are as if *laddus* of gold ; or say *kachauri* of flour (*ata*) in boiling cauldron was coming up (*phul rahi hai*) *i.e.*, round and expanding breasts look like *kachauri* of almond colour rising up in a cauldron" (on a haluwai's oven). लारु was read by Sudhakar लाडू wherefrom he jumped at *laddu*, a favourite sweet-meat of Brahmins. Similarly, he made *kachauri* out of *kachaura* (cups) for a feast of the fools. However, Alawal committed no such error and his countrymen are quite familiar with *kachaura* in Vidyapati.

We have taxed the patience of readers too much, and transgressed the space-limit of a review. We hope our remarks will not be taken amiss. It will be a height of ingratitude not to appreciate the learning and zeal of Mr. Shirreff who has accomplished an arduous task which old Grierson had given up in sorrow and despair after the death of Dvivedi.

———:O:———

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IDEAL OF EDUCATION : *By Swami Abhedananda. Published by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. Pages 91. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review contains four lectures by Swami Abhedananda on ideals of education in general and Indian in particular. He speaks of the high and noble ideals of ancient Indian education and its achievements and the message it has for us even today; he points out some of the good things in the American system of education and specially of its practical nature and he pleads for co-operation between the East and the West. His emphasis is on the spiritual aspect of education and on moral education. There is also a chapter on "female (*sic*) education" (a term which might well have been dropped in these days). Swamiji has thus touched upon some of the vital issues of Indian education. His views, original as they must have appeared when the lectures were first delivered, would not be looked upon as such in these days ; still they deserve to be carefully considered, specially those on the importance of the spiritual aspect of education. We are grateful to the publisher for making them available to the reading public in this attractive form. The book is well got-up and the printing is good. There are, however, a number of printing mistakes which are irritating to readers.

A. N. Basu

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. 1946. Pp. 65. Re. 1.*

POLITICS OF THE CHARKHA : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. 1946. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-4.*

THE GANDHIAN WAY : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Third Revised Edition. Pp. 184. Price Rs. 4.*

In a series of bright articles, Acharya Kripalani brings out convincingly the democratic and revolutionary character of the Indian National Congress. He also discusses very ably certain vexed questions such as whether the Congress is a party or a platform, how it functions in a perfectly democratic manner, what the role of different revolutionary groups within it is like and so on. The book will serve to dispel many doubts as well as stimulate thought.

In the *Politics of the Charkha*, the author has discussed the part which decentralized economics may play in the task of national reorganization. They give us a means, not only of coming into intimate contact with rural humanity through service rendered in the field of daily need, but it is also a means of establishing in a practical way the economic and political democracy which is the aim of the non-violent revolutionary.

The present edition of *The Gandhian Way* is a completely revised one, and a very valuable section has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been added to it on the theory of the non-violent revolutionary method. Acharya Kripalani discusses the whole question in terms which the modern mind can readily accept. We hope that all the three above books will be welcome by all who are in need of understanding modern India, as well as the present very revolutionary method which she is at present pursuing for the sake of social, political and economic regeneration.

THE WARLIS : *By K. J. Save, M.A., LL.B., Special Officer for the Protection of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, Thana. 1945. Sole distributors, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. x + 280 + 14 plates and two sketch maps. Price Rs. 10.*

The Warlis are an agricultural people inhabiting the coastal districts lying north of Bombay. Although their culture has been considerably modified by contact with more prosperous neighbours, yet they have succeeded in retaining some old tribal elements in the shape of music, dances, magical beliefs and practices or social observances. Students of cultural anthropology will find here some useful material for historical reconstruction.

But the author has done a greater piece of service by drawing a realistic picture of the social and economic condition of the tribe in question. He has given us a rather dismal picture of the kind of life to which the Warlis have been relegated by centuries of neglect and exploitation. The only relief which they find from its oppressiveness seems to lie in their chronic intemperance, and in an occasional bout of injudicious expenditure over some social ceremony, which offers one more occasion for indulgence in drink.

Readers will be grateful to the author for suggesting practical measures for the uplift of the tribe.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

CHRISTIANITY : ITS ECONOMY AND WAY OF LIFE : *By J. C. Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. December, 1945. Price Re. 1-8.*

Politics and religion do not involve any conflict, the life of Jesus impels towards identification with the masses, and the Christian can never forget that to find life eternal he must lose his life—and that is the economy of permanence, to be distinguished from the economy of transience according to which only the lower self has to be catered to. This sums up Shri Kumarappa's viewpoint which he held forth before various audiences in numerous conferences and the summaries of his speeches and one address are now presented in the handy volume under review, to be used as a companion volume to his *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*, already noticed.

But the Church and the religion of Jesus have drifted, and the question occurs today both to the followers of the Church and to those outside its fold : Why does the Church support war, and war for aggrandisement ? Shri Kumarappa cannot find any sanction in the religion of Jesus for this, nor for making proselytes, nor for owning property. In his words : "Jesus practised and preached a personal religion which derived its characteristics from his attitude to God, and his conception of his mission. The greatest had to be the servant of all. No human need was to be sacrificed to rule and order. We act as trustees with regard to material possessions committed to our charge. If the greed for worldly goods and acquisition could be neutralized, we could do away with war and all other attendant evils. The personality of an individual counts, above all, tradition and customs." (P. 80). These conclusions have been reached by an impassioned logic, and the interesting correspondence between Most Rev. Dr. F. Westcott, the late Metropolitan of India and the writer, as given in the appendix, is a natural sequel (not, of course, chronological, because it relates to the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 and raises the propriety of Christian reaction to the sufferings of the Satyagrahis) of the above trend of thought and discussion. Shri Kumarappa finds in the example of Jesus Christ a sure warrant for Civil Disobedience, and though the Metropolitan naturally does not agree, Shri Kumarappa has the last word on the subject, and the better of the argument.

The book concludes with an outline of a planned economy in which the writer presents his idea, in a concrete form, of a socio-economic organization based on the ideal of the economy of permanence, with which, it may be remembered, the book started.

The book is printed on handmade paper, and the typography is good, but we are sorry to notice numerous printing mistakes, which do not redound to the credit of the publishers.

Shri Kumarappa's observation should be widely read, discussed and what is more, should serve as a pointer to life.

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE : *By P. R. Ramchandra Rao. New Book Company, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 108. Price Rs. 3-14.*

It is refreshing to read these sketches of prominent Congress personalities—the Congress High Command—Nehru, Azad, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Frontier Gandhi, C. R. and Sarojini Naidu. Each is accompanied by a beautiful photographic representation. The author's way is dramatic and he has the gift of phrase-making. The reader is thankful to him also for not bringing in Gandhiji, because, as he rightly says in the prologue, to bring him to the fore in this book would have been to blur the contents entirely. These vivid pen-portraits are assured of a welcome. Though sometimes it has not been possible to keep up the interest, the general impression of the reader is certainly one of satisfaction.

P. R. SEN

SELF-CULTURE (in the Light of Occultism) : *By I. K. Taimni, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the Ananda Publishing House, 3A, Lowther Road, Allahabad. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 6.*

In this attractive volume Dr. Taimni, who is a theosophist and well-versed in theosophical doctrines, deals with the science of self-culture from the standpoint of theosophy. In the preface the author states that this important subject cannot be well explained unless life is viewed as a comprehensive whole extending far beyond this short human existence as taught by occultism. Hence he advises the reader to approach the subject in the occult way.

The fifteen chapters into which the book is divided contain lucid treatment of the theory of evolution, the functions of different bodies of man, such as the physical, astral; lower-mental, causal, Buddhic and Atmic, as well as the methods of perfecting them according to theosophy. In the opinion of the author, self-culture, undertaken in right earnest, leads the seeker to the goal of life which is self-realisation. Evolution in the light of occultism is a progressive march from the lowest form of life, where the perfections of its divine source are in the rudimentary stage, to the final mergence in the divine. The occultists believe, when the human being, who is in one stage of evolution, perfects his subtle bodies and gets the necessary qualifications, the great souls, called Mahatmas, who have reached the supreme state of perfection, will come to their assistance and guide them to the goal. The belief, that the aspirants are helped and guided in their spiritual life by such invisible souls, is held by many religions, besides theosophy.

In this book, under review, the author has clearly explained his subject with profuse illustrations from science of which he is a master. Character-building,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ization of moral virtues, the practice of concen-...tion and meditation and the repetition of *Gayatri Mantra*, so sacred to the Hindus, are rightly prescribed ...some of the excellent means of self-culture. The ...thor, who encourages the aspirants of self-culture to ...be very patient and persevering in their pursuits, ...rightly observes, "Since the idea of self-culture ex-...tends far beyond this human life and can be attained ...only by intense effort, people need not feel dis-...appointed; for, even the little achievements we can ...make in the various fields in this life, will remove a lot ...of our miseries and bring in peace."

The author has freely used terms and ideas ...peculiar to Hinduism and many of his suggestions are ...those which are given to the seekers of Truth through ...Hinduism. This book will be much appreciated by the ...students of theosophy and theosophists. The Hindu ...readers will be glad to learn from this book the great ...affinity between Theosophy and Hinduism.

SWAMI RITAJANANDA

BOOK HERE FOR BEDFORD: *By Peter Hall. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 110. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a good little novellette for a long railway journey. One would like to keep it and pass it to friends after he has finished it. The printing and get-up are excellent.

THE PICAROON AND THE BURGLAR TOOLS: *By Herman Laudon. The Rampart Library of Good Reading Series. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a gripping thriller of unusual calibre with surprise and suspense as the dominant notes.

J. M. DATTA

INDIANS OF AFRICA: *By Bhaskar Appasamy. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pages 92. Price twelve annas.*

When slavery was abolished by the British in 1834, difficulty was felt by the farming industry in South Africa and indenture system of recruitment of Indian labour was introduced. This system was finally abolished in 1920, though India had stopped emigration from 1910. Nothing is heard in the outside world about the pure Africans (Bantus or Natives) although they number 6,600,000; Asiatics and people of mixed descent number 220,000 and 770,000 respectively. Europeans number 2,000,000. So, the question of Indians or Asiatics outnumbering the Europeans does not arise, nor the Indians are likely to dominate Europeans in all spheres of economic activities. All anti-Indian measures are resorted to by the South African Union to suppress the Indians in their legitimate economic activities and to humiliate them in their land of adoption. When the country was undeveloped, services of Indians were necessary and they were welcome. Now that Indians have made what South Africa is today, every device is being employed to drive them back. The South African Government have broken their pacts and promises many times, and time has come when nothing less than strong actions by the Government of India is necessary. The Pegging Act of 1943 is a great blow to oust Indians from their land and business. The Union Government is bent upon doing harm to Indians and insults are being hurled one after another, in spite of protests from the people and Government of India. 'Native' Africans are now growing in consciousness and in the near future they will certainly count as a force. Some South African Indians are joining the Natives in their fight against the Europeans, because the future of the country must be in the hands of the people of the land. It must be borne in mind that South African-born Indians are Africans first and as such they must unite with Natives in the common fight for their rights. Indians in India and the alien Indian Government can not do much as the past has shown. A National Government in India will perhaps fare better in future. The author in a short compass has depicted the South African Indian problem clearly and vividly.

A B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

THE TANTRA-SAMUCCAYA OF NARAYANA, Part I: *Edited by Mimamsakaratna Mimamsavisarada Vedasiromani V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., Hony. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 151. 1945. Price Rs. 8.*

An edition of the work was published several years back in the same series with the commentary of Sankara, the author's son. The present edition brings to light one more commentary and that from the pen of a disciple of the author. Though contemporaneous with the former, the latter appears to have been based on a slightly inflated text revealing differences in the arrangement of the verses and occasionally better readings. This is rather curious especially in the case of a comparatively late, work like the one under review. Another curious fact with regard to the new commentary is its abrupt ending, in all the manuscripts collated for the present edition, in the middle of verse 80 of the second chapter leaving it incomplete though there is no such defect in the remaining chapters. The edition is enriched by a number of appendices and by two introductions, the English one by the editor and the Sanskrit and the fuller one by Pandit N. Rama Sastri, to whom the editorial work is stated to have been mainly entrusted. The appendices contain indexes of the verses of the text (so far as it is published in the present volume, *e.g.*, chapters I-IV) and of the quotations in the commentaries, besides lists of variant readings of the text as well as the new commentary. The Sanskrit introduction draws attention to the characteristic features of the latter and to the fact that some of the verses of the text are also met with in works like the *Silparatna*. The Preface states that there are verses in the text which are left out in the new commentary. But unfortunately no definite reference has been given to them. The get-up of the volume does not seem to conform to the standard set up in the earlier numbers of the series. This is presumably due to war conditions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BHARATER PANNYA (India's Merchandise): *By Kali Charan Ghosh. Published from 6B Ashton Road, Calcutta. Pages 368. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is the third part of the author's book on India's merchandise and contains discussions on Iron, Tungsten, Chromite, Vanadium, Manganese, Molybdenum, Titanium, Nickel and Coal. The author promises to bring out another volume to complete the discussions on other mineral resources found in India.

It must be admitted that even among the educated people of our country there is an amount of unpardonable ignorance in regard to the knowledge of the economic resources of India and those who desire information on this subject find it difficult to get the information in one place, this is particularly so in case of the public, who are literate only in Bengali. Both for the students and also for businessmen and manufacturers such knowledge is indispensable. The information in regard to minerals is contained in various books compiled by specialists, scattered about in various reports, publications and other periodical and contemporary papers. The author has done a great service to the Bengali literature by collecting them in a single book. As Indians, we are most interested in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

iron, manganese and coal, and the author has done ample justice by treating these subjects extensively in this volume. His comparative figures and hints at possibilities will go a great way in encouraging students and adventurers in the new fields of activities.

The book is profuse in up-to-date statistical information gathered from most recent government and other authoritative publications.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HAMARI RAJNAITIK SAMASYAYEN : *By Shanti Prasad Varma. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 281. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a scientific study, marked by profundity and perspicuity, of our principal present-day political problems. It is divided into four chief sections : the communal aspect, and the political aspect of the problem, and its solution from the standpoints of vivesecting the country and federating the various units into one whole. The *pros* and *cons* are examined dispassionately as well as dynamically. The cultural, and, therefore, cementing aspect of the problem too, is surveyed and scrutinized and the value of several institutions and activities set up for the express purpose of promoting the essential unity underlying beneath the apparent isolationist diversity among the people and their respective patterns of culture and conduct assessed. Shri Varma has presented to those familiar with Hindi, a book that was sorely needed and that would, indeed, help the reader to take a more intelligently effective interest in the affairs of the nation.

DHARMA AUR DARSHANA : *By Baladeva Upadhyay, M.A. Sharada Mandir, 29/17 Ganesh Dikshit Lane, Benares. Pp. 222. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In India, religion anl philosophy have always been looked upon as fellow-pilgrims on the path to the supreme reality. The book, under review, is made up of short but highly suggestive studies in Vedic, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Ajivak, Jain, Buddhist and Chinese religions and in the ways of the mystics of Maharashtra, on the one hand, and an exposition of the principal philosophical systems of Yoga Shastra, Dwaita Vedanta and Shuddha Advaita Mat ("Pure Monism") on the other, together with a concluding chapter on the inter-relationship of religion and philosophy. The writer has a knack of rivetting the reader's attention on the wood instead of on the trees, so to speak ; hence, now the Hindi-knowing, busy layman can have no excuse for being ignorant of the fundamentals of his country's faiths-*cum*-philosophies.

G. M.

APRADH AUR DAND : *By Parmeshwarilal Gupta and Dhumbcharilal Saksena. Published by Jnanmandal Ltd., Benares. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1.*

This small book, based on various new and old works dealing with the psychology of crime and the traditional historical approach, is very handy, interesting and instructive. The authors' labour in probing through the various psychological aspects of crimes and the so-called criminals is amply repaid in the form of useful observations. We commend it to the layman, the open-minded, as well as to the fellow citizens who happen to be otherwise minded.

DESHI RAJYA SHASAN : *By Bhagwandas Kela. Published by Bharatiya Granthmala, Brindaban. Pp. 560. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book under review strives to throw some light on the administration of the feudal islands or dark cockpits of the Indian sub-continent presented under the label of *Native* or Indian States. The author rightly attacks this heresy of medieval despotism, dehistoricized concept of personal rights, wherein growth of elementary political institutions has been dubbed as 'sedition' and a dam of oppression erected thereby reducing the so-called 'States' to the meagre structure of a private holding inhabited by serfs with no rights whatsoever. The book is a laudable effort and written gracefully.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

SAMAJ-JEEVAN : *By Ramatanaya. Published by Deshmukh & Co., 191 Shaniwar Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 5.*

This volume professes to examine our present social life, particularly that of Western India in all its aspects, point out its imperfections and suggest remedies to make it richer, fuller, better, more worthliving. While doing so it has naturally discussed a number of controversial topics of common interest. The caste system, the family system, woman's place in society, the inheritance problem, man's place in society, education of the young and old, commerce and industry, influence of the past, on the present and the future, morality, means of amusement and recreation, concepts of progress—are some of the subjects that the author has tackled. As the writer of the foreword, Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potadar points out, there is no pretence at prescribing solutions of the problems raised. It is a one man study, deep and sincere study, made for being helpful to other kindred spirits. As such the volume deserves hearty welcome.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

NANDNIKA : *By Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Printed at the Khadayata Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1944. Thick card-board. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Mr. Khabardar's poetical works have been in the hands of the Gujarati-reading public for nearly a quarter of a century by now and it must have noticed a thread of mysticism based on human philosophy running through them. The present work is a collection of two hundred and two sonnets in which the poet's study and expression of Hindu philosophical principles has reached its peak and the yearning of the human soul to be one with the creator dominates every verse of these sonnets. The poet is a follower of Zoroaster and it is his firm opinion that in the dim ages of the past Zoroasterian philosophy and Hindu philosophy took their inspiration at the same source and that the Gathas furnish testimony to the same effect. The introduction deals with the technique of a sonnet in English and Gujarati and the text of the sonnets lays bare the heart of the poet, whose watchword is "Wherever there is God, there is Heaven." We welcome this valuable addition to our verse literature.

BENGALI JIVAN ANE SAHITYA : *By Champshi V. Udeshi. Printed at Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 97. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Champshi is well-qualified to enlighten the inhabitants of Gujarat about the life and literature of Bengal having passed his whole life in Calcutta, cheek by jowl with Bengalis. He published from Calcutta a Gujarati monthly called *Nav Chetan*, and was its editor. Its venue is now removed to Baroda, due to war. Both the Editor and the magazine would return to Calcutta, as soon as circumstances permit. A very correct picture of Bengal's domestic life is painted in this small volume, and the state of Bengali literature well summarised.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says :**—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America :**—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America :**—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China :**—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa :**—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon :**—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS,** 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Managed By Efficient Board of Directors

The Asian Share Dealers Society Ltd.

Regd. Office : 14-2, Old China Bazar Street, CALCUTTA.

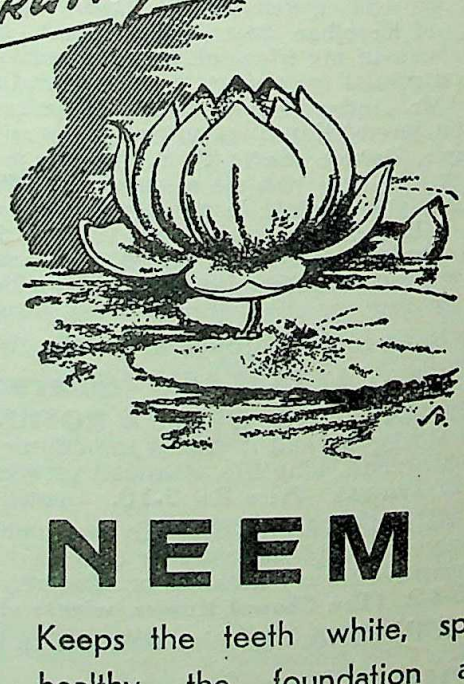
We deal in Shares in Calcutta Stock Exchange	FIXED DEPOSIT ACCEPTED *Rate* For 1 Year ... 4 1/2% 2 ,, ... 5 % 3 ,, ... 6 %	The Company Expects declaration of good interim Dividend within 1946.

Applications from intending Organisers are invited for selling the remaining Shares of the Company.

Application also wanted from Educated and influential men for Posts of Managers in Dacca, Benares, Patna, Bhagalpur, Jamshedpur, Lahore and Delhi. Prospects bright and terms liberal.

Beauty IS TRUTH

SO SINGS THE POET



BEAUTY is also the 'open sesame' to admiration and popularity in Society, particularly for women. *Preserve and enhance your beauty!*

MARGO SOAP

helps to protect delicate skins, the foundation of all beauty, with its active Neem principles.

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

Keeps the teeth white, sparkling and healthy, the foundation and source of a charming and sweet smile.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Modern Poetry

The following is the concluding portion of Rabindranath's article on modern poetry as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Juxtaposed with the Chinese poem, the modernism of English poets strikes one as unreal. It is befouled. Their mind mudges the reader with its elbow. The universe that they see themselves and show to others is cracked, full of rubbish and blowing with dust. Their mind today is unhealthy, unhappy and disordered. Under these circumstances they cannot cleanly dissociate themselves from the universal aspect of things. They laugh loudly at the straw-and-bamboo framework of the broken image and say that the real thing has been discovered at last. They think that prodding at the lumps of clay and bits of sticks and straw and saying harsh things about them is acknowledging truth with vigour.

Apropos of this, a poem of Eliot's comes to mind. The theme is : An old woman dies, who belongs to a high family. The customary blinds are drawn down, the undertakers and coffin-bearers are engaged in making their appropriate arrangements. On the other hand in the dining room the head-butler of the family is sitting at the dinner-table with the second maid on his knees.

The thing is credible and natural no doubt. But people of an old-fashioned temperament will be prompted to ask—Is that enough ? What is the urge to write such a poem, and why should I read it ? If any poet writes to tell me of a girl's charming laughter, then I shall agree that this is news worth giving ; but if immediately afterwards of his instruments that the girl's teeth are decayed, then I must say that this is also news no doubt, but not of a kind that need be proclaimed from the house-tops. If I find that somebody is specially anxious to spread this news, then I shall suspect that his temperament is also decayed. If it is argued that formerly poets used to pick and choose subjects for their poems, whereas ultra-modern poets do not,—then I cannot admit that ; they also pick and choose. Choosing a faded worm-eaten flower is as much choosing as choosing a fresh flower. The only difference is that the moderns are always afraid lest people should give them a bad name and say they are fond of choosing.

The Aghorepanthis (a Saiva sect) purposely eat disgusting food, and use foul things, lest it should appear that they are partial to nice things ; as a result, they become habitually partial to things the reverse of nice. If the Aghorepanthi cult becomes prevalent in poetry, then what will become of those who have a natural taste for clean things ? The leaves and flowers of some plants are continually attacked by insects, others again are not ;—must we boast of being realists because we give precedence to the former ?

A poet has described an aristocrat thus :

*When Richard Cody went to town**
We pedestrains used to stare at him
He was a gentleman from top to toe,
Slim like a prince,
Simple in his ways, simple in his dress,
But when he said good-morning, our pulse used to beat faster.
He walked abroad in a radiance,
He was exceedingly rich,
His manners were charming,
Whatever we saw in him made us think—
On, how ! wish I were he.
But when we were working ourselves dead,
Waiting for the lamps to be lit,
When there was no meat for dinner,
When we cursed the coarse bread,—
Then on a calm spring night,
Richard Cody went home
And sent a bullet through his head.

There is no modern sarcasm or loud laughter in this poem ; on the contrary, there is some pathos in it, which consists in the fact that there may be some fatal disease lurking inside what is apparently healthy and beautiful.

He whom we consider rich has a starving personality hidden behind the curtain. The anchorites of old times have spoken in the same way. They remind those who are living that one day they will have to go to the burning-ground slung on bamgoo-poles. European monks have described in their discourses how the decomposed body beneath the soil is being eaten by worms. In dissertations on morality we have seen attempts to destroy our illusion by reminding us that the body which seems to us beautiful is a repulsive compound of bones and flesh and blood and fluids. The best way of cultivating detachment is repeatedly to instil into our minds a contempt for the reality which we perceive. But the poet is not a disciple of the detached hermit, he has come here to side with attachment. Is the modern age so very degenerate that even this poet is infected with the atmosphere of cremation, that even he begins to take pleasure in saying that that which we consider great is decayed, that which we admire as beautiful is untouchable at the core ?

Those whose minds have grown old are incapable of strong and pure natural feeling. Their mind becomes impure and unhealthy. It tries to shake off its lethargy by contrariness, it excites itself with all that is unnatural and fermented ; only by shedding its shame and decency can it make the stream of laughter flow through its wrinkles.

The mid-Victorian age felt a due respect for reality and wished to accord it a place of honour ; the modern age thinks it part of its programme to insult reality and tear aside all its veils of decency.

If you call an exceeding reverence for universal things sentimentalism, then you can also call an aggressive spirit of rebellion against them by the same name.

If the mind becomes bitter, for whatever reason, the vision can never be natural. Hence if the mid-Victorian age is to be ridiculed as being the leader of ultra-respectability, then the Edwardian age must also be ridiculed with the opposite adjectives. The thing is not natural and therefore not perennial. As for science, so for art, the detached mind is the best vehicle. Europe has gained that mind in Science, but not in literature.

* This is a literal retranslation from the Bengali version given in the essay. We regret that we are unable to quote the original English—Ed., *Visva-Bharati Quarterly.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Blood Bath

The New Review observes :

Provided we refrain from distorting our historical perspective, we must denounce or, more charitably, regret the Calcutta riots in the darkest tones. The number of casualties which run into thousands of killed and wounded, the methodical looting which has crippled Calcutta's economic life, the heart bitterness which still poisons the civic life of millions made the 16th of August and the following days the blackest week in Calcutta's history. Calcutta was turned into a Red Hole.

Above the murderous hatred of the anonymous crowd, above the low greed of gangs, including a few uninformed looters and short-skirted *goondas,* above all the cruel and sordid inhuman deeds of common men, there rises the more crucial problem of ascribing and parcelling out the responsibility for those Red Days. It is no province of man to judge of men's hearts, but it is the right of citizens to enquire into the deeds of public men. With that proviso, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the irresponsible utterances of some leaders involve their personal responsibility, and also that the Bengal Government failed in judgment and efficiency. To plan a *Direct Action* day without expecting any direct action was a preposterous calculation. Time after time experience has shown that even non-violent non-direct non-co-operation leads to troubles, and that millions of uneducated followers and thousands of educated non-followers ignore the fine distinction which exist in the minds of leaders. To propagandize *Direct Action* was bound to be fraught with even more perils, since it directly popularized law-breaking. To comment that direct action does not exclude violence, to add that followers know what they have to do and need not be cautioned against violence, to drill squads in militia style, to provide lorries for conveying ruffians who rushed about the city, stopped to assault and spread confusion, all such well-averred facts betray deliberation which aggravates the responsibility to be distributed among all the organisers, the more so that the political demonstration was held at a time communal tension was making for a climax. Future information might tell us of a counter-organisation if any.

Much has been made of the fact that the day was declared a public holiday. This measure certainly cleared the streets of people, trams and buses and cut down the scale of the possible trouble. On the other hand, it was apparently mistranslated to some gangs as an official backing of whatever would happen. It can also be instanced as a proof that the Ministers themselves were apprehending trouble, and were strictly bound to take adequate precautions against disorders.

When it was plain that thousands of men armed with sticks, iron bars and knives were not joining the demonstration and felt unattracted by oratorical action, when shouts announcing a 'jehad' were heard here and there, when incidents of direct action had forestalled the afternoon speeches, how could such ugly forebodings be ignored or misinterpreted ? Why were effective measures postponed after the cases of assault and looting had multiplied, and retaliation had grown in scale ? Why in particular delay calling in the military till the Saturday afternoon ? The general public remains amazed at the slow-witted, apathetic, inefficient style of the Government machinery in Bengal ; the enigma will possibly be solved when the matter will be debated in the Legislative Assembly. The riots brought out what was in the heart of the people. Against the ugly deeds of many, there stand the fine example of not a few. Mohammedans protected Hindus, Hindus protected Mohammedans with true neighbourliness ; from all classes of humanity came out to serve all classes. May these form the nucleus of future Bengal !

War and the Punjab Agriculture

Sardar Bahadur S. Kartar Singh, Assistant Director of Agriculture, Punjab, writes in *Indian Farming*:

The war broke out in September, 1939, and lasted for about six years. During this period there has been a great rise in the prices of agricultural produce.

The object of this note is to see how the Punjab cultivator reacted to these big changes in prices.

Wholesale Harvest Prices

A study of the wholesale harvest prices of various agricultural commodities in the Punjab since 1938-39 shows that there was not much rise in the prices of *kharif* food grains during the first two years of war. The price of *desi* cotton, after rising from Re. 4-9 in 1938-39 by Rs. 2 in the first year, came down by Rs. 1-5, *i.e.,* to Rs. 5-4 per maund next year, the net rise being only eleven annas per maund over the 1938-39 price as compared with the corresponding figure of Re. 1-8 in the case of American cotton, thus increasing the difference in the prices of the two types from about 23 to 36 per cent. The price of rice and *rabi* food grains, particularly wheat, showed slight appreciation. In the third year of war, particularly after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan, the prices began to rise rather sharply. Wheat price had, therefore, to be controlled first at Rs. 4-6 in December, 1941, and then at Rs. 5 in May, 1942. As the entry of Japan in the war stopped the import of Burma rice into this country and the export of *desi* cotton to Japan, the 'grow more food' and 'less *desi* cotton' campaigns were started in the spring of 1942 to meet this emergency.

During the third and fourth years of war, the prices of all products recorded sharp increases. In January, 1943, the price of wheat had to be decontrolled, since at the low price of Rs. 5 per maund, enough supplies were not flowinng into the markets. Immediately after decontrol the price shot up to Rs. 11 per maund, but later on at the harvest time it steadied near about Rs. 10. The prices of rice and wheat, which are of all-India importance, rose to about three to four times the pre-war level ; those of other *kharif* and *rabi* grains and oilseeds only two to three times. Cotton prices also increased to more than twice, but rise in the price of American cotton was greater than that of *desi* cotton. During 1943-44, while the prices of *kharif* food grains, oilseeds and cotton continued to increase, those of *rabi* food grains and *gur* somewhat declined. In the year 1944-45, the prices of *kharif* food grains and cotton declined, while those of *gur* and gram improved a little. Wheat, barley and oilseeds more or less maintained their previous level.

We have now to see how this general and comparative rise in the prices of agricultural products and the 'grow more food' campaign have affected crop production. ,

Effect on Cropping

It has already been said that the appreciable rise in prices occurred only in the spring of 1942 and the 'grow more food' campaign was also started at that very time. One should not, therefore, expect much change in cropping until 1942-43, when the sown area increased by 2·7 million acres, as compared with that of the previous year as shown in Table I.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE 1

Area sown under kharif *and* rabi *crops, area failed and area matured in million acres*

		1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Area sown under kharif crops	Irrigated	6·8	6·9	7·0	6·8	7·3	7·3
	Unirrigated	6·2	7·4	6·9	8·0	7·2	7·3
	Total	13·0	14·3	13·9	14·8	14·5	14·6
Area sown under rabi crops	Irrigated	10·2	10·3	10·2	10·1	10·3	10·3
	Unirrigated	6·7	8·2	8·2	10·1	8·2	9·8
	Total	16·9	18·5	18·4	20·2	18·5	20·1
Total area sown	Irrigated	17·0	17·1	17·2	16·9	17·6	17·6
	Unirrigated	12·9	15·7	15·1	18·1	15·4	17·1
	Total	29·9	32·8	32·3	35·0	33·0	34·7
Total area of crops failed	Irrigated	0·8	0·8	0·6	0·7	0·6	0·8
	Unirrigated	4·8	4·4	4·4	2·6	3·2	3·1
	Total	5·6	5·2	5·0	3·3	3·8	3·9
Total area of crops matured	Irrigated	16·2	16·3	16·6	16·2	17·0	16·8
	Unirrigated	8·1	11·3	10·7	15·5	12·2	14·0
	Total	24·3	27·6	27·3	31·7	29·2	30·8

A close study of irrigated and unirrigated sowings shows that in 1942-43 both in *kharif* and *rabi* not only there was no increase in irrigated sowings but they were actually less by over 0·2 and 0·1 million acres respectively. Unirrigated sowings, however, increased by over a million acres in *kharif* and two million acres in *rabi*. A study of matured area, however, shows that there was an increase of 4·4 million acres, *i.e.*, 1·7 million acres more than the total increased sowings. This is due to the fact that the area of crops failed was less by this much. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the climatic conditions must be very favourable in 1942-43. A similar peak for sown area had been reached under equally favourable conditions in 1933-34.

THE RAINFALL

During the year 1942-43, the rainfall in Ambala and Hissar was 57·91 in. and 22·25 in. respectively as against the normal rainfall of 31·55 in. and 15·98 in. in those places. At Lyallpur and Multan it yas 15·78 in. and 9·99 in. respectively, which is a little more than two inches above the normal in each case, and in Jullundur and Rawalpindi it was somewhat below normal. In the year 1943-44, while rainfall in Lyallpur, and Jullundur was 17·98 in. and 27·77 in. respectively, i.e., above the normal, that in Ambala and Hissar was 35·47 in. and 12·9 in. respectively which is below the normal and in Rawalpindi near about the normal. The year 1943-44 was, therefore, generally poor in rainfall in comparison with 1942-43. The monsoon not being so favourable in 1943-44, the sown area came down by about two million acres in comparison with previous year. The *kharif* and *rabi* unirrigated areas came down by 0·8 million and 2 millions respectively, while irrigated *kharif* and *rabi* acreage rose by 0·52 and 0·22 million acres respectively. The area of crops failed also increased by about 0·5 million acres. In other words there was an increase of only 0·7 million in the total sown area in 1943-44 as compared with that of 1941-42. The following year (1944-45) was again favourable, though not quite as good as 1942-43. The sown area, therefore, increased by a little over 1½ million acres mainly due to the increase in unirrigated *rabi* area. The area of crops failed increased by about 0·1 million acres due to failure in the irrigated area but matured area increased by 1½ million acres due to increase in the unirrigated area, though it was still lower than that in 1942-43 by one million acres.

We will now see how cropping has been affected. As the number of crops is very large, it is not possible to deal with each one of them separately. The discussion will, therefore, be restricted to important crops only or groups of crops.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The total area in 1941-42 was 22,138,000 acres. During 1942-43, there was an increase of 3·35 million acres. Next year there was an increase of only 1·26 million acres as compared to 1941-42. During 1944-45 there was again an increase of 2·55 million acres. The chief increases in million acres as shown by various crops are given in Table II.

BE TALLER



In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19½	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

(Copyright)

Other Products :—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE II

Increare (+) or decrease (—) in million acres of various crops

Increase over 1941-42	Gram	Bajra	Wheat	Pulses	Rice	Barley	Jowar	Maize	Other cereals	Total
1942-43	+1·37	+0·71	+0·45	+0·28	+0·21	+0·14	+0·12	+0·11	—0·04	+3·05
1943-44	+0·64	—0·02	—0·02	+0·20	+0·36	—0·04	+0·06	+0·14	—0·06	+1·26
1944-45	+1·48	—0·12	+0·42	+0·18	+0·37	+0·05	+0·11	+0·17	—0·11	+2·58

It will be observed that in the favourable year there was an all round increase though more marked under gram, *bajra*, and pulses, which are mostly *barani* and wheat which is nearly half *barani*. The increase in rice area was partly due to extra water given for land reclamation. In 1943-44 this increase was more or less maintained in maize and pulses, rose still further in rice, reduced to less than half in case of gram, but was totally lost in *bajra*, wheat, barley and *jowar*. The year 1944-45 was again a favourable year specially for unirrigated *rabi*, though not quite so good as 1942-43. The area under gram increased by 1·48 million acres and wheat by 0.42 million acres. There was also an increase in rice, *jowar* and maize, while the area under *bajra* and pulses went further down.

COTTON

The total area in 1941-42 was 2,801,000 acres. During 1942-43, it decreased by 0·481 and in 1943-44 by only 0·2 and in 1944-45 by 0·384 million acres as shown in Table III.

TABLE III

Decrease (—) in area under cotton

	(In million acres) Desi	American	Total decrease
1941-42	..	..	..
1942-43	—0·509	+0·028	—0·481
1943-44	—0·48	+0·28	—0·20
1944-45	—0·535	+0·151	—0·384

It will be seen that *desi* cotton decreased by 0·509 and American increased by 0·028 million resulting in a net decrease of 0·481 million acres in 1942-43, but in 1943-44 *desi* cotton decreased by 0·48 million acres and American increased by 0·28 million resulting in a net decrease of only 0·2 million acres. During 1944-45 *desi* cotton decreased by 0·535 million and American increased by 0·151 million acres resulting in a net decrease of 0·384 million acres. The reason for different behaviour of *desi* and American cotton lies in their comparative prices as already discussed.

FODDERS

During 1941-42 the area under fodders was 4,983,000 acres. There was practically no change in it during 1942-43 but in the next two years there was an increase of 0·11 and 0·29 million acres respectively.

OILSEEDS

During 1941-1942, the area was 1,057,000 acres. It fell by about 0·15 million in 1943-43 and further by 0·3 million next year, *i.e.*, by 0·45 million acres in two years. The reduction occurred in *toria*, sarson and *taramira*—half in *toria* and half in the other two. Although the prices of *toria* and rapeseeds rose to about two and a half times in 1942-43 and to about three times in the following year, yet the area under cultivation contracted. During 1944-45, the area again increased to the level of that in 1942-43.

OTHER CROPS

So far we have accounted for 31·1 million acres out of 32·3 million acres sown. The balance of 1·2 million acres was occupied by sugarcane, vegetables, fruits, tobacco, spices and miscellaneous food and non-food crops. There has been no appreciable change in these. Sugarcane increased by 0·1 million acres in 1943-44 and 0·15 million acres in 1944-45. Vegetables decreased by 72,000 in 1942-43, and further by 65,000 in 1943-44. In 1944-45 there was an increase of 15,000 acres over the previous year. Spices, fruits and miscellaneous food crops increased by 41,000 acres in 1942-43, further by 1,000 acres in 1943-44 but decreased by 13,000 acres in 1944-45 in comparison with previous year.

As far as sown area is concerned, the above discussion may be summarized as below:

During 1942-43 there was an increase of 3·05 million acres under cereals and pulses. Of this 2·7 million acres was due to increased sown area, 0·45 million acres came from cotton mostly *desi* and 0·15 million from oilseeds. The increase in sown area was mostly due to favourable monsoon. A part of increase in rice area was due to extra water given for reclamation of *thur* lands. During 1943-44 there was an increase of only 1·26 million acres in cereals and pulses. Of this 0·6 million acres was due to increased sown area. 0·2 million acres came from cotton (*desi*) and 0·45 million from oilseeds.

In 1944-45 there was an increase of 2·53 million acres in cereals and pulses. Of this 0·384 million acres came from cotton (*desi*), 0·15 million acres from oilseeds and about 2 million acres were due to increased sown area owing to favourable monsoon.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

We will now deal with the increase in production. The following statement (Tible IV) gives the area, total production and yield per acre of all cereals and pulses for the last four years.

TABLE IV

Area, total production and yield per acre of cereals and pulses

Year	Area in thousand acres	Production in thousand tons	Yield per acre in tons
1941-42	22,138	6,469	0·292
1942-43	25,490	7,760	0·304
1943-44	23,399	6,432	0·275
1944-45	24,689	7,412	0·300

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It will be observed that as compared with 1941-42 there was an increase of 3·35 million acres with an increased production of 1·3 million tons in 1942-43 and an increase of 1·26 million acres with a decrease in production of 37,000 tons in 1943-44 while in 1944-45 there was an increase of 2·55 million acres in area resulting in increased production of 943,000 tons. The figures regarding the yield per acre give very interesting information. It will be seen that during 1941-42 and 1943-44 when the sowings were less, the yield per acre was also low, *i.e.*, 0·29 and 0·27 tons per acre respectively, whereas in 1942-43 and 1944-45 when the sown area increased the yields were also higher, *i.e.*, 0·3 tons per acre.

From the foregoing discussion of changes that have occurred in the cropping of the Punjab it is clear that there has been an increase in the area under food crops—cereals and pulses, during the last three years. This increase amounted to 3·35 million acres in 1942-43, 1·26 in 1943-44 and 2·55 in 1944-45. The favourable monsoons were responsible for high increase during 1942-43 and 1944-45. Owing to increased sowings the area was put under food grain crops. A portion of the increase under food crops, though a comparatively small one, is due to the replacement of cotton (*desi*) and oilseeds. This is more clearly shown in Table V.

TABLE V

Replacement of cotton and oilseeds in millions of acres

Year	Increased area under food grains over 1941-42	Area due to increased sowings	Cotton area replaced	Oilseeds area replaced
1941-42	..	..	..	..
1942-43	3·35	2·69	0·48	0·15
1943-44	1·26	0·61	0·20	0·43
1944-45	2·55	2·37	0·38	0·15

It will be observed from the above figures that favourable monsoon, which results in increased sowing and better yield per acre, is by far the most important factor for increased production of food grains. In the favourable years of 1942-43 and 1944-45 the increased sowing accounted for 80 and 93 per cent of the increased area under food grains as against only 48 per cent in 1943-44, which was not so favourable. The area got by replacement of cotton and oilseeds formed only 19 and 15 per cent of increased area under food grains in 1942-43 and 1944-45 respectively as against about 50 per cent during 1943-44. As regards the area obtained by the replacement of cotton and oilseeds, it appears that price factor is mainly responsible for it. For instance the price of oilseeds proportionately increased in 1943-44 resulting in increased area under them in 1944-45. This increase in prices of oilseeds has been maintained in 1944-45 and it may be expected that in 1945-46 the area under oilseeds may be maintained or even further increased. As regards cotton it has been already mentioned that *desi* cotton has been replaced in case of food grains due to its comparatively low price. During the present season (1945-46) the price of *desi* cotton has gone up appreciably (Rs. 17-8 per maund as against Rs. 20 of American) and has thus decreased the difference in the price of *desi* and American cottons. If this price level is maintained it is expected that the area under *desi* cotton will increase next year. It is, therefore, suggested that if increased food production is to be maintained as a long-range policy, the Government must strain every nerve to increase (*a*) area under cultivation and food crops by developing irrigation resources, such as canals, wells, tanks, etc.; (*b*) yield per acre by improved methods of cultivation and utilizing all manurial resources such as human excreta, compost, green manuring, oil cakes, other artificial fertilizers, etc.



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina' married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds' Bank,

261-263, Hornby Road,

Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Prof. Radhakrishnan's Recent American Tour

Elless Watumull writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Of tremendous significance in the development of cultural co-operation between the United States and India was the recent visit to the United States of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University, as Visiting Professor to American Universities under the auspices of the Watumull Foundation. Although he spoke only on subjects such as, "The Essentials of Indian Culture," "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit" and "The Purpose of Literature," he was able through them, and through numerous Press interviews, to clarify many points regarding India, about which Americans are, on the whole, not well-informed.

Radhakrishnan arrived in New York on the *Queen Mary* in the early hours before dawn on March 18. There were several distinguished travellers on the ship, including Lord Linlithgow, the former Viceroy of India, and Lady Linlithgow. As is customary in the United States, representatives of the Press boarded the boat for interviews. The *New York Times* of March 19 quoted Radhakrishnan on the question of the proposal for a division of India as saying, "It would be a great misfortune if India were divided. I believe in a free and united India."

One of the outstanding events of his American tour was his lecture in Washington D. C. on March 26 under the joint auspices of the American University and the Library of Congress.

Dr. Paul Douglass, President of the American University, entertained Radhakrishnan at luncheon at the Carlton Hotel, other guests being the U.S. Commissioner on Education, Dr. Pitman Potter, managing editor of the *American Journal of International Law*, the President and the Vice-President of the American Council on Education, the head of the National Education Association, Sir Girja Sankar Bajpai, Dr. Anup Singh, Professor M. S. Sundaram, Dr. Luther Evans, of the Library of Congress and others. Dr. Evans presided at the evening lecture and presented Radhakrishnan to the audience which filled Coolidge Auditorium in the Library building to capacity. His lecture on the "Purpose of Literature," which Dr. Douglass characterized as "a literary and courageous gem," was recorded for Library of Congress files. Dr. Horace Poleman, Chief of the Indic Section of the Library, said: "It was a great honour to have Professor Radhakrishnan here, and a rare enlightening experience to hear his words."

His success was repeated again on the 28th at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, where Radhakrishnan not only gave an inspiring lecture in the evening in McCosh Hall, presided over by Professor Robert Scoon, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, but held a seminar for the philosophy professors in the Tower Room of 79, which was formerly United States President Woodrow Wilson's office when he was head of Princeton University. Both of these meetings "were greeted by much enthusiasm and his (Radhakrishnan's) talks made a profound impression on all who heard him." Immediately following his lecture at Princeton, he returned to New York where he spent five busy days before again leaving the city.

On Friday, March 29, Radhakrishnan was invited to speak fifteen minutes on a national radio hook-up over the Columbia Broadcasting system on "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit." This speech has also been recorded, like his Washington address, making it possible for many, unable to be present, to hear his voice at will. After his broadcast which was heard all over the United States, he spoke at the Vedanta Centre in New York to an audience that not only filled the chapel, but overflowed to the street. Swami Nikhilananda, who recently translated the Bhagavad-Gita into English, presided at this meeting, introducing Radhakrishnan as one of India's greatest sons.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of the Community Church of New York and personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi, invited Radhakrishnan to fill the pulpit on Sunday morning, March 31, where he again spoke on "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit".

American Magazines.

Reader's Digest now Rs. 9-4. Others, Life, Time, Popular Science etc. at lowest prices. Now is the time to renew your subscriptions for 1947. No matter where you placed your original order we can handle your renewal O. K. Prompt efficient courteous service from India's premier Subscription Agency serving readers in India for over 25 years. Ask for list No. 346.

READER'S SERVICE

McLeod Road, P. B. 39, Karachi.

Calcutta City Bank Limited

Head Office:

102B, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

3-YEAR CASH CERTIFICATES

ISSUE PRICE	ON MATURITY
Rs. 8-10	Rs. 10-0
Rs. 86-4	Rs. 100-0
Rs. 862-8	Rs. 1,000-0

INTEREST:

Current A/C ...	... 1/2%
Savings A/C ...	... 2%
Fixed Deposit for 1 year	... 3 1/2%

FULL CLEARING FACILITIES

All kinds of Banking Business Transacted.

For particulars Phone: Cal. 3447

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is noteworthy that Dr. Holmes, one of the truest friends of India in the United States, chose Part XII of the Bhagavad-Gita for the First Lesson of the service and Tagore's "The Sunset of the Century" for the Second Lesson. Dr. Taraknath Das introduced the pulpit, and introduced Radhakrishnan, who gave "a magnificent address" and "thrilled his audience from start to finish." Dr. Holmes reported the largest congregation of the season at the service, which he called "a notable occasion."

Dr. Russell Potter, Director of the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University, reports Radhakrishnan's lecture in McMillan Hall on April 1 as "a glowing success," and "a memorable evening for all." The lecture on "The Essentials of Indian Culture" was under the joint auspices of the Departments of History, Philosophy and The Institute of Arts and Sciences, and was presided over by Professor Irwin Edman, head of the Philosophy Department.

Radhakrishnan left New York on April 3 for New Haven, Connecticut, to lecture at Yale University on the subject, which proved the American favorite, "Essentials of Indian Culture." Dr. Franklin Edgerton, head of the Department of Oriental Studies, and also a translator of the Bhagavad-Gita, said afterwards: "The one thing I regret is that we greatly underestimated the number of people who would want to hear him. The room we selected—was filled to overflowing,—and I understand that quite a number failed to get in at all." But the meeting was a great success. Dr. Filmer Stuart Northrop, head of Silliman College, Yale University, entertained Radhakrishnan in the evening, inviting a number of University Professors to meet the distinguished guest.

It was a rather hurried trip that Radhakrishnan made to speak on April 5, at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. W. Norman Brown, the great Indologist, curator of Indian Art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Professor of Sanskrit at the University, was instrumental in having Radhakrishnan in Philadelphia, where he spoke on "Tendencies of Modern Thought in India," which was an "eloquent presentation of the traditional Indian religio-philosophical teachings of the Upanishads and Shankaracharya." Later at dinner he met various members of the University administration and members of the Philosophy departments of Bryn Mawr, Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges (all of Quaker origin), the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University.

The University of Michigan has a splendid reputation abroad, especially in India and China, for its deep interest in foreign students.

And it is also known in India, as the University where Dr. Edson Read Sunderland, the son of the late great Dr. J. T. Sunderland, author of *India in Bondage*, is professor of Law. Dr. and Mrs. Nur M. Malik of Detroit, graciously met Radhakrishnan in Detroit and drove him to Ann Arbor, some thirty miles distant, in time for his lecture, given in the late afternoon, on "The Meaning of Religion." Dr. De Witt H. Parker, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy felt that the "lecture was one of the most beautiful and eloquent ever delivered in Ann Arbor and that they found Radhakrishnan a rare and profound spirit."

Radhakrishnan was the guest of the University of Chicago on April 12, where he spoke on Indian culture to a receptive audience, many of whom were students of Dr. Sunder T. Joshi, on the faculty of Chicago University. Although Chicago is at the crossroads, where travel from all over the United States meets and passes, it is too large and busy to pay great heed to a cultural ambassador like Radhakrishnan, who talks of spiritual realities, man's inner nature, and the need for a knowledge of self. So he was the guest

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
MARCH 1942	—	15%	
Bengal Cotton Estate	" 1943	— 10%	SONARPUR
Tripura	" 1944	— 10%	(B. & A. Rly.)
	" 1945	— 10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED

For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,

Managing Agents.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who opened the door to a wider horizon for a fleeting moment for them, but because they were too busy, they could not step outside, and see how vast that horizon might be.

It was in Minneapolis, where Radhakrishnan found the welcome royal. Dr. George P. Conger, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Minnesota, and President of the Western Branch of the American Philosophy Association, was well aware of Radhakrishnan's importance in the field of Philosophy and Religion, and his brilliance as a platform speaker. But he knew that the Middle West was relatively unfamiliar with India and Indian thought and he had, therefore, prepared the ground for Radhakrishnan's coming by excellent advance publicity. Dr. Conger wrote afterwards: "The result, I may say, justified the effort. I cannot remember when a lecturer has left such a mark on this university." "The lecture was a wonderful presentation of the spiritual idealism of India, a call and challenge to every one of us to cultivate the inner life, without injustice to the requirements of outward things. The applause at the end was hearty and prolonged."

The day in Minneapolis had begun with a press conference, during which he answered questions on India's political problems The Indo-American Club tendered Radhakrishnan a luncheon, serving Indian food, prepared under the able direction of Mrs. Hari Hingorani, to forty-five guests. And, during the afternoon, he appeared on a radio broadcast, where, in spite of its variety program nature, he was able to give a brief but powerful talk on the international situation.

While in Los Angeles, Radhakrishnan did what most visitors to California hope to do, he visited a large motion picture studio and observed the filming of two different pictures, "Sindbad the Sailor," starring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and "Mexican Honeymoon," starring Shirley Temple. He not only met them, but had his photograph taken with Mr. Fairbanks, whose father Radhakrishnan met in India in 1932.

Radhakrishnan's lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles, was a notable occasion.

He was introduced by Dr. William Ernest Hocking, the great American philosopher, and, although he spoke on "The Essentials of Indian Culture" he fitted it to the day which was Good Friday. So vital was his message, and so in keeping with the spirit of the day that the audience sat spellbound when he finished, and then broke into prolonged applause. This was the last lecture of Radhakrishnan's American tour, as he had to sail for England on April 24 from New York. He had been invited to speak at many other American universities, as well as for notable organizations, such as the American Oriental Society, but time did not permit. Wherever he went, Radhakrishnan was besieged with social invitations, most of which he was unable to accept. However, he did meet with the Indian students in those universities where there were enough students to form a students' association, and spoke to them, not as a philosopher, but as their teacher and friend.

Radhakrishnan's entire trip in the United States was like that of an ambassador of good-will, bringing the rich values of India's great spiritual and cultural heritage and spreading them on the magic carpet of words before the people of America for their approval. And they took him to their hearts, because Americans are warm and generous, and can be understanding, too. Although it may not seem to make an immediate difference in the official attitude of the United States, there is greater understanding of, and active interest in India because of one of India's great moderns—Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

—

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For	one	year	@	... ... 4½ p.c. p.a.
,,	two	years	@	... ... 5½ p.c. p.a.
,,	three	,,	@	... ... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram:—Honeycomb. Phone:—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJ JYOTISHI

WORLD-FAMOUS ASTROLOGER AND TANTRIK

Pandit Harish Chandra Sastri, Jyotishtirtha,

President, All-Bengal Astrological Association.

HOUSE OF ASTROLOGY, 141/C, RUSSA ROAD, KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA.

Just East of Hazra Park. 'Phone : SOUTH—978.



This great scholar is not only well-versed in Eastern & Western Astrology but his gift in palm-reading is also simply marvellous. Those who have come in close touch with him are fully appreciating the wonderful results of his super-human Spiritual and Tantrik rites which he gained by propiliating Mahamaya SRI SRI SIDDHESWARI by deep meditation.

He has acquired an uncommon power by YOGA & TANTRA in redressing the evil influence of stars and in bringing sure success in complicated Law-suits, in curing incurable diseases.

He is also expert in casting the results of *RACES.* Please come to him in the morning of the race-day and take the tips of Fortune,—*90% success sure.*

Many prominent persons of India and other countries—England, France, America, China, etc., have honoured the Panditji with testimonials for his extraordinary merit.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED BY HIS WONDERFUL JEWELS:

Santi Kavacha: It brings peace of mind, happiness in family, heals incurable diseases, saves from accident, premature death, fire and theft, ensures success in examination. The wearer of this Jewel is saved from all sorts of troubles as it pleases evil stars. **Ordinary Rs. 5, Special (ready action) Rs. 20 only.**

Bagala Kavacha: It helps to gain success in occupation, to fulfil desire, to get Royal Honour, to get promotion in service, to attain prosperity in business, to increase wealth, to secure command upon all. Many persons have attained successes in the most unfavourable and complicated Law-suits. **Ordinary Rs. 12, Special (ready action) Rs. 45 only.**

Nrisinha Kavacha: It helps to cure all sorts of female diseases, to do away with the defects of bringing forth still-born child, to beget a son to a barren woman, to cure menstrual troubles, etc. **Ordinary Rs. 10, Special (ready action) Rs. 29 only.**

Akarsani Kavacha: It creates permanent friendship with any friend or foe. **Ordinary Rs. 12, Special (ready action) Rs. 50 only.**

A few of the respectable persons amongst thousands who are fully satisfied by his honest services:

His Highness The Maharaja of Dhenkanal, Orissa; Colonel Govinda Shamser Jaung Bahadur, Raja of Nepal; Mr. Fajlul Huq, Ex-Premier, Bengal; Mr. K. N. Dalal, Managing Director, Nath Bank Ltd., Calcutta; His Highness Raja Jagat Narayan Singh, Gaya; Mr. P. K. Sen, Judge, High Court, Patna; Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, M.L.A., Assam; Mr. P. R. Dass, Bar-at-Law, Patna; World-famous dancer Mr. Udaya Sanker; Mr. I. C. Chakrabarty, Registrar, Calcutta University; Mr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta; Mr. Sankar Lall Agarwal, Proprietor, Coal Mine, Iharia; Syed Abdul Karim Khan, Nawab, Ramnagar; Mr. J. D. Tata, Bombay; Mr. S. Nagaraj, Madras; Mr. K. Venkata Rao, Vizagapattam; Mr. A. Chandler, England; Lieut. H. I. Tayler, Umerkudi; Mr. F. G. White, South Africa; Etc.

Those who believe in Sastras may test his wonderful powers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Oilfields of India and Burma

Percy Evans, M.A., F.G.S., F.N.I., Chief Geologist of the Burmah Oil Co., Ltd., writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Introduction

The oilfields of India are near Rawalpindi in the Punjab and at Digboi in north-eastern Assam; the main fields of Burma are near the Irrawaddy, about 300 miles from Rangoon. In a rapid non-technical survey of the oilfields it is not possible to describe the refining and distributing branches of the industry, and even many facets of the oilfield operations can receive but brief mention.

Origin of Oil

For millions of years rivers have been pouring sand and mud into the shallow seas fringing the continents, and these sediments have entombed the remains of organisms that lived in the seas; in favourable circumstances, including especially a deficiency in oxygen, decomposition of this buried organic material yielded petroleum. The present distribution of land and sea is not that of earlier ages, and vast tracts of continents and islands have at some time been beneath the sea. The various layers of sediments (known to the geologist as "strata") were originally nearly horizontal, but the movements of the earth's crust which brought about the changes in the shape and position of land and sea buckled and broke the component strata, and the once flat-lying sediments are now inclined or folded into arches and troughs. The incoherent muds and sands have become compacted into clays, shales, and sandstones, and the liquid contents—water and oil—have been forced into the most porous and permeable strata. Not only so, but as water is heavier than oil, there is a tendency for the oil to rise above the water; it may reach the surface of the earth and be dissipated, or it may be trapped by some capping of clay or shale and preserved.

It is the task of the geologist to discover where suitable sediments exist, and where they are disposed in such a way that oil can have been trapped. A very simple illustration of a trap for oil is provided by the "anticline," a structure in which the strata have somewhat the form of an overturned canoe—or, seen in cross-section, the shape of an arch. The geologist can choose the most favourable areas as sites for "test-wells," but only the drill can decide whether oil is present in workable amounts.

In Burma and Assam the oil occurs in the pores and minute crevices of permeable sands, but in the Punjab the more important accumulations are in fissures and crevices in limestone. In almost all these cases the oil has been trapped in an anticlinal structure, and accordingly the oil-bearing part of the sands has a more or less oval shape surrounded by the water-bearing part. Most anticlines are associated with breaks in the strata, known as "faults," which modify somewhat the general oval shape of the oil-bearing area.

Historical Outline

Although bitumen was known to the people living in the Indus Valley 5,000 years ago—being obtained probably from Baluchistan—there is no evidence of any subsequent petroleum industry anywhere in India until very recent times. The Yenangyaung field of Burma, however, has a long history; it has been said that it is mentioned in Chinese writing of the thirteenth century, and in the eighteenth century it was recorded that there were several hundred wells. At first oil must have been collected from natural seepages and probably shallow pits were dug to increase the flow, these being deepened to become wells. In the eighteenth century the Yenangyaung field was worked by *Twinzayos*, hereditary oil-well owners, a closed corporation of twenty-four heads of families, and their wells were hand-dug shafts lined with timber. By the middle of the nineteenth century some of these were as much as 300 feet deep, and some of the crude oil sent down the Irrawaddy was exported to England, for making wax and lubricating oil. In 1859, the year in which Drake's well in Pennsylvania found oil, an event regarded as the beginning of the modern petroleum industry, some of the illuminating oil made from Burma crude was shipped to New York.

In 1888, the first machine-drilled well was completed by the Burmah Oil Company in Yenangyaung; operations were extended to other areas in Burma and oil production increased, at first somewhat slowly, but during the early years of the century more rapidly, until in 1913 the production reached about 18,000 barrels (1 barrel = 40 imperial gallons) per day; it then remained somewhere near this level until the Japanese invasion of 1942. Until 1907 the Burmah Oil Company was the only major producer, but since then over thirty companies have been formed, although very few have survived. The hazards of producing and refining oil are well illustrated by the failure of over 80 per cent of the companies formed to operate in Burma.

Early in 1942 the Japanese invasion reached the southern part of Burma, and acting on the instructions of Government, preparations were made to destroy all that had been built up over so many years. Many hundreds of wells and thousands of tons of material had to be made useless to the enemy, but so well was this work done that even after three years of occupation the Japanese were able to recover only a small part of the former production.

In Assam, there was some unsuccessful prospecting in the eighteen-sixties and eighteen-eighties, and a little later small yields were obtained in wells drilled near the seepages of Digboi and Makum. The Assam Oil Company was formed in 1899 and the small production gradually increased to about 350 barrels per day. In 1921, the Burmah Oil Company took over the management of the field and the output was rapidly raised to 4,500 barrels per day.

The seepages of the Punjab and Baluchistan hills attracted attention in the eighteen-eighties and a few wells were drilled, but the small yield was not sufficient to warrant continuance of the operations. Interest in oil in this part of India was revived nearly a quarter of a century later, and after widespread geological surveys several test-wells were drilled. As a result of work by Mr. E. S. Pinfold the Khaur oilfield was discovered in 1915 and developed by the Attock Oil Company; since then the Dhulian and Joya Mair fields have been discovered by the same company. The production from the Punjab oilfields has varied considerably, but has averaged about 1,000 barrels per day.

The Oilfields—Burma

At the southern extremity of the oilfield region near Thayetmyo are the two very small oilfields

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yenanma and the gas-field of *Pyaye*. ...accumulation of natural gas occurs at the sum... of an anticline, and was discovered by the Indo-...ma Petroleum Company in 1926. The initial flow ...as so violent that it could not be controlled until ...ecially heavy fittings were obtained. Cement manu... was established in the neighbourhood to take ...ture of the supply of convenient fuel, some ...entage of the supply being used daily.

...,000,000 cubic feet being used daily.

Another group of small oilfields occurs near *Minbu* ...a faulted anticline west of the Irrawaddy; they ...ve near a prominent group of mud volcanoes—...unds of clay brought up as liquid mud accompany... seepages of oil and gas. Production began about ...ty-five years ago and has never averaged more than ...0 barrels per day.

The *Yenangyaung* field is situated on a broad anti... ...e having its western side dipping slightly more ...eeply than its eastern side. There are numerous cross-...lts which affect the distribution of the oil. At least ...l separate oilsands have been recognized at depths ...wn to about 5,000 feet. All the oil companies have ...terests in this oilfield, and had their headquarters ...ere, and by 1941 more than 4,000 wells had been ...rilled.

The *Singu* oilfield lies about 30 miles north of ...enangyaung on an anticline which has its eastern side ...early vertical so that the wells are all on the western ...ank of the fold. The southern part of the oilfield ...known as Pyinma) is separated by a cross-fault from ...he main field, the oil being banked up against the ...outhern side of the fault. Production mounted rapidly ...n the first few years after the discovery of the field ...y the Burmah Oil Company in 1902, and in 1938 the ...nnual output passed that of Yenangyaung. Before the ...Japanese invasion there were over 1,000 wells divided ...between the Burmah Oil Company (Burma Conces-...sions), the British Burmah Petroleum Company, and ...the Pyinma Development Company—this last com-...pany being an association of the British Burmah ...Petroleum Company with the Indo-Burma Petroleum ...Company. The Singu anticline continues northwards ...beneath the Irrawaddy and on the further bank is the ...*Lanywa* field where the India-Burma Petroleum Com-...pany has drilled about 100 wells on an area reclaimed ...from the river.

Further north again, on the same geological line, ...are the small oilfields of *Yenangyat* and *Sabe*. The ...anticline on which they occur has a gently-dripping ...western flank but a very steep and faulted eastern ...flank. At comparable periods after the beginning of ...machine drilling, Yenangyat for a time showed a better ...production than Yenangyaung, but the output declined ...rapidly from its peak in 1903. The small field at Sabe ...produced oil between 1908 and 1922 from poorly pro-...ductive sands.

Much further north, 175 miles from the main oil-...fields, is the *Indaw* field, situated amongst the Chind-...win jungles. It was discovered by the Indo-Burma ...Petroleum Company in 1912 but the yield has never ...been large and averaged about 150 barrels per day. ...The wells are on an anticline with the eastern side ...dipping more steeply than the western.

On the Arakan Coast there are a few small oilfields ...which now have a negligible production, and even at ...their best were worth only a few barrels per day.

The Oilfields—Assam

The small *Badarpur* oilfield was developed by the ...Burmah Oil Company on an asymmetric anticline ...which passes through a tea garden, and the derricks ...had a picturesque setting amongst the tea bushes; the ...early promise of moderately good production was not ...fulfilled, and the peak of 1920 was followed by a rapid ...decline, the field having a life of only 18 years. The ...cost of the oil produced was in excess of its value.

The *Digboi* oilfield lies on a sharply folded anti-...cline running W.S.W.—E.N.E. near the edge of the ...Brahmaputra alluvium; the northern flank is very ...steep and faulted. There are numerous oilsands which ...show much variation in texture and productivity, so ...that neighbouring wells often give very different yields. ...Some of the oil comes from outcropping sands, but ...most of it is from concealed sands reached between ...2,000 and 5,000 feet. Digboi, situated on the supply line ...to Burma and China, was able to make an important ...contribution to the military requirements of oil pro-...ducts during the drive into Burma, so lightening the ...pressure on the limited transport facilities from the ...seaboard to North-East India.

The Oilfields—Punjab

The southernmost of the three Punjab oilfields is ...situated at *Foya Mair* near the southern edge of an ...extensive plateau known as the Potwar. The oil is in ...the fissures of a limestone, at a depth of about 7,000 ...feet in a sharply-folded anticline.

The *Dhulian* field, which reached its peak produc-...tion in 1941, is on a gentle anticline, and the main oil ...occurs in crevices in a deeply-buried limestone.

The adjacent *Khaur* field, the first of the group to ...be proved, obtained production from standstones at a ...number of levels down to about 5,500 feet. The results ...were patchy, being dependent on the variable perme-...ability of the sandstones, and it is probable that the ...oil migrated upwards from the underlying limestone. ...The Khaur anticline is much sharper than the Dhulian ...structure, and this has led to the development of cracks ...in the sandstones which have provided passages for ...the movement of the oil. The field reached its peak ...in 1929 and now has only a small output. Some of the ...Khaur oil is associated with water which is about four ...times as salt as sea-water.

One Step Forward

From the Thirty-second Annual Report of the **Western India Life** it becomes quite clear that in 1945 this trusted Life Company has gone one step forward on its path of progress. Sound financial position, efficient management, dutiful service to policy-holders, and a number of other things become clear from the report. Call for a free copy and be convinced.

Just the Company for you to insure with or to have agency connections.

WESTERN INDIA
LIFE INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,
Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Labour

On the Burma oilfields there were employed about 13,000 workers, besides about 8,000 at the refineries. The relatively small number of European and the fewer Americans carrying out administrative and technical duties were assisted by Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmans, and Indians and Burmans from the universities who had been trained in the industry. The large number of clerical workers were mainly Burmese, and so too were the oilfield labour force—highly skilled mechanics, engine-drivers, electricians, drillers, etc., and the semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. For this large force of workers housing had to be provided, complete with water, sanitation, and street lighting; amongst the amenities were co-operative stores for the sale of food, elementary, higher grade, and technical schools, sports grounds, village halls, and an efficient medical service with modern hospitals and maternity institutions. In relation to other industries, the oilfield wages were at a high level and working hours short; workmen's compensation was on a generous scale, and there were provident funds for all employees. It is not surprising that Government committees commented on the favourable conditions of employment on the oilfields.

In Assam, the labour force at Digboi has averaged about 8,000, of whom a large number are from outside the province. The covenanted staff includes, besides Europeans, a number of graduates from the Indian universities who work as geologists, chemists, engineers, and drillers. Amenities similar to those in Burma are provided for the Assam Oil Company's employees. Conditions in the Punjab oilfields are similar but the numbers employed are smaller, and a very large proportion of the men belong to the province.

Financial

The oil industry of Burma and India has contributed not only rents and royalties but also large sums in income tax, excise duty, import duties, and municipal and other taxation. For example, in Burma the average contribution to the exchequer was nearly a million pounds annually, about a tenth of the total revenues. Moreover, the large sums paid in wages and freights have been an important item in the country's economic structure.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to the major oil companies operating in India and Burma for permission to publish this account of their activities, to colleagues in the Burmah Oil Company from whose writings I have freely drawn, and to friends in the other oil companies who have kindly provided information.

Sakkara Excavations Provide Key to Egyptian Culture

Dr. E. Drioton, Director-General, Antiquities Department, Cairo, writes in the Middle *East Opinion* about a most illuminating and startling discovery in the Cairo area, throwing a flood of light on Egypt's ancient history and culture:

Cairo area which links up the Nile Delta to its long valley stretching into Upper Egypt, has been throughout antiquity a comparatively densely populated region. It became also the geographical site of Egypt's metropolis as soon as the country was blended into a single political unit.

Memphis, which today lies buried in ruins under Mit-Rabineh, a diminutive village 20 kilometers South of Cairo, was the Pharaohs' earliest capital. Many years later, when the seat of Royalty was transferred to Thebes—in the course of the twenty-second century, B.C.., the old capital still retained some of its former importance and dignity. For there, at Memphis, Egypt's hundred monarchs were crowned, including even the Ptolemys, who lived in remote Alexandria. As "Coronation Town" it remained in fact, the undisputed capital of the country.

Cairo Had Historic Appeal

However, long before Memphis was founded, the present approaches of Cairo city had a peculiar appeal for Egypt's primitive people. This is clearly evidenced by the numerous prehistoric stations scattered along the outskirts of Cairo's surrounding deserts. Whenever a spade is driven into the waterless patch between Cairo and Helwan at the foot of Mount Mokattam and Djebel Turah, numerous tombs, some dating far back into history, are inevitably unearthed. Obviously the whole area had once been a huge burial ground, practically of unrecorded origin, and which, judging by its scope and range, must have harbored an extremely dense population. As Memphis was situated across the Nile, on the opposite bank of the river, its inhabitants were buried at Sakkarah. Therefore, that new unexplored "city of the dead"—in area at least equal to if not larger than the whole site of the Guiza Pyramids—must have been the cemetery of some other town, hitherto unnamed and unmapped. Many theories were put forward to solve the mystery but the question remained unanswered until the following happy event occured.

In the winter of 1942, a few Beduins working on His Majesty's estate in that district, presented King Faruk with a miscellany of outdated sculptures, vases and flint objects which they had dug out in the vicinity of Ezbet El-Walda—four kilometers North of Cairo. Pleased with His Majesty's gracious smile they



Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means, resistance to disease and infection.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the tale and offered to bring back still more items of the same nature.

Priceless Gifts

Realizing the priceless value of these gifts at a time, King Faruk thought of the greater consequence they would have on Egypt's ancient history, if they were discovered "on the spot" by a trained archaeologist. The matter was referred to the Antiquity Department and Zaki Yussef Saad—then inspector-in-chief of Cairo and Sakkarah districts—the able scientist responsible for the successful gettings at the Step Pyramid, was given the honorable assignment of conducting excavations at Ezbet El-Walda on behalf of His Majesty King Faruk who took over on his personal account all the expenses of the expedition. To this day operations are progressing satisfactorily with remarkable results.

Unchanging Pattern

Of the 2,000 odd tombs unearthed by Zaki Saad at Helwandi, some belonging to high-ranking officials, others mere ditches, all are stone-built affairs of the first Dynasty. The underground part—brick superstructures having in most cases been blown away—is modelled on an invariable plan. This plan provides for a flight of steps carved out of the living rock otherwise made of stones and bricks, leading to a landing into which the numerous store-rooms and the resting place of the deceased open. To ward off potential plunderers, who from time immemorial ransacked the tombs stone portcullises bar all entrances to the mournful chamber.

One can notice the stairs, admirably preserved at the top, and then close to the two portcullisses (one still in its groove and the other slightly pushed off) the store-rooms and the vault. The contraption is obtained by means of large limestone slabs neatly set in a vertical order and fixed together, in the mournful chamber by a plinth made of horizontal slabs wedged in the paving. Although this construction cannot be properly termed a building, since it is mere "lining" of an underground brick edifice the undisputed fact emerging out from these observations is that certain rules of statics are taking shape and we are well on the right track of stone masonry. Another illustration shows store-rooms, at the stairs landing blocked up by a portcullis, where the grains are kept in small sealed jars strangely reminiscent of the First Dynasty granaries.

In the centre of these tombs, planned as already described, the dead are buried in wooden coffins, now heaps of duct, oft-visited by thieves who carried away whatever valuables they laid their hand on, leaving the corpses behind together with a few trinkets.

Inexhaustible Store of Antiquities

Nevertheless, all these tombs, either ransacked or otherwise, represent a seemingly inexhaustible archaeological well which, day in and day out, yields a flow of treasures indicative of the high artistic standard of the time.

First, a set of hard stone gracefully sweeped vases, sometimes carved into unknown designs, out of schist or alabaster; then the more plentiful art objects made of ivory which Egyptian craftsmen had employed to improve their methods and produce their earliest masterpieces; dainty ointment and cosmetics spoons, hand-like castanets and, finally, a unique piece of genuine antiquity, a walking stick handle representing a bunch of blue long-stemmed lotus, bound right beneath the flowers by a ligature.

Moreover, the emblems of Osiris and Isis, found close to the dead. demonstrate that the Osiris tenets prevailed in the people's belief long before the decline of the Ancient Empire, when it was generally supposed to have taken root in the popular mind, and that as early as the First Dynasty, the hope connected with the Osiris creed was already mixed with conceptions of the God Sun which the Ancient Egyptians acknowledged as regulating their postmortem life.

For it is now admitted that the necropilis stretching between Cairo and Helwan is none other than the cemetery of Heliopolis, shrine-capital of the God-Sun Ritual, and, for some time past, of all prehistoric Egypt.

Site Disputed

Today, Heliopolis, ancient site delineated by the enclosing wall of the Great Temple and Sesostris I famous obelisk, is clearly recognisable at Matarieh. Yet, a few years ago, Junker—well-known German Archaeologist—on the evidence of certain indications, argued that Heliopolis was originally located further South, somewhere around Maadi. He alleged that having been utterly stamped out as a result of the wars which paved the way for the First Dynasty, Heliopolis was subsequently rebuilt on the opposite side of its territory, North of the Red Sand Hill (Montagne Rouge). According to Junker, the Nilometer at Rodah was the only evidence left of its former position.

His theory was brilliantly vindicated last year by the following discovery made at Helwan. On a tomb of the Twenty-first Dynasty, erected on the fringe of some farmlands at the foot of a hillock bedecked with tombs of the earliest dynasties, one can read among several carvings the name of the locality: "The necropolis of the blissful of *the Castle of the Prince*," which is the old romantic name of Heliopolis.

Thus the riddle of the extensive burying ground between Cairo and Helwan is finally unravelled: it is the ancient necropolis of Heliopolis into which thousands of people—from time immemorial —found a resting-place and which, opposite the Memphis cemeteries, had been preserved on the forgotten site of Egypt's most ancient religious and civil metropolis.



LIVODIN

Recommended by all eminent Doctors and Kavirajes as a sure remedy for all liver troubles.

ORIENTAL AYURVEDIC LABORATORIES, LTD.,
8-2, HASTINGS ST., CALCUTTA

Founded by Late Dr. Charuchandra Chatterjee and Mahamahadhyapak Kaviraj Ramchandra Mallick.

Wanted Stockists and Agents everywhere.

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

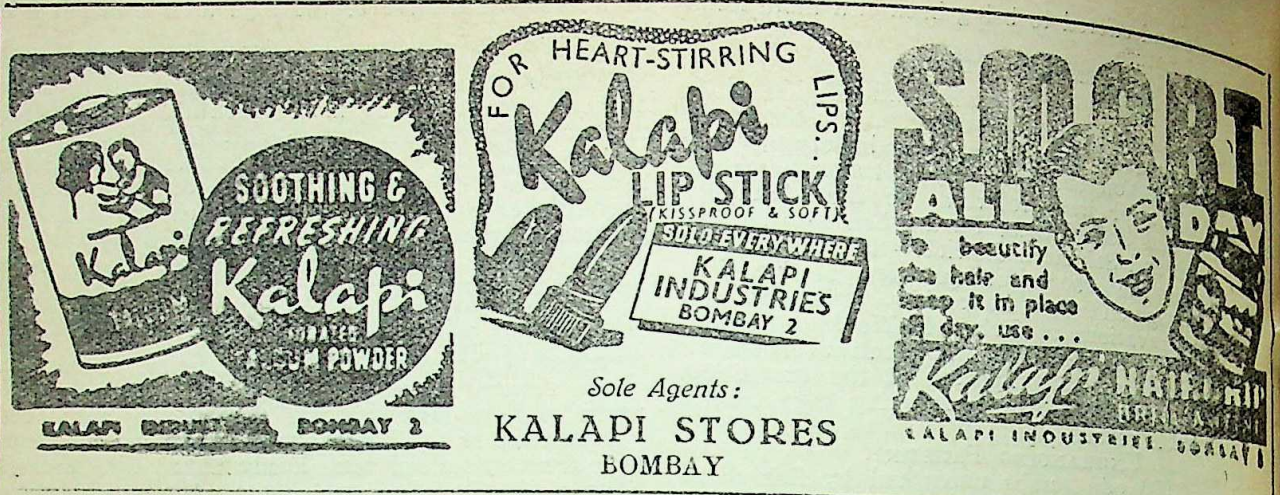
9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Sole Agents:
KALAPI STORES
BOMBAY

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS OF
Prof. Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris)
Hony. Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

(1) Art and Archaeology Abroad
(with 30 rare illustrations)
Price: Rs. 5/- only.

(2) India and The Pacific World
The only up-to-date survey of the History and Culture of Pacific Nations.
Price: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign £1 or 5 Dollars.

The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত
এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত

(সচিত্র ও যড়ঙ্গ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ॥৹

অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহু জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান—সব বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশক—
১২০।২, আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

H. G. Wells—Prophet of the Atomic Age

Middle East Opinion (19th August, 1946) mourns the death and pays sincere tribute to the memory of H. G. Wells who stepped ahead of history to become the Prophet of the Atomic Age :

The passing of H. G. Wells this week has deprived the world of a spirit which stood on the outer edge of man's development and never ceased to push the boundaries of thought out and beyond previously-explored territories.

H. G. Wells was both a prophet and a conscience.

As a prophet, he was able to foresee the fantastic inventions of man's scientific future. Through a remarkable understanding of the present, he was able to note logical developments yet to come.

Before man learned to span the oceans in the air, Wells understood the possibilities of aircraft. Before the German encased their armies in mobile armor, Wells foresaw the army tank. And before an American bomb destroyed Hiroshima, H. G. Wells had thrilled his readers with tales of the atom bomb.

The genius of H. G. Wells, however, lay not in his ability to predict scientific developments, but in his skilful analysis of the social impact of these developments.

So long as Wells lived, the world could not become utterly complacent. He served as a kind of "conscience" for the world, forever pricking it on to greater things. When Great Britain tended to rest on the laurels of her Empire, Wells pointed to signs of British decadence.

He reminded England of her wickedness to her own people and did much to aid in Britain's acceptance of Fabian Socialism. Not content to stop there, he kept moving the boundaries out by becoming one of the great critics of this movement, pointing to certain flaws in its philosophy and practice.

The entire world was made somewhat uncomfortable by Wells' consistent references to man's insignificance, climaxed by his statement that all humanity could be buried in a corner of the Grand Canyon. No people could become overly-proud in the face of such statements ; Wells has made a real contribution in injecting a certain humility into the human race.

Not a little of Wells' greatness lay in his phrasing of profound ideas in terms which not only could be understood but also stirred the imagination of the masses. In the realms of history, politics, and science he has given to the common man insights formerly locked inside the Ivory Tower of the academic world.

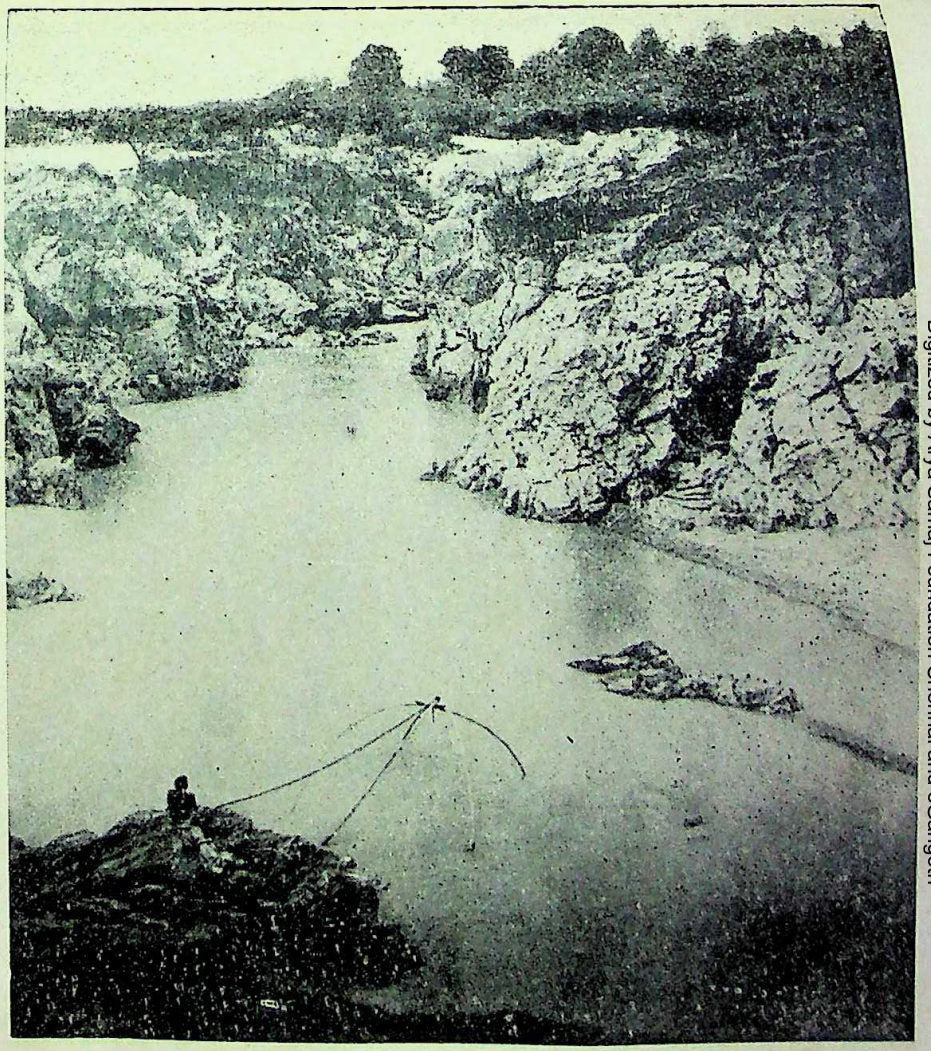
A tragedy of his genius is that his prophetic vision was too accurate. Stories that once thrilled readers by their sheer wierdness already are being dulled as science slowly catches up with H. G. Wells. As time goes by, his predictions will be vindicated further, and his novel will lose interest by the very fact of their accuracy !

—

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Pravasi Press, Calcutta.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



The Waterfall at Hazaribagh: Rajruppa Damodar gorge



The Rajruppa Damodar gorge, Hazaribagh

Photographs by Parimal Goswami

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



IN EXPECTATION

By Kanai Lal Sinath Das

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1946

VOL. LXXX, No. 5 WHOLE No. 479

NOTES

League Entry into the Interim Government

The League's entry into the Interim Government without having rescinded the Bombay resolution of the League Council, rejecting both the long and short term plans of the Cabinet Mission, marks a singularly peculiar feature in the making of India's new Constitution. Lord Wavell's moves in this matter have been quite in keeping with the Tory tradition of Churchill and Halifax. Since the assumption of office by the Congress at the Centre, the Viceroy's Executive Council had its previous character distinctly altered and was being transformed into a Cabinet of a more democratic nature. The Viceroy seemed to feel uneasy at the rapidity with which he was being shorn of his autocratic powers. Then began the negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. A stern warning was sounded from the Frontier by Badshah Khan who, like many others in the country, felt that the League was being brought in to destroy the Cabinet character of the Council and to put the clock back. A crisis developed later on over the eagerness of the Viceroy to hand over most of the major portfolios to the League. The Congress was ready to receive the League as partners in the Interim Government, on the assurance of the Viceroy that they were coming in to help in the making of the future of India and not with a view to wreck it. The unreasonable demands of Mr. Jinnah as regards seats were conceded but the Congress saw no way to satisfy him in his demand for portfolios.

Then came a series of rude shocks and eye-openers in quick succession. The first was a declaration by Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan that the League did not recognise the Cabinet character of the Government. The second was Mr. Jinnah's statement to the *Christian Science Monitor* in which he confirmed Mr. Liaqat Ali's stand and said that League members on the Interim Government were not there to participate with the Government for shaping the country's future constitution but only to guard Muslim interests. Finally, in a statement at Delhi, he clearly exposed the League's intentions in the following words :

> The new Central Government was not a Cabinet and it was not a coalition. It was the Executive Council of the Governor-General formed under the Government of India Act of 1919. A coalition, as I understand it, can only be formed when there is a sovereign parliament composed of two or more parties, who form themselves into political parties, formulating policies that they think are in the interests of their nation, both external and internal. And, when there arises a national emergency, these parties concentrate on those issues which endanger the national interests of the people. Of course, in such a coalition, there is joint and collective responsibility. They work together provisionally until the crisis or danger is averted. That is my view of looking at it constitutionally.

The position in short is as follows. The League has not rescinded its Bombay resolution of July 29, has not abandoned its Direct Action plan, has not expressed its readiness to accept the long and short term plans of the White Paper and has not said anything which might even be construed to mean that they have come in to work in a constructive spirit inside the Cabinet. Even after the rejection of the Pakistan plan as unjust and unworkable in the White Paper, the League sticks to it and it has finally declared that its representatives on the Interim Government are there to work for the achievement of Pakistan.

We do not know how the British Cabinet takes the emphatic statements by which the leading spokesmen of the League, including the President himself and the League organ, the *Dawn*, have been openly repudiating the idea that the League is in any way committed regarding the Cabinet Delegation's long-term plan or that they mean to work in a constructive spirit inside the Interim Government. The fact remains that the Viceroy carried an assurance to the Congress on behalf of the League on these vital points, but it is not known whether he has told Mr. Jinnah anything about the impropriety of the delay in summoning a meeting of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

League Council in order that the revision of its Bombay verdict as regards the long-term plan might be obtained. The League members in the Government are trying to set up a practice of approaching Pandit Nehru, Vice-President of the Government, through the Viceroy. All Congress members including the minority representatives, are agreed that this practice is reprehensible and that it should stop at the earliest possible moment as it goes against the convention already established by the Interim Government.

So far as is known, Pandit Nehru is very firm on the issue of maintaining the Cabinet character of the Interim Government. All the Congress members generally feel that no accommodation on behalf of the League is called for since the manner of the League's entry into the Interim Government has been by negotiation direct with the Viceroy and not through negotiations with the majority party in the Cabinet. The public utterances of the League Members of the Government have not been such as to infuse a spirit of confidence that they mean to work in unison with the rest of the Cabinet, observing collective responsibility and agreeing to the leadership of the majority party in the Cabinet. A Government at the Centre with the League inside it for the sole purpose of sabotaging the cause of freedom cannot last long even with the help and connivance of the Conservative Viceroy.

The Communal Disturbances

After Calcutta came Noakhali and after Noakhali the widespread flare-up in Bihar with comparatively minor repercussions in Meerut, Garmukteswar and Delhi. In reality, the whole affair should be traced to the continuous and sustained incitement of the Moslem masses by their League leaders. The first indication of the nature of reaction to this open campaign of vilification of the Hindus by means of false and distorted statements regarding their attitude to their Moslem brethren came in Aligarh on the 29th of March. There a large riotous mob, mainly composed of students of the Aligarh (Moslem) University whose immature brains had been influenced by the speeches of the Moslem League leaders, attacked Hindu shops and after severely assaulting some innocent Hindu cloth shopkeepers, looted and set fire to a whole range of shops. The police force, officered by Moslems and Britishers, remained passive, doing little to save the lives of the unfortunate and unsuspecting shopkeepers who were thus foully done to death under the very noses of the police force. Nothing was done to mete out punishment, excepting a punitive fine, to the depraved miscreants. Indeed, a prominent League leader openly stated that *"not a hair of the Aligarh students shall be touched."* The police inaction was justified by two British gentlemen, who were senior members of the Indian Civil and Police services, by means of a whitewashing report, that was an extraordinary effort, even, if the usual run of reports by similar gentry be taken into consideration. It is not possible to quote and comment on that precious report substantially in these columns but in blunt language it might be said that the gist of the argument put forward in that unique document was that it was preferable to let a half-dozen or so of innocents (Hindus) be murdered by a riotous mob (of Moslems) *rather than to risk the inflicting of heavy casualties on the aggressors.*

The blue-print for "Direct Action" thus became clear. Unprovoked assaults on a mass-scale on the Hindus, to be delivered by large mobs, incited by inflammatory speeches, circulars and articles, the police and the executive to remain passive. Whitewashing, and false propaganda by the British executive and the League mouth-pieces, to obscure and obliterate the course of justice to follow later on. The Calcutta riots started on the same pattern, and so far as the Moslem and British executive—Police and I.C.S.—are concerned there has been little deviation from that course up till now. As we have shown in these columns in the preceding issues, the League plans suffered a set-back due to the Hindus hitting back in desperation. The whole matter being sub-judice, and further officialdom having come to the rescue of the League propagandists by totally gagging the press, we are unable to comment fully on what is happening here now. We shall content ourselves by stating that the "Dacca Plan" seems to be in operation now, the League-controlled police and the executive trying to step in where the mobs failed in breaking down the morale of the resisters.

Noakhali

The plans followed out in Noakhali differ from the methods adopted before by the League staff, and their advisers, elsewhere. Some time after the main Calcutta riots—called the "Great Calcutta Killing" by the British-owned daily *The Statesman*—severe restrictions were put on the Press by the League Ministry under the plea that the reports and comments appearing in the press were inflaming communal passions. "Inspection" of letters and messages transmitted through the Post Offices was also stepped up in action. Despite all restrictions alarming reports started coming in from the outlying districts of East Bengal regarding the growing communal tension due to the action of agent-provocateurs of the League touring those areas and inciting violence. Needless to say, officialdom did nothing whatsoever to allay these fears nor did they take any precautions agalnst outbreaks. This, of course, was nothing to be surprised at, since the administration of Bengal is now in the hands of firmly entrenched League-minded officials, hand-picked for their strong communal leanings with no regard for efficiency, backed by a regroup of the senior British I.C.S. officers of the reactionary type.

In Noakhali this period of intense alarm was followed, late in September, by the formation of "Peace-parties" led mainly by the leading men of the majority community. In passing it should be mentioned that the Hindus of Noakhali form only 17 per cent of the population, and even this figure does not represent their strength if the outlying areas be considered. For, in places they are in a 10 per cent minority and less, surrounded on all sides by the majority community. These "Peace-parties" went all over the area, assuring the minorities that they were quite safe, and that the majority will look after the minority. The aforesaid "Peace-parties" were welcomed by the minorities, helpless as they were in the face of the indifference and obduracy displayed by the executive and the police. A few days later the self-same "Peace-party" leaders, some of them school-masters, came on their rounds again, but this time with a different tale. The younger members of their community, they said, were getting out of control due to incitement by "outsiders" and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the only way to quieten them would be by paying substantial donations to the 'League" funds. They could not be responsible, they said, for any mishaps or unfortunate occurrences if this demand was not complied with. Though aghast at this sudden change in the attitude of the "Peace-makers," the helpless minority community had to submit to pay blackmail. Letters and telegrams were sent in sheaves to the officials of the Police and the Executive, and some even went to make personal representations. The letters and telegrams were mostly stopped at the offices of despatch, where the men in charge were also League members, excepting a few that went through Chaumohani where the Postmaster was a Hindu.

As for those who went in person to make representations, they were told to their faces that they were panic-mongers and the officials could not waste their time listening to them. The fleecing of the minority went on systematically and thoroughly, as everyone had been assessed previously by the master-planners, and only those few that could creep through the tight cordon drawn around them by the "Peace-party volunteers" could escape.

Then on the 10th of October came the mass attack on the minorities. *The attack was made on the same day at the same time and in the same fashion* on all the main villages. Very large mobs armed with deadly weapons, including fire-arms in many cases, surrounded the localities where the Hindus lived. Their leaders were the self-same "Peace-party" chiefs and head blackmailers, and in each case they were accompanied by Maulvis with registers. Further they had large quantities of new 'Pakistan' caps and new 'loongi' lion-cloths worn by the Moslems, with them. All Hindus were called upon to embrace Islam at once on the pain of death. Whoever refused was severely beaten up and some were butchered publicly in a particularly brutal fashion, in order to terrorise the rest. Looting was universal for conversion to Islam did not, by any means, save the newly-converted from being despoiled of all their belongings. Ornaments were torn from the ears and noses of the women-folk. The "converts" were then lined up by the mob leaders, the Maulvis entering their previous names and new names in the registers brought for that purpose, and then the final "ceremonies" of conversion were gone into, such as the reciting of the Islamic attestation of faith, forced killing of cows—their own—by the newly converted and the cooking and eating of beef. There was no organised resistance as the people were hopelessly hemmed in after being given a false sense of security against anything excepting exaction of blackmail. Still in some places individual families fought to death, after prolonged resistance, in the defence of their honour and faith.

Stunned and overwhelmed, the unfortunate victims of this well-organized and carefully planned mass outrage were then left to grieve over their misery but not for long. They had been beaten up in many cases, terrorised by the brutal murder of their leading men, thoroughly despoiled of *all their belongings* including food-grains, cooking utensils and clothing and were left completely at the mercy of their neighbours of the majority community, but even at that there were fresh horrors in store for them. Very soon the same mobs returned led by the self-same "Peace-party" leaders and Maulvis. This time the demand was that the "converts" should hand over all their women-folk to the soldiers of Pakistan. Conversion had dissolved all marriage bonds, the Maulvis said, and as for maidens, it was but proper that they should be wedded to the valorous warriors of Pakistan. There could be no organised resistance as groups had been segregated and totally deprived of all means of resistance. But even at that there were very many attempts at the saving of the honour of women. Then followed an orgy of bestiality, of murder, slow torture, mass rape in the open and of arson, that is difficult to describe in these days of inflamed communal passions. It will suffice to say that this orgy was widespread, and it surpassed any description of Japanese atrocities in the early days of their occupation of China. Far greater cases of murder, by horrible methods in most cases, occurred on this occasion than before, as resistance was far more general. No description in detail is possible under the present circumstances but a quotation from a recent statement made by Mr. Fazlul Huq, ex-Chief Minister of Bengal and newly re-enlisted and redoubtable champion of the Moslem League, would show how the behaviour of the Noakhali brigades of the League is viewed by him. In a statement in the Moslem League press*, apropos of the communal riots of Bihar, he says :

> Even my most stringent critic will, I hope, most certainly agree with me *that the fiends in human shape of Noakhali and Bihar* are such creatures under Allah, that no language on earth can give a correct nomenclature to them. They are neither Hindus nor Moslems. They are the most degraded specimens of humanity.

Noakhali is only an hour and a half by air from Calcutta. Yet no aid reached the stricken people until after a long time had elapsed. The Press was gagged and the Posts and Telegraph services in Noakhali were in the hands of Leaguers. The Officer-in-charge of the Police was a Moslem as was the temporary Magistrate, who held office during the fateful days between October 10th and October 14th. Ample time was given to the miscreants to hide traces of their crimes and to thoroughly cow the victims into such an abject state of submission that they were mortally afraid to give any evidence or testimony.

Despite all efforts to the contrary and all attempts at minimising, the news spread far and wide, carrying a wave of horror and anger with it all over India. Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, hurried to the scene with his wife. The Governor of Bengal, after prolonged goading, descended from the Olympian heights of Darjeeling and after an extremely cursory aerial glance, from a plane, at part of the scenes of this tragic calamity, returned to Calcutta. In Calcutta, his mentors and advisers had a report ready for him to sign, which was duly signed and forwarded, without even any attempt at a real investigation being made. The League Ministry, backed by their press and their attaches in the news-agencies, worked overtime to suppress, obscure and obliterate the news. They were helped in this matter, as in the Calcutta Killing, by the British "old-guard" of the I.C.S. and the Police. Then Mahatma Gandhi came down to Bengal, at the end of October, determined to do all he could to help the stricken and suffering victims. *Lord Wavell had gone to Bombay on the 17th of October, after the news of Noakhali had reached him. Evidently he thought the minor riots of Bombay were more important since*

* C.O. In Public Default. Calcutta, November 14th.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Moslems were in danger there. But later on he came to Calcutta, when Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Mr. Nishtar and Mr. Liaquat Ali had already arrived. The Press, outside Bengal, having already given wide publicity, the hands of the administration were forced and police and troops had to be sent to Noakhali. Precautions had been taken however to ensure the gentlest of kid-glove handling of the depraved criminals and as a result no improvement is visible, even now, so far as the victims are concerned. With Mahatma Gandhi's presence, however, there might be some improvement later.

Noakhali has given the clearest picture of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan to the non-Moslems. In this earthly heaven of the Moslem Leaguer's dreams, the status of the non-Moslems would be that of absolute helots and worse. There will be no safety for their lives or property, and the honour of their womenfolk will be at the mercy of the lords of Pakistan. We say this deliberately because up till now we have neither seen nor heard any open condemnation of the widespread fiendish activities of the Leaguite hordes of Noakhali, from any member of the Moslem League High Command. Further, as days pass, it is becoming increasingly clear that careful planning had been done for months ahead by brains far superior to those of the depraved beasts that carried them out, even though they were led by school-masters, Maulvis, Union presidents and such like. The stoppage of all communications, by cutting deep ditches across the few roads, blocking the access to the boat-landing places, and by erecting substantial bars across the minor channels over an area of a thousand square miles, was done systematically within a few days. The holding up of all letters and telegrams asking for help or carrying urgent messages at almost all Posts and Telegraph Offices within the area during the period of "action" and until the military had forced open the communications, is also significant in the extreme. Then the simultaneous attack on all major localities, and the same procedure, the Maulvis, the registers, the masses of Pakistan caps and loongies—in these days of acute clothing shortage too—and the subsequent simultaneous demand for all women not past "marriageable" age, cannot be believed to have happened by chance-coincidence by any stretch of imagination, more so if the area involved and the difficult nature of the terrain be taken into consideration. The primary steps, of lulling the suspicions of the unwary minorities by means of the "Peace-party" ruse was a cunning move to gain time. The levying of blackmail from the helpless victims, who had been hemmed in by then, for the defraying of "expenses" for the "campaign," also goes to show how carefully each move had been considered. The indifference of the authorities at the primary stage, their extreme reluctance to take vigorous action later on even up to date, when the whole world is cognizant of what had happend, their hurried minimization of the holocaust without waiting for even an apology for an investigation, these are all clear pointers to all but the most gullible specimens of the genus Homo.

Bihar

The reaction to the Noakhali atrocities came in the form of a major conflagration in Bihar, which might have developed into an appalling catastrophe, far exceeding in reality the wildest rumours circulated in the League camps, if the Bihar Ministry and the Congress Working Committee had taken the actions and attitude of the Bengal Ministry and the League High Command for a pattern. Luckily for India, the leaders of the Congress did not allow any ulterior motives or base considerations to influence their judgment. Extremely firm and vigorous action was promptly taken by the Bihar Ministry and Pandit Nehru and Shri Jaiprakash Narain lent their powerful aid to the all-out efforts for restoring order. There has been some stringent criticism of certain speeches of Pandit Nehru and of the excessive severe nature of Police and Military action, in certain Nationalist quarters. Such criticisms are always to be expected when the partisan spirit is roused and communal passions are inflamed. But up till now we have not found any substantial justification or tangible argument in support of such criticisms. The world has seen that the Congress has not hesitated for a moment to put into action every ounce of all the powers at its disposal, in bringing under control a conflagration of far greater dimensions and fury than those of Bengal, and has attained success in a very great measure within a short space of time. This fact stands to the credit of the Congress leaders and is the only bright spot in the exceedingly depressing and gloomy picture, presented by these disastrous communal outbreaks, that are proving to be the most difficult obstacles in the path of India's progress towards complete independence. Critics should clearly realize that widespread communal strife, leading into civil war, is the main objective of Imperialism now, and that it is trying its uttermost to bring it about as soon as possible through the action of its reactionary tools. Internecine strife being the ultimate desideratum, it is immaterial to the Imperialist whether it is a case of the Moslem killing the Hindu or the other way about, although for the present consideration is only being shown by him for the Muslim.

There has been sustained and severe provocation of the Hindus in Bihar, we all know. Thousands of innocent Biharis earning their livelihood in Calcutta, were murdered or severely assaulted during the August *Direct Action* riots. Tens of thousands of them had to flee after they had been deprived of the major part of their belongings. The atrocity stories, related by the survivors and the refugees, spread resentment throughout Bihar. And through all this ran the under-current of reaction to the sustained stream of mendacious statements and provocative actions issuing from the Muslim League, coupled with the open and flagrant partisanship of British bureaucracy for the reactionary Moslem. The final spark was the Noakhali campaign for the extermination of the Hindu as a Hindu. But all this cannot justify carnage and killing, specially for the Hindus, who do not believe in the Mosaic Law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Butchery of the innocent—for in such conflagrations the innocent perishes with guilty—has been condoned by the Western standards of "civilized" warfare, but even there it is looked upon with horror and repugnance by all right-thinking persons, specially in the case of internecine strife of the nature of a civil war. Further, even if we leave aside all humanitarian considerations, it is unthinkable that the Congress should allow the entire country to descend to the low plane in which the League is working, without trying its uttermost to prevent such a calamity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ugh-Viceroy Correspondence

The following letters exchanged between the ...slim League President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and the ...eroy, during the recent negotiations, have been ...ased to the Press by Mr. Jinnah :

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, ...d October 3, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—At the end of our last interview on October 2, 1946, it was agreed that I should finally put before you the various proposals that emerged out of our discussions, for your consideration and reply. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the various proposals that have been formulated by me.

M. A. JINNAH

1. The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

2. Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to or approves of the selection of the scheduled castes representative, the ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

3. That the Congress should not include in the remaining five members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

4. *Safeguard* : That there should be a convention that on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

5. Alternative or rotational Vice-Presidents should be appointed in fairness to both the major communities as it was adopted in the U.N.O. Conference.

6. The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, i.e., Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi, and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approved of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

7. *Portfolios* : The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

8. That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties —the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

9. The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Government has been reformed and finally set up.

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 4, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Thank you for your letter dated yesterday. My replies to your nine points are as follows :

1. This is agreed.

2. I note what you say and accept that the responsibility is mine.

3. I am unable to agree to this. Each party must be equally free to nominate its own representatives.

4. In a Coalition Government, it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I are agreed that it would be settled to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustment or does not work at all.

5. The arrangement of alternative or rotational Vice-President would present practical difficulty, and I do not consider it feasible. I will, however, arrange to nominate a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the event of the Governor-General and the Vice-President being absent.

I will also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet, which is a most important post. I am chairman of this committee and in the past have presided almost invariably, but I shall probably do so only on special occasions in future.

6. I accept that both major parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in any of these three seats.

7. In the present conditions all the portfolios in the Cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representatives cannot be excluded from a share of the major portfolio and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the Labour Portfolio. But subject to this, there can be equal distribution of the most important portfolios between the Congress and the Muslim League. Details would be a matter for negotiation.

8. I agree.

9. Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution.

WAVELL

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 12, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—I confirm what I told you this evening, that the Muslim League are at liberty to nominate any one they wish for their own quota of seats in the Cabinet, though any person proposed must of course be accepted by me and by His Majesty before being appointed.

My intention is to discuss portfolios when all the names have been received, both from the Muslim League and the Congress.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to the Viceroy, dated October 13, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have considered the whole matter fully and I am now authorised to state that they do not approve of the basis and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

scheme of setting up the Interim Government which has been decided by you, presumably with the authority of His Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the committee do not and cannot agree with your decision already taken nor with the arrangements you have already made.

We consider and maintain that the imposition of this decision is contrary to the declaration of August 8, 1946, but since according to your decision we have the right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League, my committee have, for various reasons, come to the conclusion that in the interest of Mussalmans and other communities it will be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of the Congress. Besides, you may be forced to have in your Interim Government Muslims who will not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India which would lead to very serious consequences ; and, lastly, on other very weighty grounds and reasons, which are obvious and need not be mentioned, we have decided to nominate five on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of your broadcast, dated August 24, 1946, and your two letters to me, dated October 4, 1946 and October 12, 1946, respectively, embodying clarifications and assurances.

M. A. JINNAH

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated October 13, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am glad to know that the Muslim League has decided to join the Interim Government. Will you please let me have the names of the five representatives, as they have to be submitted to His Majesty for approval, and I should like to reform the Government as soon as possible.

2. You promised yesterday that you would let me have the names today.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 14, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—I thank you for your letter of October 13.

I am now sending you names of five nominees on behalf of the Muslim League as arranged in our interview of yesterday.

(1) Mr. Liquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League, M.L.A. (Central).

(2) Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, M.L.A. (Bombay), leader, Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and president of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

(3) Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, advocate (N.-W. F.P.), member, working committee, all-India Muslim League, committee of action and council.

(4) Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab), member, Council, all-India Muslim League council, provincial Muslim League and member of the Punjab Muslim League working committee.

(5) Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, advocate, (Bengal), at present Minister of the Bengal Government.

M. A. JINNAH

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 25, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—The portfolios that I can offer the Muslim League in the Interim Government are the following :

Finance, Commerce, Posts and Air, Health, and Legislative.

2. I should be grateful if you would let me know how you would propose that these portfolios should be distributed among the Muslim League representatives in the Cabinet.

3. I should like to get an announcement out tonight, and to swear in the new members whom I shall warmly welcome tomorrow.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 25, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—I am in receipt of your letter of October 25, 1946, at 5-30 p.m. communicating your decision regarding portfolios.

I am sorry I cannot say that it is an equitable distribution, but we have discussed all the pros and cons and as you have taken your final decision, I need not go into the matter further.

I am sending you below the names of the nominees of the Muslim League showing how these portfolios should be distributed amongst them.

Finance—Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.
Commerce—Mr. I. I. Chundrigar.
Posts and Air—Mr. A. R. Nishtar.
Health—Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and
Legislative—Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal.

M. A. JINNAH

Calcutta Disturbances Enquiry Commission

The Calcutta Disturbances Enquiry Commission formed with Sir Patrick Spens as Chairman and Mr. Justice Somayya and Mr. Justice Fazl Ali as members has begun its sittings in Calcutta. The Commission has been appointed by the Bengal Government and it will have the disagreeable task of inquiring into the grave allegations of active and inactive partisanship by the Bengal Government in favour of the hooligan elements who had been rallied at the mass meeting presided over by the Premier and which was preceded and followed by the orgy of murder, loot and arson in the city after the League's call to the Direct Action programme. The chairman may have to inquire into the conduct of the same individual who met him at New Delhi as Premier to settle the procedure to be followed during the inquiry and who stood condemned before the bar of public opinion as leader of the League's Direct Action plan.

It is only natural that this peculiar position will arouse some amount of public criticism. Not only the newspapers but the old and conservative legal weekly of high repute, the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* also feel disturbed. Sir Patrick Spens took note of them and on the opening day of the Commission, referred to some of the suggestions made in the press. Here is the relevant portion of his statement :

The suggestions, Sir Patrick said, were that firstly, inasmuch as it would be particularly the duty of the Commission to enquire into the actions during the recent disturbances of members and officials of the Government, no reliance could be put on the work of the Commission, the personnel of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was selected by the Government of Bengal. ...ly, that he personally acted unwisely or im-...erly in having an interview with the Chief ...ister of Bengal at Delhi on September 9. Thirdly, ...the appointment of a member of the I.C.S. ...ging to the Bengal cadre as secretary to the ...mission was calculated to favour unfairly the ...ernment and put everyone else at a corresponding ...dvantage. And fourthly, that the notices inviting ...dements of evidence issued by the Secretary on ...ember 11 were also issued for some sinister advan-...e of the Government and that persons who com-...ed with them would be likely to suffer in various ...ys.

Sir Patrick said that it was true that they were ...nically appointed by the Government of Bengal. ...might be that they could have been appointed by ...e Central Government, but such action might well ...ve been thought by some as undue interference with ...e powers of a province. That the Commission must ...e appointed by the Government of Bengal was a ...atter decided before he was approached. It was, how-...ver, the fact that if they were to be appointed by the ...overnment of Bengal and that they should have to ...quire into the conduct of members and officers of ...overnment that made him stipulate for very special ...owers if he was to act as chairman, particularly the ...ower to nominate his colleagues and wide powers to ...able him or the Commission to regulate the proce-...re, methods of taking and obtaining evidence, power ...o summon such witnesses as they desired to examine ...d power to prevent any interference with their ...irections. 'Everything asked for has been given with-...t demur and we have been put in complete control ...d we are in complete control,' he added.

Referring to his interview with Bengal's Chief ...inister at Delhi, the Chairman said that on Septem-...er 1, he was first approached by His Excellency the ...overnor-General to undertake the chairmanship of ...is Commission. After discussing the matter with His ...xcellency on September 3, Sir Patrick proceeded to ...alcutta and between the 5th and the 8th at a series ...f discussions with His Excellency the Governor of ...engal and his advisers, all matters with regard to the ...ersonnel, powers and the methods by which they were ...o be given, were provisionally agreed to. But the ...hief Minister was not then in Calcutta and when he ...Sir Patrick) left Calcutta on the 8th, the Chief ...inister owing to his absence could not consider his ...equirements. On reaching Delhi he asked the Chief ...inister to see him and explained to him what provi-...onal agreement had been given to him at Calcutta ...s his absence and asked for his agreement to them ...nd his promise to implement them without delay, ...hich the latter readily gave. 'That was', Sir Patrick ...id, 'the sole substance and object of the interview.'

As regards the appointment of a Secretary, he had ...riginally contemplated some one from outside the ...rovince, but when he considered the difficulties that ...ould face the commission, if a stranger was appointed ...ecretary, in making all the preliminary arrangements ...r staff, office, places of residence for the commissioners ...nd place of hearing, he readily accepted the offer of ...r. Saddler, as soon as he heard that Mr. Saddler had ...t been in Calcutta at the material times. At the ...me time, he required that his own private secretary ...ould be appointed assistant secretary to the commis-...on and that one of the staff of the Federal Court ...should be appointed court officer. These were included in the requirements made by him during his first visit to Calcutta.

Sir Patrick then referred to the notices issued by the Secretary asking for statements of evidence from individuals who could depose of their own knowledge to material incidents 'and the protests, insinuations and threats which followed the publication of these notices.' The notices, he said, were of course issued by the Secretary under his directions and he took full responsibility for them. They were not suggested by any one connected with the Government. The object was to try to obtain for the commission and the commission alone, from individual responsible citizens whilst memories were still fresh, statements of any positive evidence which they could give of incidents from their own personal knowledge. He wanted these statements to go direct to the commission and he hoped that from amongst them they should have been able to secure a substantial number of independent and reliable witnesses.

The strongest objection was made in public against the appointment of Mr. Saddler, I.C.S., as Secretary to the Commission. This gentleman had demonstrated his tenderness for the police and had allowed the course of justice to be held up for pleasing the authorities in what is known as the Murapara Rioting case. He was the trying Magistrate of this case as Sub-Divisional Officer of Narayangunje in the district of Dacca. One after another adjournment was granted by him on the request of the police and an impression was created through his conduct that justice was not being done. The Calcutta High Court was moved and the Chief Justice Sir Herrold Derbyshire passed a severe stricture against his conduct. Mr. Saddler was ordered by the High Court to proceed forthwith with the case however inconvenient it might be for the police. It is, therefore, natural that the public will feel uncomfortable at the appointment of this particular civilian as Secretary while the major part of the allegations was against the police.

Politics in Sind

Since the beginning of September last politics in Sind has continued to remain in the melting pot. In July, the Legislative Assembly in Sind had been curtailed for the special purpose of electing members to the Constituent Assembly. It was demanded at that time by the leaders of the Opposition that it should be given a chance to have a trial of strength against the Ministry through a no-confidence motion. But the Governor disagreed. In spite of all demands by the Opposition leaders for an opportunity to discuss the no-confidence motion, the Governor prorogued the Assembly after Constituent Assembly elections were over.

The Legislative Assembly was next summoned to meet on September 5. The Opposition decided to take this opportunity for moving its no-confidence motion and notice for it was duly given.

In a House of 60, the League Party had 26 votes and could count on 3 European votes. The party, therefore, still needed one vote to maintain itself in office. The Speaker, Syed Miran Mohamed Shah was a Muslim Leaguer, but so long as he remained in his post of Speakership, his vote was lost to the League Party.

On the 5th September, about two hours before the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Assembly met, Syed Miran Mohammad Shah was elected Speakership. The Assembly met in full strength with the Deputy Speaker, Miss Jethi Sipahi Malani of the Congress Party in the Chair.

After the Speaker's resignation neither of the two parties—the League and the Coalition—was anxious to have its candidate put up for Speakership. When the Deputy Speaker Miss Sipahi Malani announced a panel of chairmen consisting of Col. Mohan, Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Mr. Nurshah, they all withdrew.

September 11 was fixed for discussion of the no-confidence motion. Due to the sudden resignation of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker had not sufficient time to study the business before the House. The House was, therefore, adjourned till September 7.

On the night of the 5th September after the adjournment of the House, the Coalition Party decided, among other things, to address a communication to the Sind Governor stating that the present session of the Assembly had been convened by the Ministry which should get the official business done and that if it failed in this, the Governor should call on the Ministry to resign and allow the Opposition to form a Ministry and ensure full working of the constitutional machinery.

The League Party's strength in the Assembly was only 27, as against the original strength of 29. Even if the three Europeans supported it, its strength would be 30 which was also the strength of the Opposition. Equality with the Opposition, Mr. Syed insisted in a letter to the Governor, was no qualification on the basis of which a party should continue to function as Government. Having prevailed upon the Speaker to resign, the Ministry would be unable to ensure functioning of the Legislature if the Deputy Speaker also resigend. "The Legislature," Mr. Syed said, "is a vital part of the constitutional mechanism." Unless the Assembly functioned, the Ministry could get neither its supplementary grants, nor any legislative measures passed, however, urgent and important. A ministry, whose existence has led to total paralysis of the Legislature, was hardly a ministry having any sanction in constitutional law. "You are aware, as every one else is," Mr. Syed added, "that in order to enable this ministry to retain office, every kind of convenience and indulgence has been already shown to it by Your Excellency from time to time. There should be some limit to it, and I think the limit has been reached."

September 10 was fixed for the election of the Speaker. All on a sudden, the Governor postponed the election of the Speaker till September 14 and gave no reason for it. This order was criticized by the leaders of the Opposition as being highly partisan.

On September 9, four Ministers of the Hidayatulla Ministry tendered their resignation. This resignation was regarded as purely a domestic affair of the League Party. This step was taken, it was stated, to keep the League Party intact and afford no chance to discontented elements to revolt and go over to the Opposition.

Miss Sipahi Malani in accordance with the wishes of the Coalition Party resigned the Deputy Speakership on the morning of September 10. The parties were now equally divided. When the Assembly met on that day there was no one in the chair. The Secretary to the Legislative Department read out in the Assembly a communication from the Governor, proroguing the session.

The no-confidence motion which was to be moved on September 11 was thus avoided.

Under these circumstances, the Sind Assembly had to be dissolved. The Ministers who had tendered their resignations were reappointed and the Ministry continued in office. The request of the Opposition to include a few members from amongst them in the pre-election Caretaker Ministry was also turned down. Had this course been taken, reports of official partisanship in favour of the League might have been prevented.

One of the most important features in the politics affairs of Sind is the part played by the Europeans including Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor. At one stage, Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, Deputy Leader, Congress Party, observed :

> In Sind, the Muslim League party in power is a minority party. It has so far been sustained in power by means of artificial respiration administered to it from time to time by the Government. This Oxygen has been administered to the League by its three most faithful European followers.

Outlook in Hyderabad

The special correspondent of the *Independent* gives an account of the momentous political conflicts that are taking place in the Nizam's Dominion. He reports that the Nizam has perceived the coming change and tried to react to it by appointing Sir Mirza Ismail as the President of his Executive Council, in place of the rabid Muslim Leaguer, the Nawab of Chattari. The visit of the Cabinet Mission and the eagerness with which it fraternised with the Congress was an eye-opener to many and the Hyderabad Ruler suddenly decided to march with the times. Jinnah's stocks became low in the Hyderabad market. Sir Mirza Ismail's appointment was taken as a personal insult by Mr. Jinnah. The Ittehad-i-Mussalmin created a big row over it. They took it as a challenge to their undisputed sway. Sir Mirza felt that the Hindus were an oppressed people in the State and as a realist he knew which way the wind was blowing. He thought it stupid to alienate the vast force of the population represented by the State Congress. He realised that when the British paramountcy itself was preparing to quit the Indian stage and leave everything to the Central Government dominated by the Congress, where will the Indian Princes be if they continue to be hostile to the national aspirations ?

Sir Mirza is a non-Leaguer, a non-Pakistani Muslim. He knows the strength behind the Congress. The correspondent of the *Independent* gives the following graphic account of what is happening there after the assumption of office by Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir Sultan Ahmad's visit :

> Sir Mirza came in with the whole-hearted good-will of the Nizam. So much so that when Quaide-Azam Jinnah recently saw the Nizam and tried to advise him to remove Sir Mirza, the Nizam is reported to have broken the interview in a huff, to the great discomfiture of the League Fuehrer and the local Ittehadis.
>
> An event of this nature had not been recorded in the history of Hyderabad.
>
> But with the reopening of negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy, Hyderabad rulers thought that the League is coming up again and that the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Congress was not all. So why not cold-shoulder the State Congress a bit and also Sir Mirza, the greatest votary of change? So the wires were pulled and the free hand of Sir Mirza had to become stiff again, of course much against his will.

During this internal tug of war when negotiations and interviews with the States Congress representatives were in progress, Sir Mirza appeared to be an unhappy man. It was a period of great psychological conflict and the situation was fluid. At this critical time, Hyderabad State had a distinguished visitor in the person of Sir Sultan Ahmad, Adviser to H. H. the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

What was the exact nature of his mission is not known. But it transpires that he did quite a lot of plain-speaking to the powers-that-be. Sir Sultan is also a realist, a practical politician and a friend of Sir Mirza. But greater than this seems to be his genuine anxiety to save the Hyderabad State from chaos, strife and final liquidation, and to let the old Nizam pass his old age in peace. He came to Hyderabad as a sincere friend, but the friend had to give bitter, though wholesome advice.

It is understood that H. E. H. the Nizam was plainly advised not to lay much store by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah who had "missed the bus" "Where has he led the Muslim Community?" It was asked. To chaos and humiliation! He has now joined the Interim Government on conditions and terms much lower than what the Congress had offered him. His leadership has utterly failed. He rendered yeoman's service to the Mussalmans by uniting them under a single flag. But he did not know when to cry halt and by his haughty, intolerant, and uncompromising, and unconstructive attitude, has lowered the Muslims in the eyes of national and international politics. He has failed to adjust with the new times and has brought so much suffering and humiliation to his own community. He is a spent force and an out-of-date politician and it would be disastrous to hitch the Hyderabad wagon to his wheel. Unless sensible adjustments are made, the State will come to grief. Neither Jinnah nor the Ittehad-i-Mussalmin will be able to save the disaster. One will ignore the Writing on the Wall at one's peril only.

One does not know what the effect of this brutal frankness was. That it has given the creeps to many of the *status-quo*-wallahs who are making a futile attempt to stem the tide is true. One must bow to the inevitable. Perhaps one can yet redeem grace and goodwill, which Jinnah could not. Politics reduced to green-grocer's level does good to nobody.

This is the background of the present political scene in Hyderabad. There are enough good elements in the Hyderabad administration which can lead her, under the guidance of Sir Mirza Ismail, to a peaceful solution of all her present difficulties.

Frontier Intrigues of the Political Department

The crude conspiracy between the Muslim League and the Political Department to try and show that the Pathans and the Frontier tribes are hostile to Indian nationalism, is fully exposed in the following despatch by the special representative of the *Hindu* :

"Here is the reality behind the so-called 'demonstration' by some Maliks during Pandit Nehru's visit to Miranshah and Razmak. The first halt of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour of tribal areas was at Miranshah and the second at Razmak. Both places are in North Waziristan. At both places the Political Agent had summoned a group of local leaders to meet Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In both the places the results were according to the same pattern. After Badshah Khan had addressed a few words to the assembled Maliks, the latter made some sort of demonstration and went away in a pretended huff. What is the significance of these demonstrations ? Were they genuine and spontaneous ? They were most certainly not. Here are facts which prove this :

"In the first place, all the Maliks or tribal leaders who were invited by the Political Agent are, without a single exception, in the pay of the Political Department. The Political Agent admitted this (in my presence) before Pandit Nehru and Dr. Khan Sahib.

"At Razmak, the Frontier Premier asked the Political Agent in his characteristic blunt way if he had hand-picked the tribal leaders. The latter replied, "We could only invite those Maliks who are under our influence and these people have come because they depend on us for stipends."

"He might have added that they depend upon the Political Department for other material benefits like bonuses, contracts, royalties and jagirs. Some of the men who had assembled are title-holders ; for example, one individual who tried to make himself most conspicuous at Razmak holds the title of Khan Sahib.

"Moreover, the so-called demonstrations were too neatly patterned to be spontaneous. It is significant that the same Malik who was rude to Badshah Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib was continually referring to the Political Agent as 'our Agent Saheb Bahadur.'

"Another significant fact must be mentioned: not a single Malik among those assembled complained against the recent bombings. Some of them talked of avenging the Hindu atrocities in Calcutta, but there was not a mention of the bombing of their own homes. The reason is obvious. The Political Department would not tolerate any complaint against the policy of bombing—not even if it is to be used as a stick with which to beat the 'Hindu Interim Government.'

"It has been alleged that an official of the Political Department had been coaching the tribal Maliks under their pay for several days before Pandit Nehru's arrival. It is stated that most of the best-known leaders of the tribes have been prevented from meeting Pandit Nehru : for example, Ayat Khan, the biggest leader of the Mahsud tribe, has not been able to see Pandit Nehru nor has been the son of the famous Pawinda Khan. Similarly the great leader, Musa Khan, is waiting only two miles away from Razmak camp to see Pandit Nehru, but the Political Department will not let him do so.

"A word about these tribal Maliks. They are not leaders of the tribes in the same sense as Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru or even Mr. Jinnah is. They owe their position entirely to the Political Department ; they fulfil the same role as Khan Bahadurs of our Provinces.

"In his book *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, Abdul Qayum, who is now a Muslim Leaguer, says, 'Then there are Maliks or leaders of the tribes. These men receive cash allowances and sometimes titles—to give them a sense of self-importance. The idea has been to exercise control through these Maliks and other elders. Very large sums have been paid ever since the British came into contact with the tribes. These enormous sums have come, of course, from the Indian treasury, which means the Indian taxpayer.'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The real leaders of the tribes keep away from the Political Department. For example, Haji Mirza Ali Khan, better known as the Faqir of Ipi, is the acknowledged leader of the Waziris. He is hiding in caves with a price on his head. I learn on good authority that the Faqir is anxious to meet Pandit Nehru. There are scores of other genuine tribal leaders who have sent messengers to Pandit Nehru asking for appointments.

"The fact is the Political Department today is a gigantic vested interest. Crores of rupees are spent annually by the Political Department in the form of subsidies, bribes, secret grants and other payments. No accounts are kept. The present tribal administration has become an anachronism in the modern age. And entirely stage-managed 'demonstrations' have no value whatsoever as regards the real feeling of tribal people towards Pandit Nehru's tour. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had anticipated some such mischief and uttered a warning against it in his Press Conference at Peshawar.

"But the real significance of the demonsrations is that they have brought home to the Minister for External Affairs, as nothing else would have done, the inner workings. Dr. Khan Sahib bluntly accused the Political Department of having intrigued against Pandit Nehru's tour. Pandit Nehru warned the Political Agent that he would order a full inquiry.

"The new Government is determined to make a new, revolutionary approach to the problem of the Frontier. The first step towards this new approach may be the abolition of the Political Department. The new policy will mean the dawn of a new civilisation for millions of tribal Pathans. But the scores of officials of the Political Department have a huge vested interest in the old system. To expect the Political Department to carry out the new policy is like expecting the cat to guard the housewife's milk."

Civil Service in a Free India

The problem of the Civil Service is one of the most important problems that face the new Central Government. This service has been rightly criticised vehemently as being anti-national, autocratic, unimaginative and reactionary. The Interim Central Government has given its full attention to this problem. In an article written by Mr. R. K. Patel, Minister for Food, Central Provinces, who had resigned from this service because of its inherent defects, gives some concrete suggestions which deserve close study. The Civil Service and the Imperial police were as efficient and competent as a country under foreign domination could produce. They have eminently succeeded in maintaining the stranglehold of Imperialist Britain on India. From our standpoint, however, the services had a good number of very costly defects. Mr. Patel points out :

> Their chief and foremost defect was their denationalization arising from a series of causes and starting with the compromise which one has necessarily to make with his conscience in preferring service under enslaving administration to the more honest and straightforward, though dangerous course, of fighting it, to secure the freedom of one's country. Then arose a burning desire to make the best of oneself in the new atmosphere.
>
> Another serious defect was the fostering of a spirit of autocracy and irresponsibility amongst all classes of officers. The Civil Service generally was never conscious of its duties and obligations as servants of the people; they never functioned as such, but carried out the orders of an irresponsible and autocratic executive, and this spirit permeated down to the lowest village officer. This exercise of unchecked authority and power led to two baneful results. It generated a poor opinion, if not contempt, for the character, initiative and capacity for self-government of the people committed to their charge. It also made the Services unimaginative and reactionary, having been concerned, throughout their lives, with routine work and the maintenance of *status quo* rather than with schemes of public welfare and advancement.

Mr. Patel says, "The drawbacks form a mere appendage, which can be cast away." We do not agree. Any deep research into the history of Indian freedom will reveal that it was this service, the steel frame of British Imperialism in India, which was primarily responsible for putting the most formidable obstacles in the path of Indian national advancement. British Tory reactionaries profited from the administrative experiences of these men and these experiences were utilised in drafting and preparing open and secret schemes for the purpose of keeping India in bondage. Even now, it is this service which is fighting tooth and nail for preventing the smooth transference power from British to Indian hands. The attitude of the die-hard I.C.S. and I.P. is no longer secret, they have almost openly sided with the forces of reaction and thrown their entire weight for the sole task of developing fissiparous tendencies amongst the Indian people and encouraging communal fight. If India is to survive, these services must go lock, stock and barrel, at whatever cost it may mean to us. Treatment of a cancerous growth may be costly, but it must be thorough and quick. Tenderness may prove fatal for the patient.

Separation of the Judiciary and Executive

As early as 1886, at the second session of the Indian National Congress, a resolution was adopted demanding the separation of judicial and executive functions of the Government. The problem is, therefore, exactly sixty years old and still it is nowhere nearer solution. The experience in the administration of criminal justice has been against the mixing of the executive and the judiciary. It is a well-known maxim of jurisprudence that the same man cannot be the prosecutor and the judge ; it is equally recognised that it is not sufficient that justice is done but that justice must appear to be done. The general apathy of the public to the police and the subordinate magistracy is because they do not feel that justice is being done in criminal courts as they are not sure since the magistrate combines in himself both the functions of a revenue and executive officer in one.

Mr. A. T. Krishnamachari, in an article contributed to the *Roy's Weekly*, gives a short study of the subject. In a few words he has traced the history as follows :

> Several members of the Indian civil service, notable among whom like Sir Henry Cotton later became great friends of India and Indian freedom, have left *obiter dicta* bitterly criticising the system. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt had a great deal to say against the system of the subordinate magistrates in trial courts being under the control of the district magistrate who is the executive head of the district. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

word 'Magistrate' is not defined by the Criminal Procedure Code. A definition is however found in the General Clauses Act. In fact as well as in practice the words 'Magistrate' and 'Court' are generally if not always convertible terms. Section 10 of the Cr. P. C. expressly says that anybody who succeeds to the chief administration of the district shall perform the duties and exercise all powers of the District Magistrate. Similarly the Police Act invests certain Police Officers with Magisterial powers, with the result one is left wondering whether after all the judicial nature of the office of magistrate is not whittled down by its association with executive power.

After thirty years of ceaseless agitation during the passage of three sovereigns and two Acts of Parliament touching the Government of India, a scheme for the separation of judicial from executive functions was drawn up in 1921 by what is now commonly known as the Stuart committee appointed by the Central Legislative Assembly. That report is now a quarter of a century old and in some respects needs amendments to suit the conditions at present. But it is a good enough basis for starting work.

When the Congress assumed office, attempts were made in some of the provinces to effect this separation and remove the long-standing defect in our administration of justice. Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Law in the U.P. Government, took up the problem in right earnest. He had three purposes in view : (1) to obviate the necessity for fresh legislation, (2) to interfere least with existing administration, and (3) to avoid extra expenditure. He, therefore, introduced a judicial Additional Magistrate and made the Sessions Judge and not the District Magistrate, the competent authority to report on their work. The result was that all judicial works of the district were entrusted to a separate officer. But this was no complete remedy of the defect, it was only one step taken to the way of removing it. In order to make the change complete and effective, amendments have to be made in the criminal Procedure Code, Police Act and many other similar provisions of Law. This problem cannot successfully be tackled unless on an all-India basis and may therefore require some more time.

Nehru Government's Labour Policy

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the Labour Ministers' Conference at New Delhi, emphasised the need for devising methods in order to help industrial workers of India to stand on their own feet. Referring to recent strikes, Pandit Nehru said that strikes might become unnecessary in some future time when the differences between the employer and the employed disappeared, but at the moment what was most needed was to devise methods which would ameliorate the housing and working conditions of workers.

After the Chairman's opening speech, the Conference took up the discussion of a new Bill intended to regulate industrial relations. The Bill, which has now been placed before the Central Legislature, aims at setting up works committees in industrial establishments to smoothen the day-to-day difficulties. It also aims to create machinery of conciliation, inquiry and adjudication which Government proposes to initiate in the case of all utility services. The Bill has, thus, the great merit of being drafted in consultation with the Provincial Labour Ministers. The Bengal League Ministry, which had declared non-co-operation with the Government at the Centre, did not send any representative. This non-co-operation of the Bengal Ministry, however, is only confined to matters which might be helpful to the Centre, and not in respect of receiving or praying for subsidies either in cash or in kind.

The Labour Ministers' Conference extended the scope of their discussions beyond the realm of industrial workers and proposed to institute an inquiry into the earnings of agricultural labourers. Mr. Jagjivan Ram mentioned that among the suggestions placed before the Conference was one that all major legislation should be Central and that the provinces should pay special attention to the organisation of adequate administrative and inspection services to secure a proper enforcement of labour legislation, a sphere of activity which, he said, had not received sufficient attention in the past. Considering the mobility of labour, both industrial as well as territorial, it is highly desirable that wages, extra-payments, hours of works and working conditions should be uniform all over the country. This would ensure stability to the floating labour population. Mr. Jagjivan Ram was perfectly right in recommendating a five-year programme to secure uniformity in matters relating to labour laws. This uniformity can be maintained and differences straightened out by periodical meetings of the Provincial Labour Ministers. Explaining the position, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said :

> It may be asked whether we should at this stage, plan a five-year programme in view of the uncertainty of the future constitutional set-up. Whatever may be final distribution of authority in regard to labour matters, it is common ground that there should be the maximum measure of uniformity in matters relating to labour as administration and standards. Details of legislative and administrative measures necessarily take time to work out. The different governments, the employers and workers have all to be consulted. Material has to be prepared for legislation and the details of the administrative organisation have to be worked out. Collective agreements between employers and workers on matters like wages have to be promoted and before any effective action can be taken in this direction, detailed studies have to be undertaken. These things cannot be done unless we set before ourselves a definite programme of action. Even if we are not able to achieve all that we set ourselves to secure, the preparatory work that we shall have done will be of great assistance to those who may be charged with responsibility for labour administration under the new constitution and enable them to proceed ahead.
>
> What we should now do is to evolve suitable machinery for formulating policy and periodically reviewing the extent to which it is being implemented from time to time. Policy must be to some extent flexible so that it can be modified to meet new situations and circumstances that may arise. These things can be done only at the ministerial level. It is because of this necessity that we have suggested for your consideration the institution of a Ministers' Conference meeting regularly once a year or oftener, as you may decide.

The Bill has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly and after preliminary discussion, has been referred to a Select Committee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Congress Policy on Aboriginals

The problem of aboriginal uplift and the Congress policy towards them have been discussed by Mr. R. V. Rao in a short article contributed to the *Hindu* The Congress Ministries have begun to apply their mind to the problem of the 25 million aboriginals. Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, Premier of Bihar, observed the other day, "So long as we are in the government, we shall religiously safeguard every legitimate interest of the Adibasis. We shall see that they enjoy all rights and privileges as children of the soil. The Congress Government know that they have their grievances as backward people, and we are studying their problems to give them all help."

The aboriginal tribes are scattered all over the country. For example, in Central Provinces, we have over two million Gonds, in Bihar we have the Santals, in Orissa, the Savaras, in Bombay, the Bhils, Warlis, and in Madras, the 'Koyas,' 'Chenchus,' etc. Indeed, Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Harijan Seva Sangh and the missionaries have done a lot in the matter of their uplift. We must know that, when the British conquered the country, and missionaries followed them, the aboriginals were confronted with a serious problem. Further, when the forests were controlled by the Government the rights of the aboriginal tribes naturally were curtailed. Similarly, even in the matter of their education, it is a pity that the various schools started by the local boards did not make any impression upon them. More often than not the teachers did not take any interest in their welfare and assumed a superior attitude.

Mr. Rao writes :

> Anthropology which till recently used to be an academic occupation is now becoming an applied science, particularly in countries which have to deal with tribal areas. We must remember that the training that we give to these tribes enables them to participate fully in our national life. It is a pity that our public do not remember that they are "flesh of our flesh" and should have equal rights with ourselves. Let it be remembered that the rehabilitation of the aborigines is a duty we owe them. After all we need not say that they are inferior to us. In fact some of the best officers hail from these aboriginal tribes. Whatever may be the future of the type of education that we may have, let it be remembered that it must be based upon their tribal economy and needs. There is another point. More than ever before tolerant understanding and sympathetic treatment will help the aborigines to march on along the path of progress.
>
> The vast and complicated problem of the 25 millions of aboriginals in India cannot be solved by the creation of 'Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas.' In fact according to the Act of 1935 though it is the Governor that is responsibe for their welfare, still the ministers have got to see that they came to the same level as the others. The present writer would really say that there is no meaning in creating such areas. It is better if special officers be appointed to consider the problem of their uplift. It is no use thinking that no special officers are necessary because even in the ordinary course of administration, special attention is paid to the need of the aboriginals.
>
> Every attempt is now being made to see that they preserve their religious habits and social customs and remain in the Hindu fold. The British Government have so long tried their best to make them appear as non-Hindu separate tribes followed by proselytising Christian missionaries. The Census Report of 1941 tried to complete this process of segregation. The provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 sought to take tribal areas, stamped as Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas, out of the hands of the popular Ministries. Pending the return of political power over these areas, which can only be done in the Constitution of Free India, social uplift activities among them should continue in full vigour. The Bihar Government has already made a block grant of Rs. 5 lakhs in the provincial budget. Other Governments should follow this lead.

Summing up his article, Mr. Rao writes :

> If the Ministries provide them with all the necessaries of life, medical help and facilities for receiving education, which is in tune with their habits and customs, and if we realise that they are the original inhabitants of the country and therefore their claims should receive the first consideration at our hands, the day will not be far off when we can easily bring the 25 millions of our aboriginals to the same level as other people. Philanthropists like Verrier Elwin, Thakkar Bapa, Grigson and others have done much in this matter. As Father Elwin observed, "Forbidden to hunt and cultivate in the forest, exploited in the villages, they have become servile." Let us hope that every attempt will be made to improve the lot of our aboriginal tribes. In the meanwhile, let us give time to the Congress Ministry to show what it can do in the matter before we criticise it from house-tops. It would be better if the Congress Ministries in the various provinces chalk out a definite policy for the uplift of the aboriginal tribes with the co-operation of social workers and anthropologists.

Power Supply in Madras

Schemes for the expansion of electric power supply in the province, programmed to meet all the demands anticipated in the near future, have been outlined in a Press Note issued by the Madras Government. The Note says :

> Ever since 1927, the Madras Government have been contemplating a scheme of inter-connected power houses, hydro as well as thermal, located at suitable centres feeding a network of distribution lines covering both towns and villages. All the electricity projects constructed so far were designed to fit into an electric grid which was to be gradually developed till its power resources would be adequate to serve the whole of the province.
>
> In order to conserve materials for the war effort, severe restrictions were placed on all schemes for power development, and supply of electricity to new consumers was confined to essential military and civil needs. The restrictions on power supply during the war were followed by unfavourable monsoons in 1945, and when the Mettur lake recorded phenomenally low levels, further restrictions were imposed in the Mettur System.
>
> The restrictions on power supply imposed during the war are now being gradually relaxed. The south-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

west monsoon has been quite favourable this year and the supply position has also improved in all the Hydro-Electric systems.

Now that the war is over, the schemes for power expansion which were kept in abeyance have been taken up, new schemes formulated and a five-year plan has been programmed. The Government propose to spend about Rs. 15 crores on the schemes, and when these are completed, the present generating plant capacity in the province will be doubled, resulting in considerable expansion of the areas receiving electric supply. New areas especially in the Circars and the Ceded Districts will also get power supply in the near future.

About the Machkund project and the Tungabhadra hydro-electric scheme, the Note says :

Power will be developed from the Doduma Falls in the Machkund river which forms the boundary between Madras and Orissa. The first stage of the scheme provides for an installed capacity of 51,750 K.W.; the scheme is capable of an ultimate development of 1,00,000 K.W. The construction work has commenced, and the first stage of the scheme is expected to be completed by 1950. The scheme is to be worked in partnership with the Orissa Government, and for this purpose an agreement was entered into early this year, and under this agreement 70 per cent of the power developed will be available to Madras which will ensure adequate supply for all the needs of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna and Guntur Districts for several years to come.

As an advance stage of this scheme and with a view to supplying the immediate needs of the area, additional plant is being installed at each of the existing thermal stations at Vizagapatam and Bezwada. A 110 K. V. line from Bezwada to Rajahmundry with a 33 K.V. extension to Samalkot is being built to develop the East and West Godavari areas.

A thermal station with an installed capacity of 6,500 K.W. has been planned for the Nellore area and orders have been placed for the generating sets. The scheme will meet the needs of the mica, ceramic, glass, chemicals, rayon and other industries that are being planned in this area.

The Ceded Districts have long been in need of electric power. The Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric Scheme which will develop power of about 20,800 K.V.A. for eight months in a year and 6,900 K.V.A. for the remaining four months is intended to meet their requirements but it is expected to be completed only by 1952-53. Meanwhile, in order to cater to immediate needs it has been decided to purchase power from the Mysore Jog Hydro-Electric Scheme from the middle of 1948 and to distribute it over an area covered by the Tungabhadra Dam site, Hospet, Hagari-Bommanhalle, Bellary and Guntakal. Work on survey of the interconnecting transmission line has commenced.

In addition, the establishment of a thermal station at Cuddapah is under consideration.

Regarding the city and suburban electric supply, the Note explains that the power undertaking managed by the Madras Electric Supply Corporation is to be acquired by the Government in August 1947 and a scheme for extending and modernising the plant has been sanctioned. Meanwhile, to meet the immediate domestic and essential power demands, steps have been taken to supplement the output of the power station at Villivakkam and by the establishment of mobile power units. The Madras Thermal Station will also be linked up with the Mettur Hydro Station early in 1948. Work on this is already in hand, and the scheme will enable exchange of power to mutual advantage, conserving coal during periods of abundance of water at Mettur and supplementing Mettur output in times of water shortage there.

About the Moyar scheme and Madura Thermal Station, the Press Note says :

> The tail water from Pykara Power Station will be diverted and dropped down the Moyar slopes utilising a gross head of 1300 ft. Two 12,000 K.W. sets will be installed initially. Preliminary works have commenced and orders for most of the plant have been placed. The Power Station which is expected to go into operation in 1949, will supplement the supply to the Pykara and Mettur areas where large industrial and agricultural development are being planned.
>
> Pykara power is now being extended to Wynad, Calicut and Cannanore. Extension of supply to South Kanara has been planned and provided for in the Moyar Scheme.
>
> Recent unfavourable monsoon conditions have indicated the need for additional storage of water in hydro-electric areas, and this is economically feasible at Pykara. Moreover, as Pykara is in a strategically favourable position to meet the increasing demand in the hydro grid area in the South and also for providing a block of power for any unexpected development, the final expansion of the plant at Pykara and Moyar has been planned and sanctioned. This scheme provides for a second reservoir in the Pykara river of 2,000 million cubic feet and the addition of two 13,500 K.W. sets at Pykara Station and a third 12,000 K.W. set at Moyar Station. Work on the scheme has begun and will be proceeded with simultaneously with the Moyar Scheme. By 1950 when these extensions are completed, there will be ample power available in the southern portion of the grid till 1955.
>
> For utilising the water that is available during periods of good rainfall gates are being installed across the spillway of the Thambraparni Dam to increase the storage to 5,500 million cubic feet and one more 7,000 K.W. unit with the connected pipe line is being added to the power station. Work is in progress and will be completed by the middle of 1948.
>
> On account of the rapid load development in the Papanasam System, the construction of a Thermal Station contemplated at a later stage as part of the Papanasam Hydro-Thermal scheme, has to be taken up much earlier than anticipated. It is proposed to install at once a 4,000 K.W. set at Madura and to add a 8,000 K.W. set as soon as possible. This will meet the growing demand of the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly Districts and also the power deficiencies due to water shortage in the hydro-electric areas.
>
> The above schemes are programmed for meeting all the demands that are anticipated in the immediate future. Plans for the industrialisation of the province are yet to take concrete shape and it is too early to say what further demand for power will arise from them. A general awakening to the ad-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vantage of industrialisation and rural development is clearly manifest. When people get better acquainted with electricity and realise the enormous contribution it makes to their well-being and social progress, a progressively increasing demand for power is certain to arise and fresh sources of power have to be exploited. Promising water power sites are available in the S. Kanara and the Nilgiris Districts, on the Periyar, on the Cauvery at Mekadatu and on the Godavari and its tributaries. Schemes for their development and connection to the grid will be taken up in good time to meet all the growing power needs of the Province.

India's Need for Increased Food Production

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member in the Interim Government, stated at the Central Assembly, "We have been able to secure 3,000,000 tons as against 1,700,000 tons imported, that is, we have procured within the country more than double what we have procured from abroad." Outlining the three methods—imports, monopoly procurement and controlled distribution, and the stepping up of production—with which Government was dealing with the food situation, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that according to statisticians, out of a total harvest of 60,000,000 tons, some 24,000,000 tons may be taken as a surplus to the requirements of the cultivator. Out of this 24,000,000 tons, 4,000,000 tons had already been secured for distribution.

Madras led in procurement and Bombay came next. Madras procured nearly 94 per cent of the surplus of individual cultivators. Dr. Prasad says, "It is because of this policy of rigid procurement and distribution that the province has so far been able to scrape through." Bombay came next with 60 per cent procurement of surplus. The United Provinces, which in recent years depended upon the Central Government to meet its deficit, as a result of the vigorous policy of procurement has become free from anxiety.

As regards the future, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

With small imports that we have received, the question can be asked how we are able to survive these months. Our people are used to suffering, and they know how to face such difficulties, because they have done it in the past, and India is in a more or less chronic position of underfeeding. That has been one of the causes contributory to our success.

Further causes were rationing and maintenance of stocks. We have always been anxious to maintain stocks for about six weeks in every province. It has been a most difficult job to maintain this stock. We have somehow or other managed so far, but November opens with a stock of four weeks or even less. I can say this that after the most difficult months we have now almost passed through, we have a crop in sight ; the monsoon has been fair, though there have been floods in some parts of Assam and Bihar, which have damaged the crop considerably. We have had short rain in parts of the Punjab and Sind. But on the whole, I must say nature has been kind to us this year, and we are hoping to get a more or less normal crop this season.

With this crop in sight, I venture to hope that our people will not starve. And what is more, I have found that the provinces and the people have shown grit in facing difficulty, which is really admirable.

In response to my appeal to save as much as possible, I have received thousands of letters from people offering to save a part of their ration and undertaking to start *fasting clubs* to save food. All this in terms of maunds and tons may not come to very much, but it shows the spirit in which the people have taken it, and the spirit in which they face this calamity. I have also appealed to the provinces which have any surpluses to spare over and above what they have declared already to make such surpluses available. I am grateful that Orissa, the C.P. and the Punjab have given larger quantities than they have promised to give in the beginning. This extra surplus comes to 45,000 tons, not an inconsiderable quantity.

It is these factors which have enabled us to pass through most difficult times. We are not yet out of the wood. November and December are difficult months, although we have a crop standing. We still need imports of wheat from foreign countries, because during the past months we have had to borrow wheat from some provinces to meet the urgent necessities of other provinces, and they were able to give us these even at the risk of their own supplies running short. We are pledged to repay the loan before December, and I hope we will be able to get this import of wheat which will enable us to repay the loan.

As regards increase in production, the Food Member said :

We have seen we cannot depend upon imports from foreign countries for meeting our requirements. India is an agricultural country and it is really a matter of shame for us if we have to go to other countries for the one thing which is supposed to be our main concern and speciality. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things that the Government should take all possible steps to increase production in this country.

It was the Agricultural Department's duty to find out means of increasing production, and the programme adopted was, first, to produce enough to meet the present emergency facing the people. The target of the short-term programme was to produce 4,000,000 tons within the next five years. Four million tons, he said, would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the increased population till 1952.

But this 4,000,000 tons would not be able to improve the standard of living or of consumption. The addition of 4,000,000 tons to the present production of 60,000,000 tons meant after all the addition of one-fifteenth of the present production, or the production of 16 maunds from the area which at present produced 15 maunds or an increase of half a maund per acre.

That, he suggested, was not such a terrifying target. "I know averages are sometimes very deceptive and I am sure it will require much determination and application to secure this additional 4,000,000 tons." He enumerated the aids which the Government had decided to give the agriculturists for this purpose. It was proposed, first, to help small irrigation works, like surface wells, tube wells, digging tanks and channels, putting up small equipment for drawing water from rivers. He was thinking of sending round the Agricultural Development Commissioner to various provinces to fix targets. The second

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thing was to supply manure at a relatively low cost to enable cultivators to increase production. Thirdly, improved seeds would be distributed so as to secure larger yields. The Government also proposed to help in bringing under cultivation land which, on account of deep-rooted grass, was not fit for cultivation by helping parties to cultivate it with tractors and other mechanical implements.

The Government proposed to bear a part of the cost of the scheme for producing the extra 4,000,000 tons. The idea was that 50 per cent of the cost should be borne by the party who would benefit by it and of the other 50 per cent, half should be contributed by the Provincial Government and the remaining half by the Central Government. This would apply to all provinces except three small ones, namely, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Assam, in whose cases the share of the Central Government would be two-thirds instead of a half.

Stressing once again the need to increase production, the Food Member said that for this purpose the co-operation of the provinces, the cultivator, the labourer and others was imperative. The Congress administration at the Centre, within few weeks of its assumption of office, has done almost a miracle in steering India out of the dangers of a devastating famine. Ability of administration is mainly responsible for averting a disaster which was already upon us. The Food Member concluded his speech with the following words which deserve special attention :

> Though we have passed through the present crisis and although we may not expect full sunshine we have just begun to see streaks of light and I am hoping that we will be able to pass through this crisis and begin to get the full benefit of sunshine very soon. But we cannot ignore the fact that the only way to meet the perennial problem of food in this country it to increase production. I would appeal to members of this House, cultivators, producers, scientists and technicians, and Provincial Governments to help in the work of increasing food and save the country from having to face this kind of calamity.

Coalfields Committee Report

The Indian Coalfields Committee has submitted its Report to the Government of India. The Report is unanimous although the interests involved are many and not a few of the questions considered by the Committee are admittedly controversial. Some of its recommendations are of a far-reaching nature. The Committee, it may be recalled, was appointed in December 1945 with Mr. K. C. Mahindra as Chairman, and Mr. K. C. Neogy, Lala Raj Kumar, Chief Minister, Patna State, Mr. C. A. Innes of Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co. Ltd., and Mr. M. Ikramullah, Joint Secretary to the Government of India as members. Mr. P. R. Nayak, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India acted as Secretary of the Committee.

The most important recommendation of the Committee is that a new Central Department of Fuel and Power to exercise control over the coal industry and allied matters is to be created. Subject to the supervision of this new Department, there should also be a National Coal Commission incorporated and organised on business lines for discharging executive duties. It is recommended that this Department should take over the ownership and administration of the railway collieries, the duties of various statutory bodies, such as the Soft Coke Cess Committee and the Stowing and the Grading Boards, as also certain new functions. In view of the great responsibility that will thus devolve on the Commission, it is further recommended that the Commission be advised by a Standing Committee of the Legislature, a Consultation Board, and Advisory Committees on development, prices and distribution. The due discharge of these functions means a fairly high financial responsibility. In order to ensure an assured income to the Commission, the Committee suggests a levy of a cess on coal.

The Committee has considered the question of ownership and management of the several units of the industry. There is a fair consensus of opinion in favour of State ownership but divergent views prevail as to State management. The Committee has not made a straight recommendation urging nationalisation but has urged "State acquisition of mineral rights in the permanently settled areas of Bengal and Bihar with a view to the eventual possibility of nationalising the coal industry." This means that (1) for the time being the Government is asked to acquire mineral rights only in respect of the permanently settled areas in Bengal and Bihar and not of other parts of India, and further (2) that nationalisation is the ultimate goal to be aimed at. In regard to mineral rights, the suggestion is that the State should vest in itself, by legislation, all rights to coal at depths below 2500 feet in all areas in which coal has not so far been discovered. In respect of such areas there will be no compensation, and in areas in which coal exists and is not being worked, the compensation will be nominal. As for areas in which coal is being worked, such is not to exceed ten times the royalty income in 1945. On this basis the Committee estimates the total compensation for the acquisition of mineral rights in the permanently settled areas of Bengal and Bihar not to exceed Rs. 6½ crores.

The Report is comprehensive. It deals with all aspects of the industry including production and consumption, distribution and transport, conservation and stowing, exports and bunker requirements, grading, labour, coal bye-products, and financial and technical assistance as also research. The Committee rightly proceeds with an estimate of the total coal needs of the country in the context of the industrial plans made or about to be made. This adjustment is imperative for preventing any further wastage of coal. Unplanned raisings have already heavily disturbed the total coal reserves of the country. The Committee has come to the conclusion that by 1956, when the demand is expected to reach 39 million tons a year, India must step up her coal production to 42 million tons per annum. As the Committee says, this very considerable expansion requires to be directed into sound channels, and, in order to do so, we are asked to bear in mind two objectives. First, "we must aim as far as possible," the Committee says, "to produce coal in the areas most conveniently situated to consuming areas; as a corollary, we must guard against over-production in other areas, because of the consequences this would inevitably have on future production and on the transport system of the country." Secondly, "it is necessary also that coal production should conform in the matter of the quantities produced of the different classes, to actual consumer requirements." According to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Committee, the estimated demand for coal in India today is 30 million tons.

In regard to labour, the Committee urges improvement of living and working conditions and provision of better wages and adequate amenities to remove such evils as absenteeism and low output per man. Training of mining labour, establishment of labour exchanges, and the abolition of the raising contractor system are among the other recommendations. As for assisting the industry financially, whenever necessary, banking facilities for small operators and extension of the service of the proposed Industrial Finance Corporation for long-term financing are recommended. The Committee has also recommended consideration of the question of granting collieries an allowance for the depreciation of the rights in a wasting asset. In view of the existing shortage of both coal and rail transport, the Committee favours the continuance of control over distribution and prices.

The known shortage of coal, specially of the better quality, has led the Committee to lay particular stress on conservation. In the opinion of the Committee, the reserves of good coking coal may not exceed 700-750 million tons which will be exhausted in about 65 years at the present rate of extraction. This discouraging prospect has prompted the Committee to approach the problem of conservation in a thorough manner. There are three aspects to be considered in this connection, says the Committee : (1) reservation in use, *i.e.*, the use of certain coals by specified classes of consumers only, (2) rationalisation in production, *i.e.*, the extraction of certain coals so as to secure a balancing of output with consumer requirements, and (3) the adoption of mining methods aimed at maximum production. All these aspects receive adequate attention in the following recommendations which the Committee has made for coal conservation.

In respect of metallurgical coal, it is urged that (1) the output of good coking coal should be frozen forthwith while controlling the opening of new works in seams bearing such coal, (2) the output of good coking coal should be curtailed in the collieries belonging to iron and steel companies, (3) control measures on output and despatches should be so devised as to meet the requirements of essential industries first and (4) the use of good coking coal should be restricted to iron and steel works and coke ovens, of course, after making sure that other coals are available for use by other industries. In regard to the consumption of high volatile coals, which are important for the large-scale development of chemical industries, we are told by the Committee that India's resources of these coals are plentiful, warranting no restriction on their use at present, but, even so, it sounds a note of warning by saying that "it would be wrong to assume that no such attempt will be necessary in the future."

In order to help conservation generally a number of other steps is also recommended. These include compulsory assisted stowing, electrification of the railways, and experiments on the use of high ash coals, while limiting the extraction of such coals. The Committee also suggests the regulation of coal consumption by textile mills, electricity companies, current works, brick kilns and soft coke manufacturers on the basis of wartime experience. Coal shortage is sought to be met in yet another way, namely, regulation of exports and of supplies to bunkers. These are two of the important ways through which our coal reserve is being wasted and the Committee has taken a most determined attitude on this question. While urging immediate stoppage of export and supply to bunkers of good coking coal, it declares that the emphasis placed on the coal export trade in the past is no longer valid and recommends the withdrawal at once of all monetary concessions so far attaching to exports. The maximum quantity required for bunker purpose may not exceed a million tons per year.

Two more sets of recommendations of importance in the Report are those pertaining to by-products of coal and coal research. Emphasising the need for extending operations for the recovery of by-products, the Committee recommends the installation of benzol recovery plants, urging at the same time the removal of the excise duty on benzol, the desirability of permitting only such coke-oven batteries as have a full complement of by-product recovery plant, and improved methods for the manufacture of soft coke, to encourage which soft coke is recommended for exemption from stowing duty. In the matter of research, the Committee rightly wants that attention should be paid to a chemical and physical survey of Indian coals, to be completed within the next five years. As regards the cost of fuel research, the Committee suggests that both the Government and the industry should meet it, the latter in the form of a cess.

Promoting India's Industrialisation

The Report submitted by Messrs. Ford, Bacon and Davis of the United States to the Government of India contains a number of valuable suggestions which, if implemented, will, to a considerable extent, carry the country on the road to planned industrialisation. These three American experts were invited by the Government to investigate the practical steps to be taken in furthering the country's industrial development. After inspecting 57 representative industrial establishments, they have, in their Report, drawn six important conclusions. These have been published by the *Commerce* :

> First, there is a shortage of well-trained technicians and supervisors, particularly of men who have actually operated machines in shops and factories and thus acquired firsthand knowledge of technical operating problems and industrial relations problems.
>
> Secondly, there is almost complete lack of commercial secondary industries manufacturing essential articles such as reamers, taps, dies, precision cut gears.
>
> Thirdly, product standardisation and the means for attaining and maintaining it are lacking in India, and this, unless corrected, will result in confusion and higher costs of production.
>
> Fourthly, industrialisation in India will be greatly accelerated if the tried and proved designs and specifications, worked out in other countries, can be secured for manufacture in India by direct purchase or licence.
>
> Fifthly, statistics and records of imports and production in India are not available in proper form to permit analysis of Indian markets for industrial materials.
>
> Sixthly, the purchasing power of the rank and file is very low, and the introduction of convenience household utilities possible under wider industrialisation will necessarily proceed slowly.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Messrs. Ford, Bacon and Davis then proceed to make ten recommendations for the stimulation and orderly development of Indian industries. They are as following :

(1) The five Industrial Panels dealing with heavy machinery, electrical machinery, light machinery and equipment, prime movers, and machine tools, may be regrouped into two Panels, headed, and staffed by full-time paid personnel, responsible to the Government. One Panel should deal with heavy machinery, prime movers and machine tools and another with the other three subjects.

(2) A non-profit institution should be established, similar to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the U.S., to supply funds for assisting sound industrial plant expansions as new construction or for providing working capital.

(3) An agency on the lines of the American Standards Association should be set up.

(4) A third agency, preferably governmental, be run with a view to channelling, in so far as it is possible, all negotiations for the use of foreign patents, licences, working drawings and specifications for Indian manufacture.

(5) The Government should take active steps for the extension of all facilities throughout the country for training, in a thorough manner, adequate numbers of technicians and supervisors for industry.

(6) A study of the costs and practicability of manufacturing complete locomotives in the Kanchrapara Railway Workshops is advisable.

(7) In the Amritsar Ordnance Factory, special investigations should be carried out for conversion of the plant to the manufacture of specific larger machine tools and other essential heavy machinery, under leased private industrialists or by some State agency.

(8) The question of feasibility of devoting one or more of the Government ordnance factories to the temporary production of such secondary industry products as private enterprise is not able to supply should be gone into.

(9) The Government should have a report made on the practicability of the temporary production of commercial non-ferrous extruded products at the Katni Ordnance Factory, until private industry is in a position to supply them.

(10) The services of experienced engineers should be entertained by the Government to be used as consultants and to prepare feasibility reports for the proposed industrial schemes.

Bombay Reconstruction Plan

The revised and enlarged plan of Reconstruction accepted by the Bombay Government deserves special attention. The plan, which is comprehensive and concrete, does touch all aspects of life of the people of the province, including drinking water, food, fuel, cloth, agriculture, housing, education, health and sanitation, development of cottage and other industries, irrigation, electricity, co-operation and other social and economic reform schemes. The cost of the entire plan is estimated at Rs. 86,60,91,000, and the expenditure is to be spread over a period of five years. A summary of the final plan has been given by the *Commerce* as follows :

A perusal of the list of schemes and the sums allotted in respect of each of them reveals many interesting points, especially when it is compared with the original plan. A striking feature of the comparison is that the present plan is estimated to cost over Rs. 86½ crores, whereas the original planners intended to spend only Rs. 60 crores, in the first instance. Another prominent difference is a marked change in the order of priority and, in certain cases, in the extent as well of the cost allotted to the scheme. Thus, first in the list of priority of the present plan comes education accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 16·83 lakhs, as against about Rs. 3 crores sanctioned originally. Agriculture occupies second place with Rs. 16·03 lakhs, as compared with an allotment of about Rs. 15½ crores formerly. The road plan, which enjoyed the highest priority with an estimated cost of Rs. 20 crores under the former plan, has been now relegated to the third position and secures a grant of only Rs. 10·66 crores. "Health and medicine" has come to occupy a deserved fourth place with Rs. 10·04 crores ; previously, its share was as low as only about Rs. 3½ crores. The lot of irrigation too has improved with an estimated cost of Rs. 9½ crores, as against Rs. 3½ crores sanctioned by the previous Government. Similar attention has been paid to the Electric Grid system, which is scheduled to receive Rs. 8·4 crores as compared with Rs. 5 crores formerly.

It is noteworthy that there are, besides the foregoing, certain new items which have secured special recognition under the revised Reconstruction Plan. In order to improve labour welfare schemes alone, for example, a sum of Rs. 8 crores has been granted for schemes on housing, educational and cultural facilities, recreation centres, and other social amenities to brighten the life of labourers. Nationalisation of public transport in the Province is another new item claiming Rs. 3·5 crores.

Among other minor schemes are cottage industries and fisheries with Rs. 1·20 crores, amelioration of backward classes with Rs. 1 crore, and the training of staff and administrative machinery involving Rs. 1½ crores.

The Reconstruction Scheme costing Rs. 86·61 crores, we are told, will be financed by both borrowing and taxation in addition to subvention from the Centre and revenue surpluses. It may be noted here that a subvention of Rs. 17½ crores is expected from the Centre, while a sum of Rs. 12½ crores will be available from the Provinces Separate Reconstruction Fund. Revenue surpluses during the five years are expected to realise about Rs. 10 crores and a similar sum is expected from fresh taxation, the total thus being Rs. 50 crores. The balance of Rs. 36 crores is to be raised by loans.

The plan is no doubt ambitious and costly. Its aim as all aims of such plans ought to be is to raise the standard of living of the common people. The Bombay Ministry is competent to translate the plan into action within the time specified. The execution will be watched with interest.

Plantation Labour in India

Plantation labour in India did not receive the attention it deserves at the conference of the Labour Ministers held at New Delhi. A seasonable document on this important subject has already been prepared

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by the Labour Investigation Committee and *the Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in Plantations in India* is the result. The *Tribune,* in criticising the proceedings of the Conference which virtually left this important subject out of consideration, has drawn pointed attention to the Rege Committee's Report. This Report covers three principal industries, tea, coffee and rubber, in the three principal provinces, Assam, Bengal and Madras. The total area under the chief plantation crops is 11,91,788 acres and 10,91,461 persons are employed on them. North India has only tea plantations and these provide employment for more than 770,000 workers. Plantations thus play a considerable part in Indian rural economy in the north as well as in the south which accounts for most of the coffee and rubber.

The pioneer planters were British people who started the tea plantations of Assam in the twenties of the last century. Of tea plantations now, Britishers own about 25 per cent though they are masters of 70 to 75 per cent of the area under coffee and rubber. Although the ownership of tea plantations is comparatively small for Britishers, they completely dominate the industry even today not only economically but also politically through the allotment of a disproportionately large number of seats in the Assam and Bengal Legislatures. The Tea Association under their control virtually holds a complete grip over the entire tea industry of the country. The Indian plantations, if they are to live, must play second fiddle to them.

Recruitment of labour for the plantations has all along been beset with peculiar problems. Till recently the processes and conditions of recruitment were definitely scandalous and oppressive, and rightly evoked countrywide disgust. Things have changed for the better after strong and long-drawn agitations, but still there is much room for improvement.

Recruitment of Assam is governed by the Tea Districts Emigration Labour Act of 1932 and there is no legislation on recruitment in other areas. Even for Assam the control relates only to the forwarding of the assisted recruits and not to the methods and personnel of recruiting and applies only to six provinces, where notifications under the Act have been issued. Seventy-seven per cent of the tea industry in North-East India recruits its men through the Tea Districts Labour Associatoin which has been set up by the tea industry for this purpose. This Association arranges for the forwarding of recruits from the recruiting areas to Assam. Actual recruitment is largely done by the tea garden Sardars who work on a commission basis. The total cost of recruitment before the war was about Rs. 100 per recruit—which almost equals his annual earnings. In South India, the recruitment is mostly from areas situated close to the plantations. Here the recruitment is mostly done through Kanganies drawn from the ranks of the estate labourers themselves, or through professional labour suppliers. The Kanganies get a commission on the wages of the workers in their gangs. The plantation recruitment system savours of serfdom. As the Rege report says, "A labourer belongs more to the Sardar or Kangany than to the estate." The Kangany system works very largely through pre-employment advances. This system was condemned by the Royal Commission on Labour, as it puts the worker at a disadvantage right from the start. But the system persists. In Assam, the labourer is now legally free to leave his garden and seek employment in any other garden, though if he wants repatriation at the garden expense, as a rule he has to complete three years' work. As a matter of fact, the workers' freedom of movement exists only in theory, for the planters have an agreement which prohibits a manager from enticing or recruiting labourers from any other garden, and a labourer is not generally employed without a reference to his former employer. Also there is the Chowkidar, one of whose duties is to watch the movements of labourers. As pointed out by the Royal Commission the effect of these agreements and arrangements, in the absence of any organization on the workers' side is to diminish their liberty to dispose of their labour to the best advantage and to add to the restrictions upon their movements.

The investigations of Mr. Rege show that the already low real wages of the low paid plantations workers have gone down still further during the war. Mr. Rege writes in his Report :

> The cost of living has gone up by at least 200 per cent in the plantation areas in North-East India since 1939, while the total earnings of plantation workers, including the value of foodstuff and cloth concession, have been only nearly doubled in them. In South Indian plantations, the cost of living has gone up by 100 per cent while the earnings went up by 50 per cent, in the case of men and about 70 per cent in the case of women who were getting very low wages before the war.

But profits for the planters increased by leaps and bounds during this period. Dividends have often gone up three or four times, in some cases shooting up from 5 per cent to 75 per cent. As an illustration of the low cash wages in tea gardens, the wages given by the Holta Tea Company in Kangra may be cited. In 1939, men received for hoeing three annas a day ; in 1944 they were getting five annas. For plucking, women were getting two annas and six pies ; in 1944, this had risen to four annas. In Kangra, medical facilities, creches, facilities for children's education are practically unknown.

Mr. Rege's Report draws attention to a very serious evil with regard to the payment of wages.

The payment of Wages Act does not apply to plantation labour, with the result that under the system prevailing in South India many of the plantations have an annual settlement—the objective being to make the worker immobile like a serf. The provincial governments have the power, after giving three months' notice, to extend the provision of the Payment of Wages Act to any industry. The Madras Government has recently taken such action on the recommendation of the Labour Investigation Committee. Perhaps the Labour Ministers Conference would have done well to shape measures for general extension of the Act in the interest of plantation workers.

The root trouble is that plantation labour is unorganised. "In the whole of Assam," says Mr. Rege, "there was until recently only one union of garden labourers in the Cachar district. There are no unions in other plantation areas." Though there have been strikes in Assam at times they are necessarily sporadic mismanaged affairs. On the South India plantations no information on the subject of strikes was available to Mr. Rege ! No wonder plantation labour is ill-paid, with the fewest of amenities, and no wonder the long-standing grievances persist in spite of the censure by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mittees and Royal Commissions. When the industry has lean days, as happened with tea and coffee in the thirties, labour suffers; but when rubber commands high prices, as it has done in recent years, labour being unorganised is not able to get anything out of the prosperity. "Until the labour is able to stand on its legs," says Mr. Rege, "it is necessary for the Central Government to protect their interests as they have done in the case of Indian labour in plantations in Ceylon and Malaya. It is necessary for this purpose to enact a Central Plantation Labour Code which will provide for the establishment of Wage Boards and Boards of Health and Welfare and lay down minimum standards for housing, medical facilities, education, etc."

It is desirable therefore that the Central Government should pay due attention to this problem. Unless the exploitation of three of the country's chief cash crops ought to be stopped at the earliest possible moment.

Madras Government's Textile Policy

Mr. Prakasam's textile policy has aroused wide interest in the country. The bold step the Madras Premier has taken in preventing any further expansion of the textile mills at the moment opens a new chapter in India's industrial development. Mr. Prakasam has been generally and roundly criticised by the Indian capitalists and due to intensive propaganda by the major section of the Press he is being assailed. Mr. Raghava Menon, Additional Food Minister in the Madras Cabinet, in the course of his Malabar tour told the people at Palghat, "Government have decided that they should have no more mills and should concentrate on Khadi. The matter has been decided once for all; any amount of agitation will not make Government retrace these steps." After a thorough inspection of the producer-*cum*-consumers' co-operative societies in a number of villages, Mr. Menon said :

> Government had ascertained that the mills already existing in the Madras Presidency produced yarn sufficient to provide twenty yards of cloth to an adult and ten yards to a child every year. But black-marketing was so rampant and black-marketing continued at all stages that they could not get yarn from the mills till the cloth reached the consumer. A good lot of yarn was also exported. There was, therefore, no point in saying that there were not sufficient numbers of mills. That was why the Government had decided not to have any more mills, and to concentrate on Khadi. Government had no objection to keep the existing mills going and it was only in the interests of Khadi that more mills could not be allowed.

Mr. K. Bashyam, Minister for Law in the Madras Cabinet, told the same thing to another audience at Madura. He said that the opposition to the Madras Government's new textile policy is engineered by capitalists and mill-owners in their selfish interests and not with a view to promoting the well-being of the masses. He declared that if the Government's policy was carefully examined, it could be found that it would not affect the existing weaving and spinning mills in this Province. It only prevented the setting up of new ones. There was no prospect for at least two years of an increase in the production of mill cloth and yarn as it would not be possible to procure within that time the necessary machinery from abroad. If the Government's Khadi scheme was put into effect, it would to a great extent relieve the cloth famine in the immediate future.

Answering the criticism that their new policy would affect the handloom industry in the Province, the Minister quoted the Provincial Textile Commissioner for the statement that *the yarn produced by the spinning mills in this Province was sufficient to keep the weavers engaged all the year round.* The handloom weaver at present was getting only one-third of his requirements. This was due to the yarn produced throughout the country being pooled by the Central Government and distributed in all provinces equitably as in the case of food.

Mr. Bashyam added that Khadi was one of the planks of the Congress programme for the past quarter of a century designed to revive the rural life of India. There was no rural reconstruction without Khadi. He felt sure that if the Khadi scheme was worked with enthusiasm, the whole Province with the existing mills would become more than self-sufficient in the matter of cloth.

Indian economic and social life has its foundation in villages. In the Re-construction of the villages as strong and healthy economic and social units lies our salvation. Industrial expansion in this country ought therefore to be based on a model of decentralisation, thus providing maximum employment to the largest possible number. Only a decentralised cottage industry can provide an effective remedy both to overproduction and underproduction. Small productive units remain free from capitalist greed.

Dangers of Railway Travel in Eastern Bengal

Railway travel in some parts of Eastern Bengal has become a menace for a pretty long time. Parts of Eastern Bengal, which are strongholds of the Muslim League, have been most notorious in the matter of tampering with railway traffic. Stoppage of trains for loot and murder has been frequent. Since the flaring-up of the communal disturbances, night travel had to be suspended for some time and the trains now move only with armed guards.

A question at the Central Assembly put by Mr. K. C. Neogy has elicited valuable information about these happenings. Mr. Neogy asked the Railway Member to make a short statement indicating how the activities of the Railways were affected on and from August 16 last as a result of communal disturbances in some areas of Bengal. In reply, Mr. Asaf Ali made the following statement :

> On the B. A. Railway, in the Calcutta area, passenger as well as goods train services were seriously affected. The supply of foodstuffs, vegetables, etc., was practically at a standstill from the 16th to the 20th August, 1946. Work in the B. A. Railway Administrative Offices also suffered seriously, as the staff could not attend office owing to lack of conveyance and the fear of being assaulted. In the Chittagong Area, a number of trains had to be cancelled on the 16th August. On the 17th August, there were several casualties amongst the staff in Chittagong. On the 29th August, Fouzdarhat Station

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was attacked by a mob who looted the quarters of the staff. In the Dacca Area, there was only one case of injury to railway staff. On the 25th August, at Bahadurabad Ghat Station, the work was suspended for the night owing to a mob of about 200 men assembling near the station.

On the B. A. Railway staff quarters at Bahadurabad Ghat were looted on the 25th August. The Parcel Sheds and some wagons loaded with parcels were looted at Sealdah Station between the 17th and 19th August, 1946. The loss is estimated at approximately three lakhs of rupees.

Particulars of the public injured while travelling in trains or while within railway premises are not available. Amongst the railway staff, the number of persons—

Killed	7
Missing	17
Whose belongings have been destroyed or looted ..	939

This is a very short account of what has happened within a few days. Asked about what special precautions were taken by the Railway Police during the communal disturbance in Bengal for the purpose of protecting Railway property and passengers, Mr. Asaf Ali replied :

On the B. A. Railway in the Calcutta Area, the Railway Police were strengthened with armed police, but the force was insufficient to guard the whole of the Sealdah area. They, however, were instrumental in saving the Sealdah Railway Station from being attacked. It was not possible for the Police authorities to give such adequate aid as would ensure regular running of the train service as the men at their disposal were not sufficient to man every train that was run. The Superintendent of Railway Police did all in his power to help whenever he was approached with urgent requests for assistance from any points outside Calcutta.

In the Chittagong Area, the Superintendent of Police was unable to provide armed guards to protect the Chittagong Railway Colony, Pahartali area, etc., but he arranged for Police patrols to visit the affected areas periodically. The District Magistrate imposed a curfew.

In the Dacca Area, armed Government Railway Police patrolled the station premises and yard at night. Armed guards have been travelling on each train between Dacca and Narayanganj since September and with effect from 3rd October, 300 men of the Indian Pioneer Force have been detailed for the protection of the Railway premises.

The normal strength of Railway Police allotted to the metre-gauge section of the B. A. Railway, including the sections serving the Districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah, is :

Superintendent of Police	1
Inspectors	4
Sub-Inspectors	18
Assistant Sub-Inspectors	21
Sergeants	3
Head Constables	25
Constables	312
Others	19

Government are informed that the Government of Bengal have taken steps to protect the metre-gauge section of the line in Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah Districts and also to ensure the safe running of trains by the deputation of a number of armed police. Railway Police force is considered adequate for normal times, but is not sufficient to meet with an emergency, such as the one that arose in Calcutta in August last.

Mr. Neogy then requested the Railway Member to state whether Government were aware that certain portions of the metre-gauge section of the Bengal-Assam Railway serving the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah, experienced, during the last few months, frequent acts of lawlessness, such as theft, loot, assault on passengers and kidnapping of women from trains ? He also wanted to know what adequate action was taken in time for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of such occurrences and preventing the offenders to book ? In how many instances were the culprits apprehended and put on trial, and with what result ?

Mr. Asaf Ali replying admitted that theft, loot, assault on passengers and abduction of women from trains did take place. He said :

A detailed statement of the incidents that took place during the last 12 months, together with full information regarding complaints received and action taken on them by the B. A. Railway has been called for and will be laid on the table of the House in due course. No public complaints were received in the Railway Board's office but from early this year, they received from the General Manager, B. A. Railway, periodical reports of acts of hooliganism and lawlessness as a result of which considerable damage was caused to Railway property, running of trains was adversely affected, and Railway staff assaulted. The position was so bad that the General Manager considered it necessary to suggest that the Railway should have *Armed Guards in the area near Bhairab Bazaar* and that for this purpose, General Headquarters, (India), should be moved to authorise the retention of 200 armed personnel of the Railway Protection Company. The suggestion, however, could not be accepted as it is illegal for Railway administrations to maintain an armed force in time of peace and it is the responsibility of the Provincial Government to afford such protection. *The Bengal Government were continually asked by the Railway Administration to take preventive action immediately but as there was no tangible improvement, night running of trains on the affected sections was stopped on 20th September, 1946.* On 26.9.1946, the Administration reported that the Bengal Government had arranged for a posse of armed police to be stationed at Bhairab Bazaar for the manning of Patrol trains and providing armed escorts on trains when necessary. With effect from 1st October, 1946, night running of all trains was resumed on the Chandpur-Laksam Section, and to a limited extent on the other sections affected. The question of temporarily increasing the strength of the Railway Police to meet the emergency is under the active consideration of Government.

The plague spot of the Railway depredations in the Eastern Bengal, as admitted by the Railway Member as well, is Bhairab Bazaar, the venue of a Muslim League Conference presided over by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin. The lawlessness began in this area some time after this Conference.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN PORTUGAL

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

For since 1942 has India been so shaken as by the occasional bits of news of happenings in Goa that trickle out through the cracks in the iron curtain which has been drawn over that unhappy country. In spirit more than a decade divides 1946 from 1942. That time India was like an elephant who has been cruelly prodded into an unprecedented ferocity by a piercing scimitar thrust into the breast. Today, India is slowly but surely coming into her own, confident of a new strength and pregnant with fruitful possibilities for tomorrow. The condemned 'felons' of 1942 are today practically at the helm of the State. It is, therefore, not only incredible, but absolutely intolerable that such atrocities as are taking place in Goa, should be inflicted on our kith and kin and what is even more outrageous, within the frontiers of our own country.

Goa has been a sealed book to most Indians. We have little or no conception of its characteristics or its culture. We may have been struck by the fact that such a large section of its population, about 10 per cent roughly, should have had to seek its fortune outside the province of its birth. Few have perhaps even stopped to ponder on the obvious conclusion that this means it cannot support its population. But then Goa has come to seem a dim far-away place, almost in another continent. When the recent struggle started, there were not people wanting who said, "But what have we to do with Goa! It is after all another Government." The natural kinship we have felt with the people of Indian States, we have not been able to extend to the people of Goa. Almost unconsciously that country has come to seem like a foreign land to not quite a few, a sinister curtain descending over it and in the words of the *Imperial Gazateer of India* "forming a compact block of 'foreign territory'." To the British it was naturally 'foreign' for it was ruled not by London but Lisbon and it was not the Union Jack that flew over this 'compact block' but another tricolour.

Thus though an integral part of the continent, geographically, culturally and economically, stiff Tariff-walls were raised between the two 'foreign' lands, naturally with greater detriment to the smaller and weaker Goa. Trade between the two steadily declined. Even within the last twenty years there has been a drop of 20 to 30 per cent which must obviously in both cases be only in the interest of foreign countries—those outside of India. In Goa the value of imports became four or five times that of exports. This reacted with considerable detriment to the masses of Goa, depressing their standard as the tariffs hit goods of popular consumption like foodstuffs and cloth. Even in normal times the cost of rice there was double that of ours. The high cost of living affected production with a kind of atrophy, and was mainly responsible for driving such a large number of Goans out of the country in search of work and bread. It is mostly the savings of these sent from British India that go to make up the huge balances yawning between Goa's exports and imports.

In addition to this Customs policy that has served to isolate Goa from the rest of India is another factor of equal economic disaster to that country—the inconvertible paper notes issued by the Banco Ultramarino, which has greatly depreciated the value of the rupee in Goa. The forced circulation of this futile currency has also added to the general economic depression of Goa and the appalling poverty of its masses.

Shorn of all civil liberties, means of organising and expression, starved and humiliated, the Goans have almost faded out of the average Indian's imagination and picture of future India. While we have been desperately struggling to throw off the last vestiges of the British yoke, we have almost forgotten the iron imprint of one of the worst types of totalitarian dictatorship actively operating within the shores of our country and oppressing our own people. Although the European conquest of our country really began with the advent of the Portuguese in India, the first traders to desecrate our soil with their unholy merchandise, setting the pace for India's impoverishment and ultimate slavery, we have cast little thought on Portugal or its affairs, and have continued to remain to this day rather ignorant of its political developments. Yet we cannot be indifferent towards a country that continues to control the destiny of any section of the Indian people, certainly not today, when it has thrown down its medieval gauntlet and is challenging our national integrity and self-respect by perpetrating crimes reminiscent of the middle ages. Yet these inhuman ways, this callous and calculated flaunting of all that has stood for humanness, decency, morality, have become current coins under fascism. As Victor Gollancz says in his recent book *Our Threatened Values* :

> "The moral values of the West have certainly not always been the rule, but their self-conscious denial had become increasingly rare until the advent of Nazism. At the critical moment it is not the paper constitutions that men and women will obey; they will obey their own nature and their own nature such as it has become."

Fascism began by disregarding what may be called the central value of civilization—respect for personality and the sanctity of life. For there is in every human being something special, individual and unique which is what constitutes that personality. Civilization works out a code whereby the test of respect for personality is one's attitude towards those who hold views different from one's own, and through imaginative sympathy realise that what is true of oneself is equally true of others. When man begins to deny this code all standards that set the pattern to a co-operative life or certain human values, must necessarily collapse. Respect for human personality becomes a thing of contempt, a mere sentiment and as Gollancz concludes his argument, when Nazism regards these values as wrong and communism as irrelevant, what they fail to understand is that "history is a continuing process, that you cannot advance by throwing away what you have achieved already ; that the rights of man are the precious foundation for an even finer structure, and that if you mistreat the seed of morality (as bourgeois) you will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

get no flower at all but nihilism." The answer to Goa lies in Portugal. It is the nature of her Government and Society that explains to us the happenings here. Therefore, a peep into Portugal is not only essential but inevitable for an understanding of the problem of Goa.

While Spain and its tragedy have been highlighted through the fascist war, its sister country in spite of an equally sinister fate that has befallen it, has passed virtually unnoticed. Curiously enough before the Spanish Revoution of 1931, when Spain was still in the grip of medievalism, Portugal was one of the liberal countries and in the early nineties Goa naturally enoyed a degree of freedom the rest of India could only dream of at the time. But slowly yet firmly the wave of fascism caught Portugal in its vice even as it gripped Spain. In fact, Salazar and Franco are but twin brothers cradled in the same nefarious politics. All through the Spanish war, Salazar lent a helping hand to Franco, especially in driving back the Republican refugees fleeing from the Franco terror. The Badago massacre at almost the start of the Spanish war was the fruit of this infamous collaboration between the two dictators, when the Salazar police drove the Spanish fugitives back across the border to be herded into the Badagoz bullring where thousands were machine-gunned. In fact, friends of Republican Spain had to work as diligently and warily in Portugal as in Spain in order to protect the precarious lives of the Spanish refugees. For Portuguese dictatorship has run parallel to the Spanish, rendering each other all possible service, and each realises that in the other's survival lies his own security. Thus while Franco has counted on Salazar—and certainly with success—equally Salazar too has counted on Franco's army for the continuance of his own dictatorship. The offensive and defensive alliance between the two, signed when Hitler's fate seemed sealed, is significant of this.

Salazar was said to be cleverer and therefore subtler than Franco. But one wonders! Salazar's regime follows the typical fascist pattern. There is only one political party, the Unias Nacinal, corresponding to the Falangist Party across the border in ideology as well as in structure. As in Spain the Church in Portugal is a staunch supporter of the dictatorship. The head of the hierarchy, Cardinal Cerrejiva in Lisbon, is an old mate and friend of Salazar and it is not infrequently said that their respective roles might have been easily interchanged.

The Portugese masses are as poverty-stricken as the Spanish. The war has deteriorated the situation even more. Between the beginning and the close of the war, living costs rose 210 per cent. They are said to be even higher today. In the same period, however, wages and salaries increased by only 35 per cent. The figures for food consumption are astounding. Per capita per annum the average is 9 kilograms of meat, 11 litres of milk, 186 grams of cheese, 485 grams of butter and 40 eggs. It is not at all surprising therefore that according to one of Portugal's outstanding physicians, one person is dying of tuberculosis every minute.

As in the case of Franco, so in the case of Salazar, the Anglo-American block's support has been there. The fear of the Iberian Peninsula going under Moscow's influence is said to be the reason for this. It is well to remember, however, that Portugal has always been more directly a British influence sphere and even during the last war, in spite of her so-called neutrality, Portugal yielded, no doubt under British pressure, to allowing the use of the Azores for military purposes. As a matter of fact, the oldest alliance in Europe is between England and Portugal, dating as far back as 1373, and the last two centuries or so it has been definitely within the British ring. So long as England and America fear a radical change in Spain, they are bound to patronise Salazar as well. For in either event, the end of one must inevitably mean the end of the other. It is, therefore, not surprising that Britain should be interested in pressing Salazar to at least wear occasionally the cloak of democracy, to slow down the growing opposition to Salazar, if not entirely overcome it. It was thus that what were called "Free Elections" were held in Portugal last November. Actually they were a mere farce, for, the opposition was allowed to participate only on totalitarian conditions: Firstly, a candidate had to declare his acceptance of the Corporate State; secondly, no one who had spent some years outside of Portugal could run (in order to exclude the entire democratic opposition in exile); thirdly, the electoral census was so rigged as to prevent thousands of the regime's adversaries from voting. In spite of all this, however, the very idea of the elections gave a fresh stimulus to political life in the country. Under its impetus the various political parties professing democratic faith so long submerged beneath the cloud of illegality, came together into a coalition under the name of Movimato de United Democratica. This united opposition, the day after the proclamation of the election, came out fighting with the demand that the elections be postponed for six months. Their case very pertinently and legitimately was that after twenty years of suppression and ban, the political parties needed time to reorganise themselves. But even this incipient show of strength dismayed Salazar. Full of apprehension he, on the contrary, hurried on with the poll. The opposition had no other course except to demonstrate its strength through a complete boycott, which it succeeded in doing. For barely 25 per cent of the voters went to the polls—obviously 75 per cent of the electorate wanted neither Salazar nor his regime. In their own quiet way they had recorded their opinion. Today the very circles which were originally the source of his power, are turning against him. This was in truth one of the factors that had induced England and America to force Salazar declare elections, phony though they may have subsequently proved. The Portugese have not been unaware of Britain's role in the evolution of their destiny. They know only too well that without British goodwill, even what remained of their once far-flung empire would crack up and float away like drift wood. But they have no illusions left regarding England's disinterestedness. In fact they have not forgotten that before World War I, at one stage England was ready to agree to the handing over of the Portugese colonies to the Kaiser and to satisfy some of his demands at Portugese expense. The democratic forces in Portugal had, however, become greatly enthused by the advent of the Labour Government in England, reading in it a sign of their own emancipation. But these budding hopes too have been dashed to the ground. For the new Government in England seems disposed to continue the same old Tory policy in foreign affairs though not in domestic, and the Iberian Peninsula continues to writhe in the grip of dictatorships, with little or no help from the ancient island-democracy across the channel. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

centration camps of Tarrafal in the Cape Verde ands remain as full as ever. There is a story that en some malaria patients asked for quinine the camp octor replied: "My job here is to sign death certi- ates." Ironically enough, the English, who seem to ior dictatorship so much at home, do not seem to d either hoodwinking at it or indirectly encourag- it abroad.

Thus the treatment meted out to the Spanish estion by the Anglo-American block in the U.N.O. irectly assures Salazar's dictatorship a further lease life. This problem is of vital significance to us, for continuance of totalitarianism in Portugal means *tus quo* in Goa with all its implied horrors of today.

The Indian scene has, however, undergone trans- mation with the advent of the popular Interim overnment at the Centre. Medievalism reminiscent of the Inquisition days has no place in the Indian scheme of things, be the authors British, Portugese or Indian. Dictatorship has to be destroyed as one would any bascilli, wherever it raises its cancerous head. Its continued existence in our body politic is both a challenge to our national dignity as well as a danger to our progressive evolution. Neither the Indian National Congress nor the Interim Government can with impunity tolerate such a regime as exists today in Goa and which is but the inevitable arm of the regime in Portugal. Equal responsibility lies with the U.N.O. But just how that august body discharges its duties we have seen already in the case of Spain. Indians have therefore to fall back upon their own moral strength and the intensity of feeling that can be raised over this issue which it is time we recognised as a national issue and a challenge to our national integrity.

———:O:———

BRITAIN'S DUAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

The British Empire is said to control one-fifth of the orld and one-fourth of its inhabitants. Such powers mply equal responsibility. Indian prohibitionists aintain that, by its toleration, if not its indirect, ncouragement, of the opium traffic, the British Empire as failed to discharge its duty to those it is ruling nd, in addition, has set a very bad example to other ountries.

The Temperance Movement in India which has lways included Indians and non-Indians has repeatedly nplored the British administration to take effective teps to put an end to the non-medical use of opium nd has been told that this is impossible in view of he difficulties which stand in the way. Indian Nationalism has always held that if the British adminis- ration had really the desire to stop this which it has lways professed it would like to do, it could have assed legislation on the same lines as the Dangerous Drugs Act by which Britain protects its own children. Not only would such a piece of legislation have ncountered no opposition from any quarter, but it ould have been welcomed by every section and roup in India.

If the British administration persists, in the face f easily available evidence to the contrary in main- aining that such a measure would have been resisted, t could have evoked the Governor-General's special owers and passed the law in spite of opposition as it as done in the case of the salt-tax. If Indian National- m did not initiate such legislation in the past, t is only because of the difficulties in getting non- ficial bills enacted and also because if legislation had een passed, there was at least some likelihood that t would not have received the assent of the Governor- eneral on the plea that, carried into effect, it would ntail loss of much needed revenue.

Anti-Narcotic Legislation in Great Britain and the Dominions

At the Opium Conference held at Geneva in 1924, it was asserted that though internal regulations in almost all the forty-one countries participating in it had adhered more or less to the principles laid down in the Hague Convention of 1912, there was, nonetheless, a lack of genuine allegiance to them on the international plans. For instance, Great Britain in passing its Dangerous Drugs Act had clearly demonstrated at least its theoretical acceptance of the Hague policy of suppressing the non-medical use of drugs within the British Empire. Enacted for the protection of its own people, its anti-narcotic legislation is of the most advanced type so that opium and its derivatives as well as other habit-forming drugs can be given only under strict medical supervision. Very strict control is exercised on chemists and druggists in Great Britain under it. Among other things, the prescriptions which have to be preserved and copied into a register, are, in principle, allowed to be filled up only once, or, if specified by the physician, up to a maximum of three times. The possession of opium and its salts, and of cocaine and their illegal use, when not prescribed by a qualified physician, are punished with imprisonment. Further, under it the sale by unauthorised agencies and the use in any form of these substances for non-medical purposes are illegal.

While, except for members and sympathisers of the Temperance Movement, Britons in general view, even today, the drink habit with a certain degree of indulgence and are, in fact, prepared to tolerate it so long as moderation is observed, every one of them very strongly condemns the habitual use of drugs and the addict is always regarded with loathing and scorn. It is this which explains the stringent measures adopted in deference to public opinion in England against the illegal trade in drugs and their non-medical use for purposes of intoxication.

There are similar laws in the Self-governing Dominions such as Ireland, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, etc., but they are absent so far as the countries included in the British Empire and which do not enjoy Dominion Status are concerned. These consist of Crown colonies, protectorates, mandated

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

territories and Britain's greatest possessions, Burma and India.

This explains why, till only the other day, the oriental or indeed any subject of the King-Emperor was allowed to purchase opium from the India Government at public auctions in Calcutta and why the same people were treated as criminals and punished for either possessing, eating or smoking opium at Liverpool and London as had actually happened in the case of Indian seamen who had broken this particular law of England.

It has also been suggested that if a public auction where, till 1926, opium was sold by the India Government, were held in London, Dublin, Belfast, Montreal, Cape Town, or Sydney, it would have immediately led to a riot and the people concerned, British or Colonial, would have not only destroyed the opium offered for sale but would also have seen to it that such an auction was the last ever held in their country.

On July 20, 1923, the *Times* of London gave an account of the trial and conviction of a man proved to have opium and opium-smoking appliances in his possession though not of having been detected when actually smoking opium. In sentencing him to imprisonment for three years, the Recorder, according to the report appearing in the abovementioned paper, said that

> "There was not much doubt that the practice of taking cocaine and smoking opium was doing much to demoralise society. Feeling that this was so, Parliament this year increased the personal penalty from six months' imprisonment to ten years' penal servitude. Parliament was determined—and he, in his humble way, was determined to assist the Legislature—in excising this moral cancer from the social system."

The Indian prohibitionist would say that the really regrettable thing is that these very fine sentiments find no application in British possessions east of the Suez.

Whatever his other complaints against the British people, the Indian nationalist is aware that they have traditions of idealism which, in the past, compelled them to outlaw slavery. This, in his view, would have made them incapable of resisting the appeal to banish slavery to opium in the territories ruled by them, if only all the facts in all their nakedness had been made available to them. He knows that in Great Britain, addiction to drugs is regarded, and regarded rightly, as a violation of moral decency. He, therefore, refuses to accept the explanation that the attitude referred to above is due to the conviction among Britons that what is transgression against moral decency in England is not equally a transgression against it in any country governed by British officials or among any people living under the protection of the Union Jack.

Opium and Labour in British Far East

Certain reasons have been advanced for this inconsistency of which two only will be referred to here. The first of these is that opium has been utilised by the administrations concerned as a means of swelling the revenue without, at the same time, causing too much discontent among the people ruled, a matter the discussion of which is deferred for the time being. Coming to the second reason which, it has been contended finds its most extensive application in certain British possessions in Far East, the considered opinion of the Temperance Movement is that the cheap and plentiful labour of China has been attracted to these places where efficient native labour is not available, not only by the prospect of high wages but also by reports of the easy availability of facilities in them for indulgence in certain vices including opium smoking. Lack of space will not permit reference to more than a few instances to prove the correctness of the view set forth above.

Johore, the largest of the five Unfederated Malay States, is ruled by its Sultan who, under the terms of a treaty entered into with Great Britain in 1885, and, by an amendment to it made in 1914, acts under the advice of a British officer called the General Adviser. As for the other four, under the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909, "the rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control" were transferred by Siam to Great Britain so that they are under British administration. In an official publication describing their natural resources and the openings available for the investment of capital in them it is stated that

> "The Malay Peninsula is rich in rubber, tin, cocoanuts and other tropical produce, and the hard-working and industrious Chinese supply a large part of the labour needed for the mines and the estates."

Johore had, in 1921, a total population of 282,244 of which more than a third, to be exact 96,888, were Chinese. In 1918, the revenue from opium constituted 46 per cent of the revenue and met 72 per cent of the total cost of administration. With the appearance of the trade depression in the Far East in 1920-21, there was less work, many Chinese had to be discharged and the opium revenue declined by nearly 50 per cent.

We are also told in the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945) that at the end of 1940, there were 929 miles of metalled roads in Johore and that the railway from Penang to Singapore passes through it for 121 miles. It is also observed that

> "Rubber estates are situated on either side along practically the whole length (121 miles) and thus, with the help of roads and navigable rivers, good communication is available."

The importance of the rubber industry, almost exclusively financed by alien capital, can be easily realised when we consider the export trade of Johore which, according to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), was, in round numbers, valued at 138 million dollars out of which rubber alone was responsible for 117 million dollars.

In 1940, the revenue of Johore was derived from three sources. In round figures, these were Customs 11 million, License 4 million and Land a little over 3½ million dollars. Omitting the last, realised from those owning land, we find that Customs was the most important item contributing a little less than 50 per cent of the total revenue. This came from taxes on exports and imports.

So far as the former was concerned, owing to the Western demand for rubber, Johore was enabled to levy a fairly high duty on it with the result that a quite respectable proportion of the Customs came from this source.

As regards taxes on imports, these were those imposed on first, animals, food, drink and tobacco valued at a little over 27 million and, secondly, on articles manufactured, valued at nearly 21

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ion dollars. As Johore had no organised industries ...speak of, and as it needed articles falling under the ...ond head, it was content to levy taxes on a fairly ...r level. As regards those coming under the first ...s. drink and tobacco were heavily taxed as also ...h quantities of opium, raw and prepared, as were ...orted no detailed information about which is given ...the abovementioned book.

The revenue from license (4 million dollars) was ...cipally for permits for selling opium, for opium-...oking rooms, for gambling dens and pawnbroking ...ablishments, the intimate connection between all ...ich has been referred to elsewhere. The magnitude ...the revenue, taking into account the population of ...hore, its generally backward economic condition and ...absence of any large-scale industry organised and ...ntrolled by the indigenous people, tells its own ...ry.

The suggestion put forward indirectly, but deli...ately, that opium makes a handsome contribution ...the revenues of Johore is based on the generally ...epted view that the Chinese take the opium-smok...g habit with them wherever they go. In 1940, the ...al population of Johore was, according to the ...tesman's Year Book (1945), 757,590, Chinese num...ering 346,590, Malayasians 309,520 and Indians 76,230. ...also appears that there were some Javanese among ...e Malayasians who constituted less than 50 per cent ...the population. The presence of such large numbers ...Chinese is an indication, of course indirect, of the ...evalence of opium smoking in this State.

It has to be stated, in this connection, that while ...the absence of any definite information in the above...entioned book, it is impossible to state precisely ...w much of the total revenue came from this source, ...s unexplained departure from its old policy of sup...lying information on this matter is perhaps due to ...e desire of withholding information.

Kelantan, another of the Unfederated Malay States, had a total population of 390,332 in 1940 con...sting of Malays, Chinese, Indians and a small hand...l of Europeans carrying on trade, commerce and ...dustries. Agriculture and animal industry play a large ...rt in its economy. The Malays produce rice, cocoa-...uts, areca nut, vegetables, fruits, etc., while in it, in ...e language of the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), ...numerous (rubber) estates are owned by British com...anies." The indigenous people also breed large num...bers of buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats. Its jungle ...oducts are timber, bamboos, rattan and resin. ...Mineral resources comprise gold, tin, manganese and ...on ore which have all along been exploited by British ...ncerns. The Chinese constituting about 10 per cent ...the population are almost universally employed in ...e rubber plantations and in the mines.

The principal exports in 1940 were agricultural and ...ngle produce (£33,300), cattle (£12,270), locally ...oduced textiles (£10,318), products of mines ...(£28,450) and rubber (£1,372,473)—very clear proof of ...e importance of the rubber plantations and the ...ture prospects of mining industries.

The principal imports were textiles (£120,245), ...bacco (£95,330), petroleum and benzine (£95,944), ...otor vehicles (£52,088), sugar (£35,130), tinned milk ...(£25,925), drugs and medicines (£17,696) and wheat ...flour (£13,100)—clear proof of the industrial backward...ness of this place.

In the *Kelantan Blue Book* for 1919, we find the following significant admission :

> "The revenue accruing from the sale of *chandu* (smoking opium) forms at present a considerable proportion of the total revenue of the State, and if it is intended to abolish the sale at any near date, the results will be serious."

In 1940, the revenue of Kelantan was drawn from three sources, Customs, Excise and Marine (£248,506), Land Revenue (£56,553) and Municipal (£23,172), the first of which is obviously the most important. Whether intentionally or not, Customs, Excise and Marine have been lumped up but it is more than probable that while respectable amounts were derived from the rubber exports and liquor and tobacco imports, opium did not fail to contribute its quota. The Malayans prefer treatment by indigenous physicians and as there were only 175 Europeans in this State in 1940, it is not probable that the sum of £17,693 represents the value of medicines imported either for their use or for that of the very few non-Europeans who liked being treated according to Western medical methods.

In 1940, the revenue of Trengganu, another Unfederated Malay State, from all sources was more than three and one-third million and its expenditure very slightly above two and three-fifth million dollars so that its financial condition may be regarded as quite sound. It has telegraphic communication with the rest of Malaya and, through it, with the world outside and also a wireless station. The Public Works Department maintained 291 miles of metalled roads besides subsidiary roads kept up by the Land Office. In addition to these, the country is traversed by paths. There are numerous motor boat services for passenger and cargo traffic which penetrate to the interior and also pass up and down the coast. There is also a light railway passing through its mining areas, mainly for the transport of its mineral wealth. Goods brought down from the interior are taken away by coasting steamers from Singapore which touch nearly all its tiny ports.

In 1940, the total value of the exports was 13,210,895 dollars, the principal items being rubber (5,498,878 dollars), various minerals (iron and tin ore and wolfram aggregating 6,653,140 dollars) and agricultural and animal products (1,058,879 dollars). The value of the total imports was 8,878,136 dollars, the principal items being foodstuffs (3,833,719 dollars), manufactured goods (3,697,814 dollars) and raw materials (690,912 dollars) for hand-weaving, manufacture of metal ware and boat-building, the only industries of this State, sufficient proof of its industrial backwardness.

We are further told that the total investments (in rubber estates and mines) in 1940 amounted to 1,031,400 dollars and it may be safely assumed that almost the whole of it was British capital. The fact that exports valued at a little over 12 million dollars consisted of rubber and minerals out of a total of a little over 13 million dollars is very clear indication of the important part played by British capital in the economy of Trengganu. The same story is told by the figures for imports, this business too being the monopoly of European business houses.

According to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), Trengganu had a population of 211,041 about the middle of 1941 but nothing is said in it about its composition. One can, however, make a guess by the fact that, in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that year, there were 3 English, 2 Indian, 11 Chinese and 34 Vernacular (Malay) schools in it. It may be presumed quite safely that the Chinese constitute about a third of the population of this State and that they, and probably some Javanese, supply nearly all the labour for the rubber estates and mines. These, as we know, go wherever high wages are paid and facilities for opium-smoking and gambling are available. The silence of this authoritative book on the constitution of the population and its failure to give detailed information about the nature of the imports naturally invite suspicion.

Without entering into details, it may be mentioned here that the state of things which prevails in the above three more important of the Unfederated Malay States is also found in the last two smaller ones, Kedah and Perlis.

The Sultan of Brunei entered long ago into a treaty with Great Britain for the furtherance of commercial relations and the suppression of piracy. By a second treaty in 1881, it became a British protectorate and by a third one in 1906, "the general administration of the State," according to the *Statesman's Year Book*, "was entrusted to a British Resident." It is stated there that

> "The Resident is an officer of the Malayan Civil Service, and he is assisted in the administration by an Assistant Resident, also of the Malayan Civil Service. The heads of the Police, Agriculture, Forest, Medical and Public Works Departments are European Officers of the respective services in Malaya."

Brunei has four wireless stations for maintaining telegraphic communications with the outside world and for internal traffic together with six Post Offices. The country is traversed by roads maintained by its Public Works Department and also numerous subsidiary roads and paths. Launches carrying passengers and goods traverse its waterways while communication with the outside world is regularly maintained by Straits Steamship Company's vessels.

In 1940, the total revenue was £181,574 and the expenditure £119,207. Brunei which had no public debt may be regarded as being in a very sound financial condition. The revenue consists principally of land revenue including oil royalties and taxes paid by rubber estates amounting to £92,463, Customs £46,468 and Monopolies and Licenses £14,747.

Exports consist of crude oil, rubber, with small quantities of agricultural products like sago, cutch (magrove extract), etc., lagging far behind. Their total value was £1,122,680, the corresponding figures for imports being £453,502 only. Duties on exports (mainly on rubber and oil) contribute the major part of the Customs while Monopolies and Licenses, about which no further information is supplied, amounting to about a third of the Customs are those on opium, gambling and pawnbroking.

On page 3 of the *Annual Report of the State of Brunei*, for 1918 we find :

> "Almost all the managers (of rubber estates and oil companies)) refer in their reports to the scarcity of labour, and this difficulty has to be solved if the planting industry is to prosper."

In the next few lines, mention is made of the "scanty local population" as well as of its idle and irresponsible habits which stand in the way of regularity of attendance at work. Then comes a complaint against North Borneo which attracts "the better class Javanese and Chinese coolies" and a contrast is drawn between life in the estates there and life in the "distant and isolated estates" of Brunei. After this we have the two following suggestions :

> "A good deal can be done in Brunei, as has been done in British North Borneo, to attract and retain coolies by providing means of recreation . . .
> "The real crux of the problem is lack of population ; and this can only be corrected by encouraging immigration in every way."

The evidence quoted below proves that these attractions, so effective in the case of British North Borneo, consisted in the government monopoly of opium, gambling and pawnbroking.

Sarawak with an area of about 50,000 square miles, a coast line of 450 miles and many navigable rivers was originally obtained by Sir James Brooke from the Sultan of Brunei in 1841. It was recognised as an independent State under the protection of Great Britain in 1888. It is now British territory.

There are no railways, but there are excellent roads besides bridle paths, goods being carried by launches and small steamers. Wireless communication with Singapore, a Government telephone system and nearly 40 post offices enable Sarawak to maintain touch with the world and also between different areas in it.

Large tracts are under forest from which timber is drawn. Rubber plantations are under development. Coal exists in large quantities. The Sarawak Oilfields Ltd., with its headquarters at Miri, is a flourishing concern exporting large quantities of oil. Considerable progress has also been made in the development of oil-fields at Bakom in the Barain district. The importance of these industries, all financed and controlled almost exclusively by British capital, may be judged by the value of the exports of which they constituted the main part and which stood at 34,379,748 dollars.

Sarawak had no public debt and its prosperity is evident from the fact that its total expenditure in 1939 was 4,200,269 dollars as against a revenue of 4,762,532 dollars. This large revenue was derived almost wholly from land revenue, royalty on timber and oil, gambling, pawnbroking and arrack farms and the Government opium monopoly. The *Statesman's Year Book* does not supply separate figures for these different items nor does it give any information in regard to the composition of its population in 1940 when it totalled 490,585 souls except that it consists of various Malayan tribes, major and minor, with Chinese, Javanese and a handful of Indian settlers.

In Sarawak, there are Roman Catholic, Church of England, American Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Borneo Evangelical missions and, unless we are prepared to regard as untrustworthy what they have repeatedly told the authorities at their respective headquarters, receipts from the Government monopoly in opium, gambling and pawnbroking amount to nearly 25 per cent of the total revenue. Most of the missionaries also hold that the monopoly in these things consitutes a great attraction for the Javanese and the Chinese who supply nearly all the labour for the old timber and the oil and the fast developing rubber industries.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British North Borneo, according to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), is a British Protected State administered under Royal Charter granted in 1881 to the British North Borneo Company, with its headquarters in London. Its Governor appointed by this Company is responsible to the Court of Directors. His appointment is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is assisted by a Civil Service staff of about 60 European officers.

According to the last census taken in 1931, the population of British North Borneo was 270 223 constituted as follows :

Europeans and Eurasians	576
Natives of Malay Archipelago	11,494
Chinese	47,499
Natives of Borneo consisting of aboriginal tribes living in the interior	205,218
The rest being Mohammedan settlers on its coast-line of over 900 miles.	

The aboriginal tribes are practically self-sufficient units depending on hunting, fishing and agriculture on primitive lines for their living. These have not as yet been drawn into such industries as have been started under European leadership in this country. The settlers on the coast and some of the Malayans deal in dried and salted fish, cutch (mangrove extract), copra and coconuts, manila hemp, tobacco, damar and rattans. Some of these items are procured from the Borneans who, in exchange, are supplied with such manufactured goods as they need, the rest being produced by themselves. The chief product, however, is rubber there being large numbers of rubber estates in this country. Valuable minerals such as gold, petroleum, copper, iron, manganese and tin are also found in British North Borneo and the mines are being rapidly developed. Labour for these organised industries is supplied by the Chinese and such people of the Malay Archiplago, mainly Javanese, as are conversant with western methods of exploitation of natural resources and are not averse to lending their assistance in exchange for what they consider adequate remuneration. The following figures for exports from British North Borneo for the years 1936-40 show the important position of the above industries in its economy:

1936	£1,105,552
1937	£1,722,762
1938	£1,139,252
1939	£1,597,976
1940	£2,364,891

Equally interesting and important are the figures for the revenue and expenditure of British North Borneo for the same period. There will be found on page 91 of the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1945 :

Year	*Revenue*	*Expenditure*
1936	£341,586	£203,148
1937	£414,883	£209,709
1938	£383,464	£217,160
1939	£416,701	£226 666
1940	£503,436	£240,138

Even the barest glance at the above figures is enough to show that the local authorities at British North Borneo as well as the Court of Directors have been more than successful in keeping down the expenses of administration and in gradually securing an outstanding revenue. The financial condition is so sound that British North Borneo has no public debt.

The sources of the above revenue, again according to the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1945 (p. 91), are :

"Customs and Excise duties, court fees, stamp duties, licenses, royalties, land rents, etc."

Obviously, it is difficult to realise any very respectable amounts as land rent from the aboriginals who live in the more or less inaccessible interior. Part of this item comes from the settlers and townsmen and the rest from the rubber estates. Court fees and stamp duties, a comparatively small percentage, are derived from such civil and criminal cases as are brought for adjudication in what are called Native Courts (for Native and Mahomedan law and custom) and the courts established for the benefit of others. In these, the laws administered are based on the Indian codes and local ordinances. It has been said that the revenue from this source is, to all intents and purposes, eaten up by the expenses involved in maintaining the machinery established for the administration of justice. Royalties represent the amounts received mainly for mining and, to a much smaller extent, for timber concessions. The major part of the revenue, however, is derived from Customs and Excise, the reason why they have been given a prominent place among the sources of revenue as given in the abovementioned book of reference.

Taking the first of these, we find that the major part of it is drawn from the export duties on rubber, mineral products and a much smaller amount from duties on timber, manila hemp, damar and rattans and still smaller amounts from those on the rest. There are import duties on manufactured goods, foodstuffs, etc. The rates vary and are helpful in swelling the total amount but the contribution from this source is not so important as that derived from the export trade.

Licenses are fees derived from permits to deal in opium, to maintain opium-smoking rooms, gambling dens and pawnbroking establishments. These, along with Excise duties on opium, gambling and pawnbroking constitute an important item because the absence of these attractions for labour would immediately administer almost a death-blow to those industries on which the prosperity of British North Borneo must, in the long run, depend. In this connection the following extract from page 173 of a book entitled *British North Borneo: An Account of its History, Resources and Native Tribes* by Owen Rutter, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Anthropological Institute, with an introduction by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir West Ridgway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., President of the British North Borneo Chartered Company, published by Messrs. Constable & Co., London, 1922, is illuminating.

"Under the heading of Excise is included the revenue derived from opium, gambling and pawnbroking."

The two vices of the Chinese and the Javanese are opium-smoking and gambling both leading, in most cases, to pledging personal belongings for the sake of finding money for indulgence in them.

We are also told in the same book (p. 172) that

"It will be seen at a glance that 70 per cent of the total revenue of the territory comes under the heading of Customs and Excise."

Continuing the author observes :

"It (Excise Revenue) is, from the shareholder's point of view, the most important branch of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

service, *without it there would be no dividend.*"—(Italics ours).

It thus appears that not only is catering to the vices of Chinese and Javanese labour necessary to attract and retain it, but also that it is imperative from the point of view of the British shareholders as without it there would be no dividends.

The only inference which can be drawn legitimately from the facts set forth above is that, as the primitive local population of the above areas consisting of cannibals, head-hunters, sea-gipsies and wild people who live by hunting are, from the point of view of the British exploiter, unusable, and further as the rubber estates and mines have to be worked, the more sophisticated Chinese and Javanese labourers have to be attracted by catering to their weaknesses.

The lives of human beings are cheap in the East and however large the number ruined body and soul by this wanton indifference to their well-being, there are always millions in reserve to be drawn upon. The problem from the European capitalists' point of view is solved so long as there is an unfailing and steady supply to renew the wastage caused by destructive factors including opium. And so this narcotic has been permitted to waste precious human lives in these equatorial possessions of Great Britain so that their budgets may be balanced and, at least in one case, that British shareholders may draw their dividends.

In this connection one is tempted to recall what Bishop Brent, one of the delegates of the United States to the Opium Conference held at Geneva in 1924, said :

> "It is monstrous for a nation to think it possible to build up an honourable and righteous commonwealth with revenue gained from the exploitation of the weakness and vice of human beings."

(To be continued)

———:O:———

AN OPEN LETTER TO INDIAN EDUCATORS

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.D.,

Watumull Professor, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies Graduate School, New York University

and

G. J. WATUMULL,

The Watumull Foundation, Los Angeles and Honolulu

I

It seems that India is suffering from an inferiority complex even in matters of education. According to the majority of young Indians of little knowledge and even some Indian educators of distinction, "there is nothing worthwhile taught in India, in the field of higher education." This is being demonstrated by the action of Indians of all classes and also by the attitude of the Education Department of the Government of India and their Indian advisors. They want thousands of Indian students (in many cases relations of Indians holding high positions) to be sent to American and British Universities. Behind this drive for going to foreign universities is the fact that Indians think that everything Indian is not worthwhile and a foreign "degree" will give them greater prestige and a better government job. The latter idea has been confirmed by the senseless action of the Government of India that thousands of Indian scholars, who will be sent to British and American Universities, will be assured highly paid jobs. This job-hunting idea, not the acquirement of the highest type of education, has been re-inforced by the notion that by visiting the United States or Great Britain, young men and women of the upper middle class of Indians will have greater social prestige. Thus Great Britain and the United States are being flooded not only with Government scholars, but also with private students from the rich families and the upper middle class of India.

True to Indian fashion of working haphazardly, most of these students leave India without adequate information about British and American Universities and also without any definite plan of studies. This is the impression we have acquired from interviews with as many students—government and private. The situation in England, as we understand from private information secured from reliable sources is very serious. A large number of Indians have gone to England as students—some of them are bonafide students,—but they have not been able to secure admission in universities. Of course, they are spending poor India's —famine-stricken India's—blood-money, just for staying in England and at the same time in many cases acquiring most degenerating habits, which are known to the Indians as progressive western practices, such as drinking cock-tails, dancing with bar-maids, etc.

In America, the situation is a little better. not because Indians are not anxious to come to the United States, but because the American officials often use greater discretion regarding visas. Unless they are fully convinced that the prospective Indian students have already secured admission to American universities visas are refused. However, under the present situation of the overcrowding of American universities, it will be wise if ordinary Indian students, *even ordinary post-graduate students,* be prevented from coming to the United States.

We have this to say regarding the programmes of sending five hundred students by the Government of India and Provincial Governments annually to the United States. This must be stopped for the good of India, at least temporarily, when American universities are so overcrowded. Lest there be any misunderstand-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wish to quote the following authentic information ished by the Government of the United States :

"Reconversion Director John W. Synder re-ported tonight that 2,080,000, including 970,000 veterans, will want to go to college next fall but that only 1,000,000, including 690,000 veterans, can be accommodated."

This report also gives information regarding the e housing shortage in the United States and univer-ies have very great difficulty in finding living quar-rs for students. In this connection it may be worth-e to mention that the Federal Government of the ited States "will spend at least one billion dollars the college education of veterans in the academic r 1946-1947, if about 700,000 veterans are enrolled. Over the years Federal Government will spend t six billion dollars for the college education of rld War II veterans . . ."

II

Recently rich Indians have begun to send their dergraduate sons and daughters to the United States. erican university authorities in some cases have n gracious enough to admit them to universities, n literally hundreds of thousands of American dents—better equipped educationally—are not get-g the opportunity to enter colleges. But the worst g about these immature students in the American versities is this : Except in rare cases, they do not w good results and in many cases they show such d results that after two terms, they are asked to ve universities. This has happened in M.I.T. and er institutions of the highest standing. This has ered the prestige of Indian universities and has n made it difficult for desirable first class students ting admission in these institutions.

It may be well to let the Indian educational autho-es know that because of the poor results made by e Indian students in American universities, the eral average of Indian students, is lower than that the Chinese and Latin American students, in spite the fact that some of Indian students in America, *ecially Calcutta University scholars, have achieved cellent results in their higher studies.*

It has come to our notice that some Indians come the United States as students and get admission to e of the best universities situated in commercial tres such as New York. They take some studies in versities to keep up their student status and then to engage in some kind of business or devote time good time." Thus they accomplish very little as dents and take four years to accomplish what can ly be done in one year.

Then there are Indian students who barely get ough and get a degree somehow and not with dis-ction. This does not help other students who wish carry on their studies seriously. In fact, it has hap-ned that because some of the Indian students, duates of certain Indian universities, could not show cellent results, one of the greatest American univer-ty is reluctant to accord "graduate status" to dinary Indian graduates. This does not increase the stige of Indian universities.

III

Lest there be any misunderstanding, we wish to state emphatically that India, in the field of scientific and technical education of the people as a whole, is far inferior to that of the United States and Great Britain ; *and India has much to learn from these countries.* But the way to accomplish this is not by squandering the blood-money of poor Indian tax-payers by sending thousands of Indians to foreign countries ; *but to follow the path that was adopted by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the late Rash Behari Ghosh, the late Tarak Nath Palit and the late Jamshedji Tata.* These constructive statesmen of India felt the need of raising India's national efficiency and *they adopted measures to create facilities in India* for the spread of the highest type of scientific and industrial education, by establishing the Indian Institute of Science and various professorships in connection with Calcutta University. These national investments in education, money spent in India, have borne splendid dividends in the form of training hundreds of young scientists with the least possible expenditure abroad.

India cannot afford to squander crores of rupees abroad, even under the pretext of training experts. As all the provinces of India will have national govern-ment, it is to be hoped that ninety per cent of the sum ear-marked for sending students abroad should be spent in India for the following purposes : First, establishment of permanent Chairs for such subjects which should be taught in Indian Universities and technical institutions to raise their status to first class institutions, and to afford a large number of properly qualified students the opportunity of studying in India those subjects for which they think they must go to foreign lands. Secondly, Indian Universities should be aided to expand their laboratories for research facili-ties. Thirdly, the standard of Secondary education in India should be raised by having facilities for scientific and technical education. Fourthly, the rest of ten per cent left should be spent for training young Indian University instructors in foreign countries to equip them with the highest type of scientific educa-tion which they will impart upon their return to their students in Indian Universities.

Lastly, we suggest that Indian Universities create a larger number of scholarships for students from poor families and so-called under-privileged classes, in order that they may have equal opportunities for higher education. As things stand, in India higher education is a special privilege for young people belonging to rich families or the upper middle class.

IV

Recently we have noticed that Indians are coming to the United States to study Sociology, Educational Psychology, Agricultural Statistics and other subjects which can be taught in India without much difficulty. If Indian universities establish a "School of Education" for training teachers, then all the subjects that are needed in the field of Education can be taught in India at the expense only of maintaining half a dozen pro-fessors which would afford opportunities for hundreds of Indian students of real merit and character to acquire the best type of education in Educational Psychology and allied subjects. To raise the standard of the existing Teacher Training Institutes, connected with Indian universities, it may be necessary to hire

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

some foreign experts at the beginning and send a few students of the highest ability to foreign countries with the express purpose that they become future professors in their own fields of study. This method should be applied in other fields.

It has been a fashion in India to blame the British for everything, including the present condition of lack of educational facilities. To be sure the British have not done what could have been done for the progress of education in India. But we often wonder, if the Indian patriots and Indian educators and Indian rich men and industrialists, with few exceptions, have done their share in raising the standard of national efficiency. We wish to point out that in most cases even Indian educators have not done their share effectively. They get better salary than Japanese or French professors used to get before World War II, but ordinarily the output of creative work by Indian professors is not equal to those of French or Japanese professors. *In the past the majority of Indian professors were more job-conscious than education-conscious. Let us hope Indian educators themselves will demand greater efficiency in Indian institutions of higher education and rouse the nation to carry on the constructive work of spreading Mass Education* in order to lay the sound foundation for great Indian nation.

Postcript

After this article was written two interesting news-items of importance have come to our notice and they have special message to the Indian public, interested in promoting Indian national efficiency through education :

(*a*) "Jubbulpore, April 5.—Dr. Sir Harisingh Gour, who has donated Rs. 20,00,000 for starting the Mahakosal University at his home-town, Saugor, executed the Trust Deed today and deposited the amount to the Saugor branch of the Central Bank in securities yielding 3½ per cent interest. Mr. P. S. Rau, Revenue Advisor, C.P. and Berar, who represented the Provincial Government, also signed the Trust Deed and deposited with the bank, the Government's contribution of the University Fund. In addition, the Provincial Government, has further made a grant of Rs. 10,00,000. A Board of Trustees with Sir Harisingh Gour as Chairman and two representatives of Provincial Government has been formed. The Mahakosal University is expected to start function in July next.—*A.P.*"

(*b*) "Rehevoth, Palestine, June 3.—Five American scientists participated here today in laying the cornerstone of the Institute of Biophysics and Physical Chemistry of the Weismann Institute of Science—a building to cost $1,000,000 when equipped with laboratories and to be completed within a year. Funds for the institute were raised in the United States by the American Committee for Weizmann Institute and Dr. Louis F. Fieser of Harvard University, promised today the continued co-operation of America Scientists in an exchange of students between Palestine and American colleges* . . ."

The news-item regarding Sir Harisingh Gour's magnificent gift towards the establishment of a University is most encouraging. It demonstrates that far-sighted constructive statesmanship is functioning in India.

This also demonstrates that by spending 30 lakhs of rupees or more a university can be started in India. But here one may mention that if this thirty lakhs of rupees were utilised to strengthen three different universities, then it would have possibly afforded greater opportunities for spreading higher education and research facilities in India. To start a new institution of learning is wonderful; but to strengthen the existing institutions is economical and might become more effective in securing better results.

In this connection we wish to draw the attention of the Government of India and the Provincial governments that their present programme of sending 1,000 Indian scholars annually to England and America for their higher education is wasteful, to say the least. We have been told that for sending one student to the United States or Great Britain to finish his higher education it would cost nearly twenty-five thousand rupees per head. Thus for the so-called expert training of these 1,000 students would cost the Government of India and the Provincial Governments a sum of not less than two crore fifty lakhs of rupees, which would be sufficient to establish at least five universities or twenty-five existing Indian universities might have been endowed with at least ten lakhs each to establish up-to-date laboratory facilities and make necessary improvements.

The second news-item has a world significance and a very great lesson for Indians. The number of Jewish population in the world is now a little over ten million (10,000,000) people. During the last few years nearly 5,000,000 Jews were killed through persecution. But the surviving ones have not given up their fight for national regeneration and assertion. They wish to establish their Homeland in Palestine and they are going at this task with thoroughness. They are developing this country's agriculture and industries with great efforts and success and they have undertaken to develop one of the best educational institutions in the world through their own efforts, not through British Government's contributions. The five million Jewish population in the United States have agreed to raise at least $5,000,000 within a year to strengthen the Hebrew University and the Scientific Institution to which the above news-item refers. May we inquire the amount of annual contribution of Indians to strengthen the existing Indian institutions of higher education? Then may we point out although the Jewish population of the world is about one-fortieth of the population of India, the number of Nobel-prize men among the Jews is at least twenty-five times larger than those in India. The Jews are struggling to survive through their own efforts and achievements. They have no country, they have no large population; but they will survive because they strive for their survival. India has vast population, a great country and resources and if Indian leadership devotes some of its energy in constructive work of increasing national efficiency, then India can hold her own, and even may surpass in her achievements many of the present-day great nations. This is the task before Indian educators who are to revolutionise the ideals of the present and coming generations of India for a truly greater India.

—(Through the courtesy of *America-India Feature and News Service*).

June 4, 1946.

* *New York Herald Tribune*, June 4, 1946, p. 10.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SCIENCE OF EXPROPRIATION

By A. CHATTERJEE

How men come to occupy a particular geographical area and evolve their social and economic institutions is a fascinating study. History tells us that the inhabitants of any country are either born there or they come into the country through peaceful immigration or by force, through invasion and conquest. The population of most countries today consists of a larger proportion of immigrants and invaders than of autochthonous elements. There are substantial numbers in whose veins flows the blood of immigrants and invaders mixed with that of those who have been there since the dawn of time. The social, cultural and religious institutions of man have as complicated an origin as his body and one finds in each field institutions and customs which have come down from time immemorial mixed with what they have built up and instituted by labour, enterprise, cunning, skill, subterfuge, fraud or force. In the field of economic rights, whatever the nature of the acquisition the individual man comes by wealth and property either through inheritance (including gifts) or by his own efforts. Inheritance and personal efforts are social facts which are entirely or mainly guided by social practice and tradition. So that it is difficult to pass a moral judgment on any one relating to his possession of wealth and property. Unless one is pretty certain that a man has acquired wealth by robbery, theft, fraud or some such reprehensible means, one can not condemn the fact of possessing wealth as a moral lapse without sacrificing logic and violating the fundamental principles of ethics. A man who has inherited large tracts of land from his forefathers is not guilty of any moral offence in so far as he is merely a creature of tradition and social practice. If he indulges in persecution of tenants by rack-renting, forced labour, violence and loot, it is his individual conduct which is condemnable and not his title deeds. A street-*goonda* owning no title deeds to any property may be just as guilty morally if he went about depriving his fellow creatures of their rightful ownership of the world's goods by practising the evil principle of "Might is right." Equally guilty with the persecuting landlord and the *goonda* would be such members of the Police as exact money from peaceful citizens ; politicians and labour leaders who extort donations from unwilling and timid supporters ; moneylenders who realise interest by force ; professional men who blackmail their clients ; monopolist traders, arrogant Burra Babus, sadistic schoolmasters or free-with-the-rod guardians.

The above remarks have been made with a view to dissociate the static and physical fact of owning something from the dynamic and psychological fact of conducting oneself in a manner towards one's fellow humans which is at once lustful, unjust and anti-social. This point will become clearer if we imagine the case of a landlord who owns vast tracts of fertile land and who out of sheer goodness of heart spends all his realisations on public benefit schemes. There are no unattended sick men or hungry destitutes in his Zemindary nor is there any shortage of good and shady roads, clean reservoirs, properly maintained wells, hospitals, orphanages, schools, free kitchens and so on and so forth. Imagine also as a substitute for the *goonda*, the romantic desperado, a Robin Hood, who looted the rich with a view to feed the poor. Think of a pageant of Darogas, Leaders, Doctors, Lawyers, Tradesmen, Office Superintendents, Teachers and Uncles, who are all benign and overflowing with the milk of human kindness and are moulded in the same angelic pattern, reminiscent of an overactive Father Christmas, who works day and night 365¼ days in the year. The facts of possession or designation will at once cease to ignite the flames of righteous indignation in our hearts.

Just as people come into possession of property or wealth, either by inheritance or by effort, they become entitled to incomes, similarly, by inheritance or effort. There are many incomes like those accruing to princes, priests and courtiers which are transmitted heriditarily. In this class fall the incomes of many who act as agents, brokers, buyers, shippers, managing agents, lessees, royalty earners, licence holders, etc., who are only essential middlemen or men specially privileged in the established social-legal-economic organisation. Their rights to a share in the national dividend is mostly obtained by virtue of inheritance, gift, or purchase. Fundamentally, from a moral point of view, there is no difference between their incomes and the rents, dividends and interests realised by persons who inherit or acquire landed property, buildings, stocks and shares and income-yielding capital in any shape or form. Those who earn incomes by their own effort do not necessarily restrict their efforts within a strictly moral compass. Jobs are obtained very often through influence and seldom purely on merit. Favouritism, nepotism, bribery and other corrupt and immoral practices prevail widely in the field of appointments, promotions and increments. Men who make an income by means of fraud, forgery, theft, defalcation, etc., are in no way in a very much better economically or morally justifiable position compared to those who employ corrupt methods to secure jobs for which they are not qualified or to achieve promotions or increments to which they are not entitled. As a matter of fact, a straightforward inheritance or a legitimate purchase of profitable property, stocks and shares or other economic advantages is morally and even economically less condemnable. For the simple reason that such acquisitions are free from fraud and subterfuge and in keeping with the established practice of the legal, moral and economic institutions of existing society.

The cry, therefore, that landholders particularly should be expropriated with a view to vindicate the ideals of nationalism is nothing but a spectacular, but nevertheless cheap, attempt at side-stepping the moral and economic implications of true nationalism which incorporates in itself the inflexible and unambiguous principles of freedom, equity and justice. That those who garner rice or wheat should escape and those who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

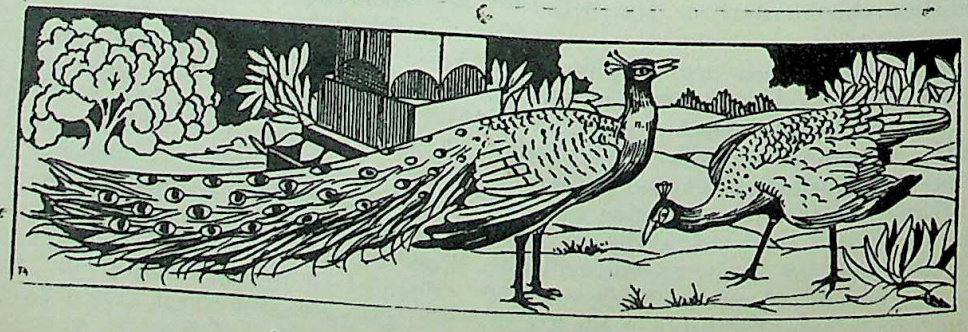
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

take a share of rice or wheat by right of legal inheritance or purchase of cultivable land should be penalised, is a farce and not a reform. It is truly Gilbertian that in a society where practically everyman is trying and many are succeeding in making fraudulent appropriations from the *kitty*, some men will have the brass to get up and suggest the expropriation of a particular group, whose possessions in most cases can stand scrutiny and the test of "How did you come by this."

The writer does not own even a single chhatak of landed property and he does not think that landholders are a highly productive type of men. In a free and equitably organised society there should be no landholders. As a matter of fact, even the actual cultivators should not be allowed to "own" the land that they cultivate. For the proper and fullest utilisation of the economic resources of a country both natural and human, no able-bodied persons should be in a position to consume in excess of his productive contributions. Further, no man should be allowed to tinker with or mishandle the instruments of production existing in the country. Again, no man should be allowed to bluff society as to the real and true value of his productive contributions and thus obtain a bigger share of the social income than he is entitled to. I am not suggesting that all private property should be abolished rightaway or at any time. No. But all owners of private property should be made to understand that they are mere custodians of portions of the social capital. They must exert themselves honestly and wholeheartedly towards the proper maintenance and use of that capital for a maximum output of consumable wealth. They must distribute to such people as help them in this work a fair and reasonable share of this output, take their own fair share out of it, and hand over the balance to the State for utilisation for common benefit.

Now a landlord who enables his cultivators to have proper food, housing, water supply, medical aid, education, etc., and who looks after the conservation and improvement of the properties of the soil and helps to obtain better irrigation, improved seeds and manure and profitable storage, transport, credit and marketing conditions, and pays his dues to the State honestly and regularly, is probably an angel yet unborn. But where are the mill-owners, shareholders, traders, agents, exporters, importers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, carpenters, weavers, teachers and the thousand and one others who are supposed to run the social machine on the principle of no cheating and a fair day's work for a fair dose of utilities? Where are the politicians and officials who are absolutely straight, hardworking and free from selfish motives? No one can compute correctly the extent of unearned incomes in India. No one can say with certainty what the earning capacity of all Indians is. But one can assert without hesitation that in India most people do not put in a fair day's work and, yet, try to *grab* what they can as their share of the national income. The rich and the poor are equally guilty of this.

Scientific expropriation means taking away that which one has *grabbed* and *not earned*. Landlords are not the only grabbers. Scientific production in the national sense means making everyone produce to the maximum, giving due consideration to the human needs of rest, recreation and cultural occupation. Expropriation is, however, not so important at this stage of India's economic development as intensive production and the fullest use of all human and natural resources. The desire to expropriate certain persons of their property either absolutely by outright confiscation would be a more drastic procedure than ousting them from their property by compelling a sale to the Government or to a third party. Land acquisition under the British Government has always had an element of such expropriation in it. The only justification for forcing such a change of ownership would be that such a change would be likely to add to the sum-total of public wellbeing. In any scheme of expropriation of landed properties by compulsory sale at an arbitrarily fixed price, one must prove, with a view to justify the adoption of such a scheme, that: (1) The price paid would not actually impoverish the owners to any great extent. (2) That the actual cultivators would be able to meet the interest charges on the purchase money out of their produce and, over and above that, maintain at least their previous standard of living. (3) That the change of ownership would increase the actual produce of the land and (4) that the cultivators would not be reduced to a worse state of slavery to the State than they had been in under the private landlords. Unless we are satisfied on these points our feeling of self-righteous pride in marching in step with other nations may lead us into trouble. No nation can afford to injure the interests of 10, 20, or 40 million people just for intellectual satisfaction. Those who are deprived must be provided for in some other field of productive work. Their rightful claims must not be set aside in a rough and rude manner. Those who are supposed to be benefited by the change must show the benefit in actual fact and not merely in name and theory. Lastly, the socio-economic principles on which such redistribution of property and income will be based, must be applied consistently all the way in every field of economic life. Or it will look very much like a nationalisaion of only pink buildings as against white, yellow, brown and multi-coloured structures which will be left in the hands of their private owners.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SCHOOL-DAYS HALF-A-CENTURY AGO*

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

admitted to the lowest class (class Ten it was) local High English School when I was about five half years old and received a double promotion. was for some time a great strain. In those days the practice to send up boys of class five (the —then called Entrance—class was class one) for Middle Vernacular examination, which had a course Bengali, Mathematics, Geography and History almost as the modern Calcutta Matriculation course. ine the plight of a child of 7 to 9 years of age, reasoning faculties were hardly developed, made ind at lessons in Euclid's Geometry and the ry Method and Rule of Three with various com- rithmetical sums of field measurement, of clocks, uses and lilies in and out of water, of interest iscount. In my case, the result was a nightmare : Bengali and the English course I followed with but sums of ingenuity and Geometry lessons. Pro- ions 5 and 26 of Euclid sat on me like a night- . And though I had learnt to scrawl my alphabets week and could read through difficult Bengali ers in six months, the three years of my school s eight to six especially) were like a bad dream— father, when he was not touring in the mofussil inspecting his schools and putting them in pace enforcing the regulations (he was a strict disciplin- who did not spare himself or others when a job to be done), made prodigious efforts to inject idian Geometry of angles and triangles and all subtle deductions into my callow intellect : the it was tragic ! I have not forgotten the horrors of lessons yet and I was never very proficient in ematics for the simple reason that my early expe- produced a dazed state of mind and infinite dis- whenever mathematical lessons had to be learnt digested in my College days. But when I reached V (I had just reached my tenth year), my facul- sprouted forth and I could equal the best bigger even in Mathematics—those whom I had always much behind in language and History subjects. -drawing was also one of my pet aversions : this also a mechanical art and the texture of my lect good at pure ideas of Literature. Philosophy olitics has been such as to fight shy of mechanical, -of-thumb subjects. In later days also when I was e First Arts (now called Intermediate) course—it to be a very hard and packed course in 1900 when e to college—advanced English Prose and Poetry, osition and Essay-writing, advanced Sanskrit, ories of Greece and Rome, Deductive Logic, es (from general properties through Heat and to Electricity and Magnetism with descriptive s of pumps, and levers and electrical and mag- devices and other things), Inorganic Chemistry, ematics—Higher Algebra, Trigonometry and ad- vanced Geometry, Conic Sections, etc.—I was an easy first with the Arts subjects, but could not secure more than 60 per cent in the Sciences and Mathematics. I mention these facts only to demonstrate that there are in every learner certain 'universes of discourse' where his mind has free play and others to which his mind is more or less closed—and subjects and topics beyond his natural instincts and interests, however rammed and crammed into his brain, are never remembered or retained or found capable of being turned to any profitable use in after-life. Thus I am not ashamed to confess that I managed to forget all my knowledge of trigonometry and surds and asymptotes and binomial and exponential theorems and all my knowledge of Physics and Chemistry—all—even before I got my M.A. in English Language and Literature with credit only three and a half years after I passed my First Arts examination. And today, I can follow the lessons in these subjects when expounded by the teacher in a class-room and can probably ask questions and guess if the answers are right or wrong (for certain brain-impressions persist by natural law) but generally my mind is an utter blank with regard to science and mathematical subjects. The details have clean evaporated, leaving only some faint remembrance of the general theories and outlines.

The conclusion to my mind is irresistible that a boy's natural predilections and interests must be measured and known by the teacher before he is launched on any subject. I have known also the reverse side of my own picture—a college student, very proficient in Science and Mathematics, making frantic efforts and yet failing to make any headway with Milton's *Paradise Lost* or English Lyrics or Addison's prose Essays or Bacon or Shakespeare's dramas : his grounding in the language and its texture has been hopelessly bad at school and yet such is the antiquated and stupidly mechanical system in our University curriculum that water and oil must be made to mix somehow, so that in the written tests, a boy's hopeless ignorance or constitutional incapacity to learn certain subjects in which he feels no interest is never condoned in the face of brilliant exposition of certain other subjects where he is quite at home by natural causes.

The first and last word in *Pedagogics* in my opinion, is 'the discovery of natural and instinctive interests' and an ordered and intelligent effort on the part of the teacher to draw these out of the learner's subconscious mind and to perfect them. This is educating : the rest is senseless and mechanical training, a mere patch-work and white-washing make-believe which fritters away at the very first shock.

But to go back to the days of my early schooling. In our days, there were some *real* teachers fond of their avocation everywhere and I had the luck to be educated not only by home-influences but by the loving care of a few really competent and loving teachers. Some of them were strict and methodical : one or two

* Extracts from the autobiographical volume *At the Cross Roads*. The writer is a well-known Congressman and educationist who had been the editor of the now-defunct Calcutta daily *The Servant* and the *Bengalee Mail*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were free-lance experimenters : and when I look back over half-a-century, I feel I am indebted to both these types of teachers. The Headmaster of my school, the late Girija Kanta Bagchi who later on became a Government School Headmaster, was of the first brand, also the Sanskrit and Mathematics teachers. They licked my erratic impulses to shape and encouraged my talent and provided deterrents to my impulsive nature. But my love of literature I owe to one of my school-day teachers—who is alive even today (he must be ninety now, an invalid and a cripple, yet with a clear mind and normal curiosities and interests)—Sri Banwari Lal Goswami, who rose into repute six decades ago as a poet, a sonnet-writer, a satirist in verse, when Suresh Chandra Samajpati, Indranath Banerji, Panchcowrie Banerji, Deviprosanna Roy Choudhury set the pace of Bengali letters through the then famous literary magazines—*Sahitya, Navya-Bharata* and *Janma-Bhumi*. He had passed no University examinations but he came of a very learned stock of Nuddea-Santipur, of a Vaishnava Brahmin family of cultured Sanskritic Pundits : he had hob-nobbed with many a clebrity in the field of Bengali letters in his young days and counted amongst his early friends such men of the then very efficient I.C.S. as J. N. Gupta and Sir A. C. Chatterjee. He had picked up a vast amount of may-be not fully assimilated learning and had a nose for the fine, even the bizarre in literature. Even at rural Gaibandha of 50 years ago, there was a small but fine assembly of Bengali and English books in the home-library of one of my father's friends, who was also a very intimate friend of this teacher of mine, Sj. Sarat Chatterji, a lawyer, who after some years' practice at Gaibandha—after his younger brother A. C. Chatterji, became a member of the I.C.S.—was transported to the Government Pleadership in the District Headquarters at Rangpur and practically controlled the entire District by virtue of his efficiency, tact and influence over District officials and was Head of the District Board and the Town Municipality for scores of years—an unbeaten record in Bengal ! He has retired now from the Government Pleadership and his place is now filled by a younger brother of mine—but those were glorious days, which will never return. Now the mutual bickerings of rival political parties and groups and the inefficiency of the British administration have undermined all our institutions—demoralised the District Administration, demoralised the Bar, degenerated the colleges and schools : but even quarter of a century ago, things were different and British Indian institutions had some vitality and real efficiency about them. Now all round one hears of nepotism and corruption, of lack of fundamental courage of conviction and mass dishonesty till Bengal and the rest of India have sunk into one stinking mess of iniquitous inefficiency ! It was this small library that was opened to me as a young boy of ten—and here I was encouraged to 'browse at leisure' on the broad and green pastures of literature—sucking in, albeit by stealth, Bankim Chandra's *Ananda-Math* and memorising the immortal "Bande Mataram" song when I was barely ten—reading some of Indra Nath Banerji's incomparable comic skits, reading some English books, even Paul de Kock (!), without let or hindrance and without any deleterious effect on my boyish mind : and discussing literary topics, reading *Sahitya* and *Navya-Bharat* and *Janma-Bhumi*, reading the Bengali translations of *Life of Garibaldi* and many of Chandi Charan Kanjilal Collection, Haridwar Banerji's Bengali translations of famous books, *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Trial of Nan Coomar*, etc., Todd's *Rajasthan* and getting a taste of poetry both English and Bengali ! By the time I reached the pre-Entrance class, I could write discourses in English with ease in racy, correct English and I tried my hand at writing even a short essay on the development of Bengali literature in the mother-tongue ! In all this, the magician and wizard behind the scenes was Acharya Banwari Lal Goswami, who read out to a small coterie of his disciples his new compositions in verse or new poems by contemporary poets. It was here that I had my first acquaintance with Nabin Sen and Hem Chandra and Michael and Bhudev Mukherji and Romesh Dutt's novels. Rabindranath Tagore was yet in the offing and him we began to cultivate when we were B.A. students in 1902—a small band of worshippers, to whom Tagore and his poems and essays and novels became an inspiration and who missed no opportunity to hear his discourses delivered from time to time in Calcutta in an angel-voice resonant and lyrical, almost divine. But the foundations were laid here in my youngish school days of a love of literature which has been the solace of my life amidst bewildering vicissitudes of fortune and which really pointed the way to the first love in my life—education and principally the teaching and cultivation of languages and literature. I have tried, in a small way, to repay my unpayable debts to my teacher, in later life, by editing and publishing some of his poetical works—but, alas ! the old tastes are gone and the style and mannerisms of poets of 50 years ago hardly find responsive echoes in ultra-modern cynical hearts, poisoned by the erraticisms and eccentricities of modern 'verse libre', and prose-poetry, and realistic verse aping the Russian and British-American styles now in vogue, most of which are attempts to manufacture 'inspired' poetry by bringing into the open the crass vulgarities and coarsenesses of the life of the 'great unwashed' on stilts of uneven prose made to play the role of 'unmetred verse' in a jargon which takes some ingenuity and brain-effort to unravel. Modern Bengali poetry has passed through an era of good and bad and indifferent imitators of Rabindric style (which really hardly lends itself to imitation) and is now passing through an aggressive imitation, often nonsensical, sometimes vigorous and pungent, of foreign styles and impressionistic methods, where the centre of the piece is the unlettered, long-suffering, exploited, hungry and poverty-ridden man and woman in the field and the factory. In this cauldron of a new witchcraft, the wizardry and romance and finesse of the old classical masters and their entourage is being cast aside in bumptious ignorance or in sheer bravado ! But again I am digressing.

I was a great favourite in the school and in the homes of my little place : my simple boyishness and high reputation at school as a well-conducted and promising scholar coupled with the respect evoked by my parents, contributed to this popularity,—my mother, an embodiment of unfailing courtesy and sweet gentleness, ever ready to help in festive dinners with never about herself, and my father, a model of the upright educationist, an examplar of social reciprocity, a terror to erring primary and middle school teachers and their feckless managers, an object of reverence to all and sundry in the entire district, with whom he came into contact, honest and efficient in his duties and yet holding his head high with no leaning towards flattery

CC-0. In Public Domain. Chandi Charan Kanjilal Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

xtra hob-nobbing with the superior officials—they still remembered with affection and respect in old, Gaibandha, which has now changed beyond gnition, has a population of twenty-five thousand, unicipality, several Banks, three or four High sh schools, one of them exclusively for girls, clubs olitics and intrigues, a modern market full of dern' contraptions, jute offices, motor cars and s, veterinary hospitals, noisy citizens and turbulent ats—also a glorious band of sacrificing patriots and constructive centres of social and political e !

The other formative influences in my life have the Radha-Krishna *jatra* performances I wit- ed as a boy of which the *Adhikaris, i.e.,* leading gers were expert in music and Pauranic and navic lore. These were attended by packed nces and were a hardy annual in the annals of entertainments of our place. The songs sung were really high order and the tender sentiments ed into our boyish hearts. I am afraid the soft and imental streaks in my mental make-up owe not a to these strains of old-world Radha-Krishna ic. But the first play (staged by amateurs on an rovised stage) that I witnessed when barely five rs old has stuck in my memory even today : and en at college I read Charles Lamb's delicious essay y First Play" in his *Essays of Elia,* I could not but pare notes and found that in the main our im- ssions agreed. I have forgotten everything about theme—and what could a boy of five understand of atrical themes?—but the appearance of the Divine bati and her consort Siva out of nowhere simply led me over and I thought them to be real Divin- s—and the clap-trap of the stage, scene-shiftings drop-scenes, the orchestral music, the elocution the singing, produced in my mind a feeling akin mystical rapture ! In my advanced age, I have seen many first-class stage performances, cried over fine ing and mooned over sentimental situations and yet er caught a faint replica even of that fine rapture my boyish days !

My first school-boy triumph was when, under the elage of my revered teacher about whom I have t spoken, I prepared and read before a Saraswati ja Social function presided over by an English Dis- ict Magistrate, a short essay on "The Benefits of ritish Rule." This was possibly in 1897 and the nglishman was highly pleased with my discourse and turally with my loyalty to the British Raj ! But I as only repeating in my school-boy fashion in fairly rrect English the banalities about those topics taught the text-books and which are still taught in many our schools, even when British rule appears to be its last gasp. Another occasion was when another nglish District Magistrate came to visit the school and I was in the top class and the first boy of the ass. He set us to reading from portions of "On the rt of Living with Others," included in our University lections but not forming part of our year's curriculum and he paid me in the visitor's book an encomium hich must have been a great encouragement to me and my teachers as well. The testimony of a British .C.S. officer was as good as a lac-rupee bond in those ays ! But better still, I remember my first lessons of iscipline of the European brand imbibed from a scene I witnessed in front of my school as a boy. Two nglish officials had just arrived there, one was the District Magistrate of the District and the other, his superior, the Commissioner of the entire Rajshahi Division : as the latter jumped down from his pony, what was my wonder to see the District Magistrate himself running up and holding the bridle of the pony and never giving it up till he was relieved by the syce ! This is a lesson that has been imprinted deep in my memory and this has helped me to understand why with all their faults—want of finesse, lack of constructive imagination, insular habits of racial exclusion etc.—the Britisher still rules the roost in many parts of Asia and Africa. Discipline, loyalty, order, are the bed-rocks of the British character and we have to surpass the much-maligned Englishman in these qualities before we can beat him. School-boy life in Gaibandha now appears to have been one long, pleasant pic-nic : surrounded by loving parents (yet my father was very strict and could be severely harsh when occasion demanded—I still remember the licking I had as a small boy when I had absented myself from school on a festive day of entertainment in a neighbour's house and been fined one full anna : father had been away on tour that day, but to *our* consternation, I include my grandmother and mother in the category, he just rode back home when I had come back from school to ask for the extra one-anna imposed as an absence fine from mother at noon, and as soon as he was seized of the situation, my father gave me several lashes with his horse-whip ! Of course, my old grandmother was furious and did not fail to make father abashed with stories of his delinquencies when at school at Dacca—but the lesson lingered and I was one of the most regular boys to attend school thenceforth)—and treated with utmost fondness by almost every man and woman in the dear, old place—the idol of my teachers, very popular with my chums at school—I had invitations and caressings in plenty. We tried to sow our wild oats and sometimes rambled in the jungly growths near my habitations, sometimes went boating and pic-nicking without notice to our guardians, though I never could row or cook—sometimes we had our tricks with mango-sellers in the bazar—going about from dealer to dealer, tasting samples, till we were ready to burst—but I was ever a camp-follower, never a leader in these childish bouts !

One other lesson imbibed even as school boy was from my father, who was a man of wide views of tolerance even in those early days of social reform, and dined with his Muslim friends without compunction or concealment and taught us to mix with Muslim families on most intimate terms. One of my best boy-friends has been a Muslim son of a member of the landed aristocracy of those parts : he is now retired from police service and has turned an Ahmadyia (Muslim of the reformed school) and we still cherish the old affection and are most pleased to meet each other when there is opportunity. But I could never be a sportsman : I had not the knack for sports : and sports in those days had really not begun in the mofussil tracts in earnest. But football and cricket and tennis were already making headway and a cycle or two were in the streets. But I was a good walker and good rider even as a boy of eleven and beat in riding executive officers of high grade as a College Professor, owing to this early training. I could never climb a tree, though I was a more or less indifferent swimmer. Several other experiences come to my mind of my school-days. First, the nerve-racking experience of the severe Earth-quake of April 1897, which was very acutely felt all

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

over North Bengal and Assam, laying many structures in ruins, making wide fissures on the surface of the land as big as 15 or 20 or 30 feet wide from which issued sulphureous fumes and lumps of sand, and rushing streams of water even changing the course of rivers. It was a Saturday, fortunately for us small school-boys, and the classes had been dismissed by half-past one. I have still a very distinct recollection of the onset. We were sitting at about 4 p.m. in one of the living rooms (*cutcha*) of our house (which had, for some years past, been shifted to the other bank of the stream) with our father working at his official files, when all on a sudden there was a great, strange rumbling noise above our heads and it sounded like a host of giants beating up the roof of straw and bamboo: then there was a big shaking and rolling about of the earth all round when nobody could keep on his legs but either began to reel or had to squat. Father at once gave the alarm : it is an earth-quake ; and we all rushed out of the shed into the open.

The quake was so sudden and terrible that many elderly people lost their heads while it was on and forgot all about their wives, children and dependants and ran pell-mell to distances, furlongs away from home. Meanwhile, the first quake had subsided and people began to gather their wits a little and to confer as to what should best be done : news arrived that the Court-houses, the Jail, the High School buildings had all suffered appreciable damage and there had been long and wide cracks everywhere on the land-surface. Meanwhile, there were further shocks and it was noticed that the river had changed its flow from the original direction to its opposite. There were two or three ferry-boats of big size for ferrying men and cattle and goods and bullock-carts and other conveyances across the river (the main town was on the bank opposite to our new house) and these were fastened together and women-folk and children were boarded on these, with the men-folk keeping watch all the night. This continued for two or three days.

Then in a few days' time news of extensive damage and loss of life began to pour in (in those days there was hardly any press, except Surendranath's *Bengalee* in English and *Hitavadi*, *Bangabasi* and one or two other Bengali papers published in Calcutta, there was no news-service, no radio and naturally news took time to filter through) and harrowing tales were told of extensive damage in the District Headquarters at Rangpur and elsewhere and in Assam and loss of valuable lives and also of dramatic escapes ! The shocks continued for about six months at intervals and by August or September the changed river-flow inundated our house and even cooking had to be done on raised platforms with great difficulty. At this crisis, father hired a big boat which we all boarded and after two days reached a steamer station in the Brahmaputra, wherefrom we went home to our native village *via* Goalundo. There also things were more or less in comparative disorder but the quake-damage was not so pronounced. This was when I was twelve years of age: the other quakes I have experienced at Rajshahi College when I was teaching English there (about the year 1914 or 15) and the Bihar earthquake of 1934, which was so terrible in its toll of lives and decimation of cities and villages, and the effects of which were felt even in Bengal.

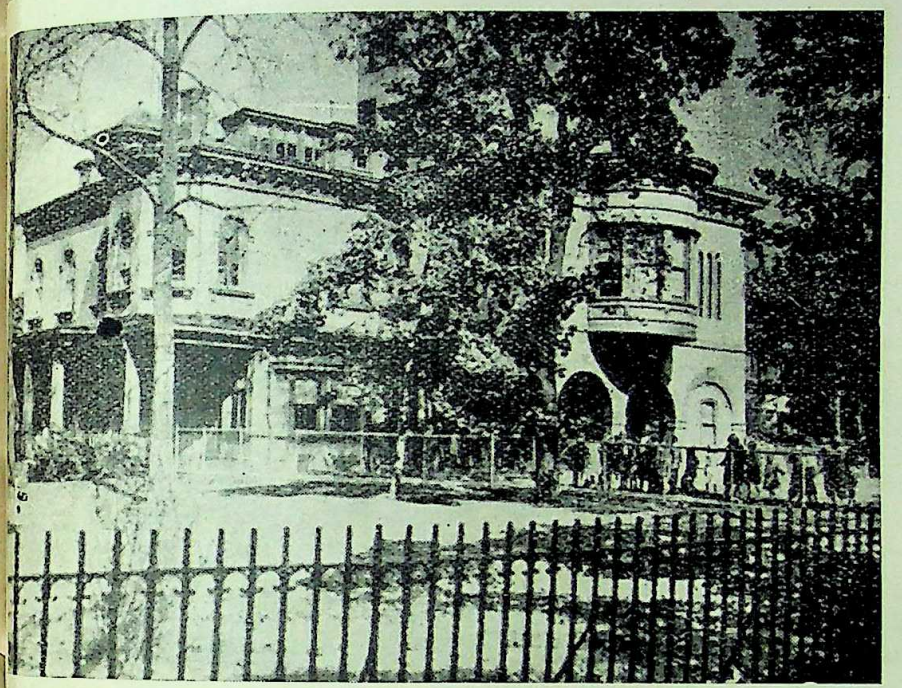
Another incident of my school-life was rather funny, though it caused considerable excitement in our more or less sleepy hollow, where life used to run at an even uneventful pace, with hardly any break, except for official visits by the District and Divisional Heads or the Inspectorate of schools or for *jatra* performances requisitioned from Calcutta or other big towns or during Durga Puja and Holi. This was a two-handed fight between the President of the School Governing Body who was no other than the Sub-divisional Magistrate and the Secretary, who was one of the judicial officers and a strong man—it was all over the firing of loud-noised crackers and bombs (the process was to fill up iron pipes with gunpowder and then fire them) on the occasion of the Saraswati Puja celebrations of our school. The Magistrate felt disturbed in his court work by the racking and loud reports and peremptorily ordered an immediate cessation without consulting the Munsif-Secretary. The result was a firm 'No' from the other side, on which the Magistrate had the bomb-firers and drum-beaters arrested and put in *hajat*, relations got very strained, the Magistrate did not attend the functions and it required the interference of the District Magistrate and the District Judge to smooth out matters after several weeks of very strained feelings. Other experiences, I recall of loving and encouraging treatment by the really learned men who then came to us as officials—they were often honorary examiners of our annual tests and as I scored very high in Arts subjects, I was often sent for and petted. Encouragement came also from Senior Inspectors of Schools, superiors of my father, who often were our guests, and who asked me all manner of questions, which often I could readily answer. Mathematical conundrums of greased poles, lilies with their stems in and out of water, clocks keeping time besides questions of English grammar, translation and history were asked and this was an additional stimulus to my boyish effort at shinning in the class exercises. I still remember with gratitude the names of some of these friends of the family—Sj. Rakhal Das Chatterji, a first-class first M.A. in Philosophy one of the S.D.O.'s, Sj. Devendranath Bagchi, the Munsif-Secretary who has been mentioned earlier, Sj. Becharam Lahiri and Adinath Mitra, Senior School Inspectors. There were some local lawyers also. All these gentlemen are now deceased, but they continued their interest in me and were exceedingly gratified when I took a first class in M.A. in English Language and Literature from the Calcutta Presidency College in 1905 and was shortly after early in 1907, installed as an officiating Professor of English Literature at the Presidency College, the premier Bengal College, which has trained up scientists, industrialists, men of letters, educators, political leaders by hundreds during the best part of a century in the Province. These intimate relations persisted even to the next generation of the sons and daughters of my early patrons and they have made my private life very sweet indeed !

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A NOVEL CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

ildren's museum which is a workshop, hobby r, playroom, printing press, theatre and cinema, ed as an educational experiment in the United



The front view of the Brooklyn Children's Museum

ies, is proving a great success. is the Booklyn Children's seum in Ntw York, and is the t of its kind in the United tes.

The museum is only meant for ldren, but on special occasions e children may bring grown-ups, ents or friends, as guests.

Although this is not the first ldren's museum—museums tering for children were provided early as 70 years ago—it is a mplete departure in its functions. It aims to supplement the hool work and enlarge it, thus ing out the educational horizon the children. Many find interests they hope to follow into llege and beyond—interests they uld never have found in the al course of their lives.

One of the many unusual atures of the Brooklyn Children's Museum is a section devoted encouraging youthful talents. re the youngsters are provided materials and tools to do thing that interests them. Modelling with wood and er and metal is a great favorite. For the more echanical-minded there is a well-equipped carpenter

shop. Its popularity is evidenced by the number of busy children to be found in it. There is also a printing shop which boasts of treadle machines and full founts of type.

One of the most valuable contributions of the museum is the fostering of hobbies. A Stamp Club is provided for young philatelists and its popularity is evidenced by its large membership.

As an encouragement to the artistic talents of the children there is provided a stage where groups of children can arrange dramatic entertainment for the other visitors. Teachers show them the first step. After that they are on their own. Movies are also shown, combining both education and entertainment. Children are also encouraged to give puppet shows of the Punch and Judy variety. From start to finish these shows are the children's own ideas. They model the puppet heads and make the clothes.

The museum even caters for the needs of tiny tots who are too young to go to school. They have a special playroom with chairs and tables built for their size. Among the numerous toys and playthings to delight a tot's heart is included a plentiful supply of crayon and paper.



One of the museum's most popular exhibits is the collection of dolls from all over the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Here children are copying pottery objects or doing original designing.



One of the most valuable contributions of the museum is the fostering of



The Brooklyn Museum's Library



In the print shop some boys do practical jobs, where they prepare them-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But this is not to say that this institution lacks the exhibits and displays that one associates with the orthodox museums. These have been adapted to cater to the limitations and demands of the young folk. The museum has, for example, one section illustrating the habits and clothes of peoples from various parts of the world. Actual clothes are on display and there are dolls dressed up in the national costumes of the countries represented. Needless to say this section is a great favorite with the girls.

In the historical section, scenes from history are arranged in dioramas, like a miniature setting in a play. The mineralogical section provides a first-hand knowledge of the material things upon which civilization has moved forward.

Microscopes for studying life in its minute forms, gives the young visitors a fuller appreciation of the wonders of nature. Closely allied to this, but one not associated with the stuffed specimens of the average museum, is the live pets section. It contains harmless or tame animals that the children can fondle or pet.

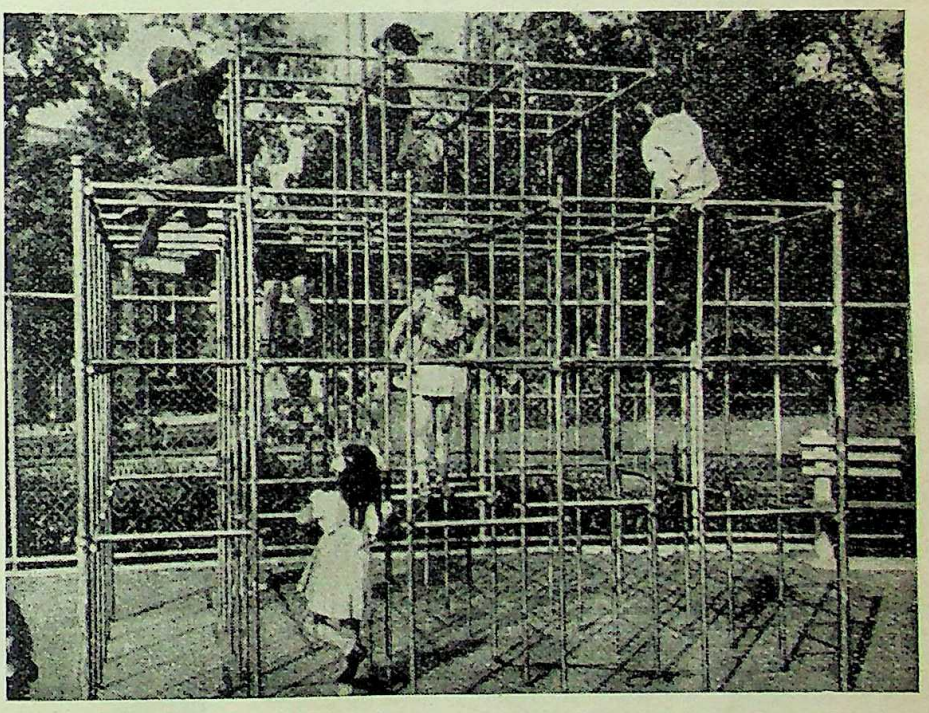


Like a miniature setting in a play, dioramas illustrate pages of history

A comprehensive library provides a rich source of information in an easily assimilated form. Here are story books and fairy tales besides more serious works to meet the needs of the five-year-old as well as the teen-ager.

But while indoor work and study is transformed into so much fun for the children they often want to get out into the sunshine. The museum provides shady spots where young visitors can sit and read the funnies, open spaces where they can play marbles and other games and swings and other amusements. There is also a pen where tiny tots can bask in the sunshine.

How popular the museum is can be seen from the daily attendance of a thousand children, with three to four times that number on Saturdays. Most of the visitors are from the middle class or the underprivileged. —*USIS.*



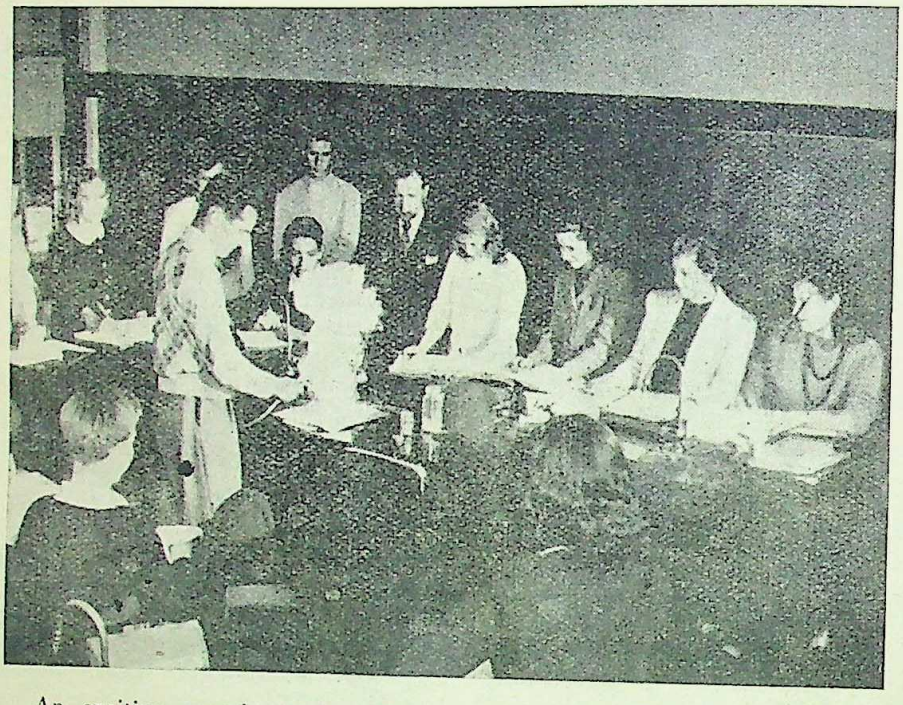
All is not indoor work and study. Recreation is provided outdoors like this special arrangement of parallel bars and climbing facilities

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STUDY OF SCIENCE PREPARES U.S. YOUTH FOR FUTURE CAREERS

STUDY of science, geared to peace, starts early in America. Aside from purely technical schools, attended during secondary school age by students in the United States, all public and most private schools offer science



An exciting experiment in the elementary chemistry class is the demonstration of "synthesis"—the combination of two elements to form a compound

courses beyond the primary grades. Typical of this curriculum is that offered at Garden City High School, in a suburban area near New York City. Students in this school are average children between 12 and 16 years old, from the homes of businessmen, workers, professional men. Their education as scientists of the future costs nothing except an abounding interest in their work.

Employing the principle of learning by doing, the school has achieved outstanding results by the use of new educational techniques. Its regular curriculum of physics, chemistry, biology has been expanded to include an unusual degree of practical application. As a result, many scientific experiments reproduce on a small scale the near miracles of advanced technological ingenuity.

One group of students, for instance, was interested in meteorology. Not content with theoretical explanations, they constructed their own weather bureau, complete with anemometer, weather vane and all the equipment of an official government station. Reversing ordinary procedure, their interest aroused that of their instructor who made a specialized study of the subject which he is now teaching in the U. S. Army.

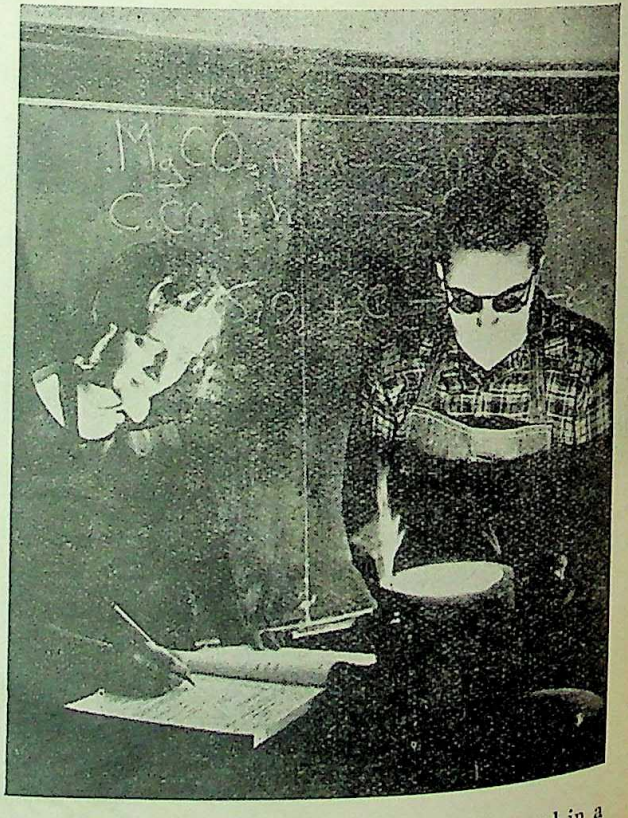
Another project, and one of which the youthful scientists are especially proud, is a telescope built from plans developed by students in the mechanical drawing classes. Except for the mirror, the telescope was made entirely by the students and won first prize at the New York Science and Engineering Fair.

EMPHASIS ON CREATIVE INTEREST

In still another field, an art student majoring in science conceived the idea for a mural tracing the development of modern laboratory methods. The four sections of the mural, two of which are completed, will show early Egyptian techniques, the alchemists' methods, laboratories in Lavoisier's time, and the modern laboratory of today. Every detail of the pictures is carefully checked against exhaustive research data, itself an impressive accomplishment. Thus, emphasis is placed on creative interest, using the student's potential skill for original achievement.

When a science student could not attain a certain heat temperature with a Bunsen burner, he constructed an electric furnace, now a valuable part of the school laboratory equipment. The girls are equally ambitious—one student spent her summer vacation in a nearby industrial plant, supplementing her studies with practical experience.

Graduates of the Garden City School have distinguished themselves in colleges and technical

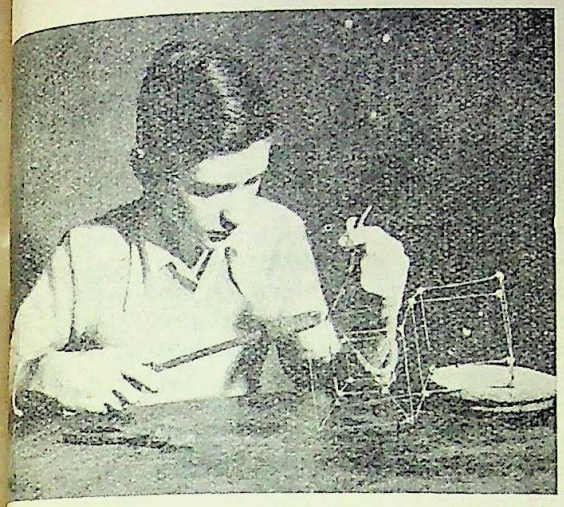


Two senior students form an inorganic compound in a student-constructed electric furnace.

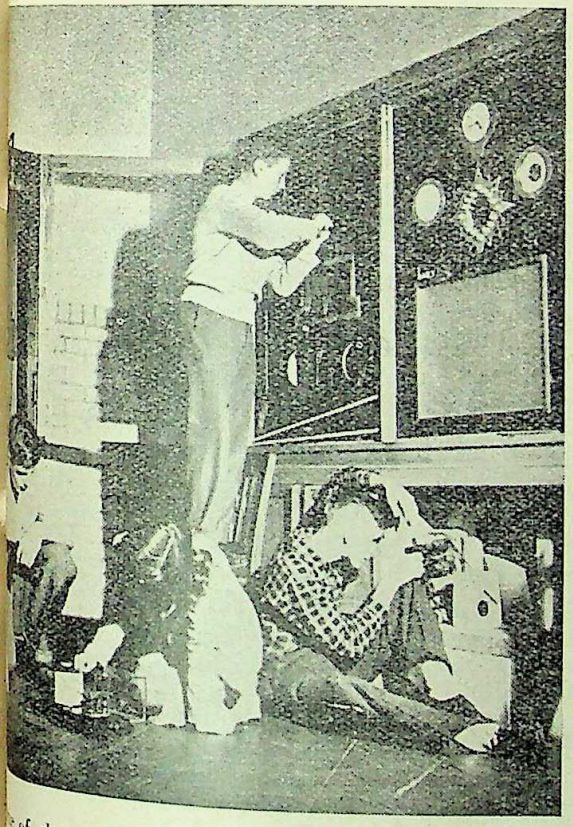
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

throughout the country. Two students were scholarships by the Science Talent Search con-



Construction of demonstration models helps students to comprehend the structure of larger masses of matter



of the unique projects undertaken by the science nts is the construction of this weather bureau, a eplica in part of official U. S. weather stations

ducted by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, and three received honorable mention. Considering the large number of schools entering this contest, this percentage is a good indication of Garden City's scholastic rating.

The school does not, of course, stand alone in development of youthful scientific skills. It has its own three general science clubs, all extra-curricular activities. But there are other science clubs throughout the United States similarly encouraging student talent, although Garden City leads in advanced projects.



Students are completing their own short-wave radio for their weather station.

Science Clubs of America, for instance, have a membership of over 100,000, distributed in every state of the union as well as Alaska, Canada, the Canal Zone, Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and South America. What these clubs are trying to do was succinctly outlined by Lloyd S. Michael, Principal of Garden City School, who told a graduating class, "Education is an essential industry in the winning of the war and the achievement of a lasting peace. You are among the products of that industry."

What this means in terms of lasting contributions to scientific progress will be revealed in years to come. Meanwhile, the young scientists set the pace for their future.—*USIS.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A GREAT ROAD-BUILDING PROGRAM

The federal government of the United States, in co-operation with the states, is embarking on one of the greatest road-building programs in the history of the nation. This program calls for the expenditure of a total of $3,000,000,000 within the next three years. Half of this sum was authorized by the United States Congress and is being supplied by the national treasury to improve and extend the vast highway system that links America's key industrial and agricultural centers. The various states will match federal allotments for state programs.

There was sharp curtailment in road construction in the United States during the war. This dormant period was put to good use, however. It afforded American engineers the opportunity for planning far-reaching programs with the projected view of supplying a field in which to absorb post-war labor surpluses created through the elimination or reconversion of war industries.

All but a few of the 48 states have already voted appropriations to match the annual distribution of $500,000,000 in federal funds. After a 33-state survey, road engineers have estimated all-inclusive figures for the 1946 nation-wide highway projects. By the middle of the year, approximately $400,000,000 worth of roads were being built. Of this amount, $251,000,000 were federal allotments and $149,000,000 non-federal. All told, the approximate state and federal programs to be placed under construction through the coming months amount to $715,000,000.

Construction Already Under Way

States included in the survey already have embarked on the construction of arterial highways and feeder roads. To accomplish this, some state legislatures authorized considerably larger sums than others. For instance, the western seaboard state of California has launched the most ambitious program ever attempted. It has allotted $75,000,000 for the entire year. Thirty-two million dollars worth of pavement is now being laid. On the East Coast, the state of Pennsylvania has appropriated $39,000,000, of which $35,000,000 is expected to be expended by the close of 1946. New York has a $30,000,000 program under way, and the southwestern state of Texas, $28,000,000 with an estimated $65,000,000 for the whole year.

Road-building on a national scale is not yet in high gear due to shortage of material and labor. However, engineers and contractors are gradually surmounting the obstacles and are pushing the projects forward to meet the demands of 60,000,000 American motorists who operate approximately 34,000,000 motor vehicles throughout the United States. These cars, according to automotive engineers, travel about 200,000,000,000 miles (320,000,000,000 kilometers) a year.

Of the total vehicles operating on highways in the United States, approximately 4,500,000 are trucks of all descriptions. They carry an estimated total of $2,000,000,000 worth of commerce annually. In 1945, all trucking facilities produced a record of 48,800,000,000 ton-miles (78,000,000,000 ton-kilometers), which topped the peak year of 1942 when over 46,000,000,000 ton-miles (73,000,000,000 ton-kilometers) were accumulated.

To present a clear picture of America's economic dependency on highways, trucking firms have shown that approximately 98 per cent of the nation's farm crops are moved by motor vehicles from growing area to market. About 1,600,000 trucks are engaged in such traffic. A great percentage of the oil industry also looks to motor transportation. In 1945, tank-truck operators delivered 128,000,000 gallons (484,000,000 liters) of petroleum products daily. In the cattle industry, over 10,000,000 tons of livestock are hauled to market annually, and dairymen utilize motor vehicles to handle 91 per cent of the nation's milk distribution. Similar figures are repeated with varying degrees in other key national industries.

Because of the heavy traffic American highways must bear, construction engineers look ahead not alone to building new highways but to improving roads already existing. State road systems total about 415,000 miles (664,000 kilometers), of which 332,000 miles (513,000 kilometers) constitute the primary roads. The odd 83,000 miles (133,000 kilometers) of neglected pavement in these networks need considerable repairing to qualify them as first-class arteries of travel.

Vast Secondary System of Roads

Supplementing the main state traffic channels is a vast system of county, township and village roads totalling 2,400,000 miles (3,840,000 kilometers). These routes serve 6,000,000 farmers, who produce about $12,000,000,000 of the national income. Only 45,000 miles (72,000 kilometers) of this secondary system have high-type pavement, and as much as 861,000 miles (1,378,000 kilometers) are unimproved. Engineers and economists, however, recognizing their importance, are determined to see that such rural routes receive proper attention in the future. This fact is of primary importance since over 54,000 communities totalling 7,000,000 people depend on motor trucks exclusively for transportation of goods and commodities.

To accommodate this traffic with the greatest dispatch, it is essential to have highways built incorporating all the latest engineering and safety features. This was the foremost thought of designers responsible for the construction of the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Chief Engineer Samuel Marshall carefully outlined the fundamental objectives at the outset of planning the highway.

Marshall's first principle was the separation of traffic lanes by grass pots or concrete islands. Secondly, he turned to the elimination of all railroad and traffic crossings, and the provision of acceleration and deceleration lanes for some distances along the entrances and exits of the super-highway. Emphasis also was placed on the construction of smooth, stable shoulders, level with the pavement, and the necessity of moderate grades to minimize danger in icy weather. In addition, recommendations were made for two or more lanes for each flow of traffic to prevent entanglement hazards of slow and fast moving vehicles. Further, a restriction was proposed, forbidding pedestrians to enter the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ghfares. These safety measures all dove-tailed the engineer's insistence that cities must be by-

Modern highway construction has proved a boon ffic in every respect. In all states, such as in New where engineers conducted a large-scale modern- program, challenges of rising traffic fatalities tolerable congestion have been met by separat- es and installing clover-leaf and circular flow ections. New Jersey carries one of the heaviest loads of any state in the union.

New Six-Lane "Thruway"

ch highway engineering features as those de- ated in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are being rated in all new major road projects throughout a. New York, for instance, is adhering to such designs in its new six-lane "Thruway" that will extend 486 miles (778 kilometers) from New York City to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, without an obstacle—not even as much as a traffic light—to hinder travel. In the near future, New Jersey may build a similar highway that will connect up with New York's Thruway, now being considered as the eventual main artery of an express-way network extending into the New England states and Canada.

In addition, the greater portion of California's large expenditure will be devoted to arterial highways. One striking project is a coastal route from the Mexican border to the Oregon state line. An inland road between the same points also is planned, along with two east-west super-highways. These undertakings as in New York, exemplify the great engineering feats planned in all sections of the United States.—*USIS.*

———:O:———

ART EXHIBITION

Opening Address*

By Sir PATRIC SPENS,

Chief Justice of India

e undertaken this afternoon to open this joint ition in Simla of the works of Mr. Khastgir and Mr. N yogi, two artists who are making great names for themselves. It is not the first time these two have co-operated in a joint exhibition. Fourteen years ago, they tell me, they gave a joint exhibition of their works. This is their second joint exhibition. If there be any here who saw the first joint exhibition, memories of it will add to their interest in this. For I doubt not that in these fourteen years the art of both has been maturing. True it is that sometimes one hears one or other of that most critical species of all critics, namely, the art critic, complain of some artist that his late work never equalled his early promise. But this, if ever true, is exceptional, I think. For most young artists fourteen years of opportunity and practice means fourteen steps on the upward climb to their full artistic development.



Sudhir R. Khastgir, Dehra Dun

For the benefit of those who do not know these artists and their works I must give some very short particulars of their history.

Mr. Khastgir is both painter and sculptor. He started at Santiniketan, Dr. Tagore's famous University. Later he became Art Master at the Scindia School at Gwalior. He is now, and has been for some years, the Art Master at the Doon School at Dehra Dun. He has exhibited in many places in this country. In 1937, he exhibited in London at India House. In 1943, soon after my arrival in India, I saw a striking exhibition of his works in New Delhi. But I believe that this is the first time that Simla has been given the opportunity of an exhibition of his works.

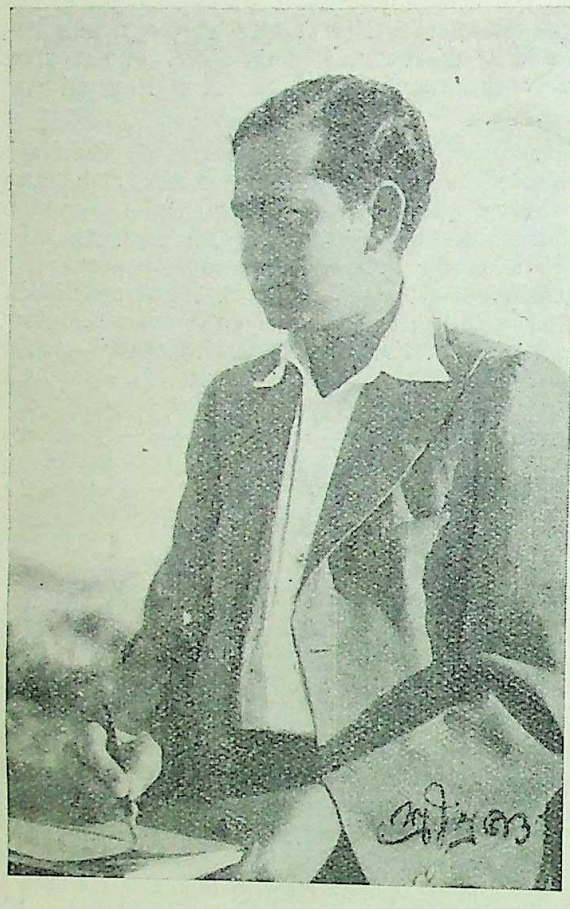
Mr. Niyogi studied originally at Calcutta and in due course also became the Art Master at the Scindia School at Gwalior, which position he still, with honour to himself and the school, occupies. Just before the war Mr. Niyogi received a most interesting invitation from the University of Hawaii, through one of its Directors who had visited Gwalior, to proceed to Honolulu and there exhibit some of his works and those of his pupils.

*The opening of an exhibition of the Paintings and Drawings Khastgir and Prabhat Niyogi at the Hotel Cecil, Simla, on 1946.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

War interrupted his tour, but none the less, he was able to visit New Zealand, Australia and Ceylon on his return journey. During this tour he gave exhibitions of his paintings, lectured on Indian Art, and actually did some mural paintings in Indian style for Sydney University. He too, I think, is exhibiting for the first time in Simla.



Prabhat K. Niyogi, Gwalior

Now, so much and no more about the artists. What of their works ? Let me say at once that if any of you expect that I will for one moment dare to criticise their works or compare them, you will be wholly disillusioned. I am neither competent nor willing. I have never believed that amongst adults, artistic pleasure or the reverse can or should be induced by the all too pretentious words, descriptions, or expressions of opinions of others. The art of the advocate may be appropriate in other spheres, thank goodness, I have found it appreciated in the past, but not in operas or art exhibition. Pre-arranged write-ups, pre-arranged laudations of exhibition of pictures create far more suspicion than appreciation. Artistic merit requires no advertisement. I will not insult these works by attempting to influence your judgment and appreciation of them. Judge and enjoy for yourselves and induce your friends to come and do the same thing, whilst the exhibition remains open. It is an opportunity for Simla not to be missed.

In conclusion, I would only say this. To artists of all sorts, we owe very much in the fierce rush of events in which our generation lives. They can create for us those glimpses of a world, more beautiful, more peaceful, more harmonious, than that in which most have found ourselves now and for many years past. It may be a form of escapism. But it does us good sometimes to turn from the eternal politics, law, business and red tape of daily life, and to enjoy for a spell the gifts of art. Such an opportunity is here. Let us all take it and enjoy it and thank Mr. Khastgir and Mr. Niyogi for giving it to us.

I have much pleasure in declaring the exhibition open.

——:O:——

INDIA'S NEW RASHTRAPATI : ACHARYA KRIPALANI

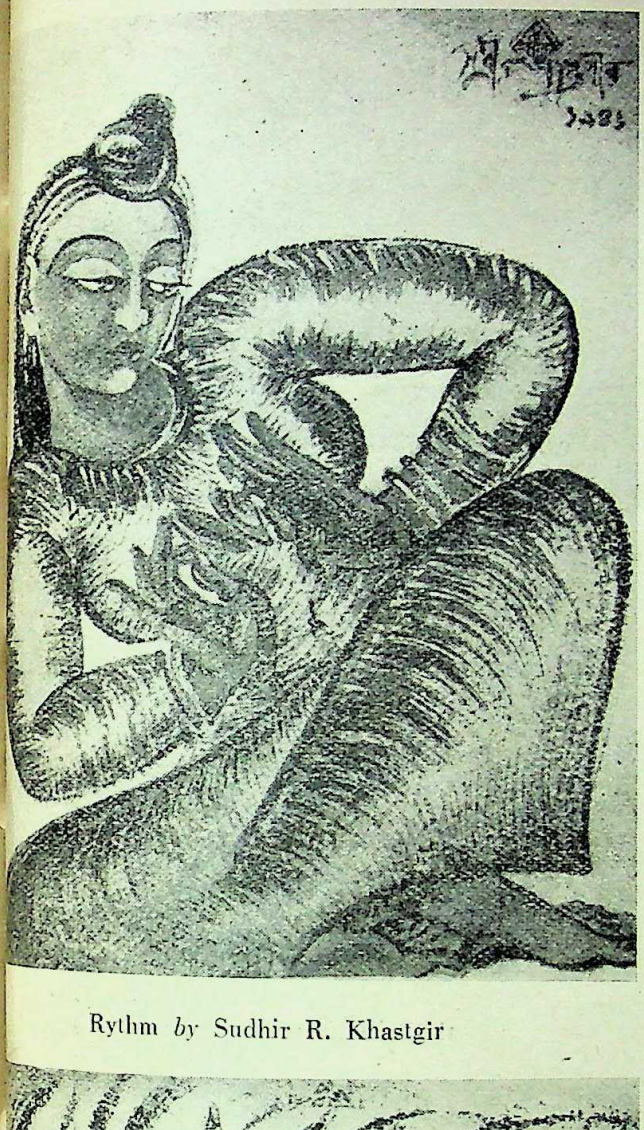
By Prof. K. K. Bhattacharya, m.a. (Cal.), ll.m. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law,

Reader in Law, Allahabad University

Acharya Kripalani, affectionately called by his friends, admirers and well-wishers and those who come in contact with him, *Dada* (elder brother) as a sign of his solicitude for the welfare of everyone who comes in contact with him, is our new Rashtrapati. He is a man of indomitable courage, great energy, astuteness and is actuated by lofty idealism and patriotism. While he was serving as a Professor of Economics and Politics in a Government College in Bihar, he fell under the magnetism of Mahatma Gandhi, who stayed with him for some time before embarking on his famous Champaran campaign when he was made his companion and help-mate. Almost immediately thereafter, he threw up the soft and easy job of a well-paid professor, and threw himself whole-heartedly into the service of the motherland without thinking of the morrow for which he had no provision. Since then he has always described himself as a humble follower of Mahatma Gandhi. No Congress work, however humble, has any repulsion for this great man, for while he was at Benares he used to carry with his own hands the 'thela' containing Khadi cloth for popularising the use of Khadi which was then almost in its infancy. For twelve long years, he devoted himself, sometimes in spite of his ill-health, to the arduous work of the Secretary of the Indian National Congress which is very exacting. For twelve long years, he had to undertake long tours all over the country to educate the public, to instil into them Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence, truth and *ahimsa*. The British Government at that time was adamant in putting down the Congress. The Congress had entered into a revolutionary role under the guidance and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. No longer was the Congress session addressed by English-speaking Indian gentlemen who would come and finish their work by means of a good deal of oration for two or three days and go back with a flattering unction to the soul that the work for the year

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



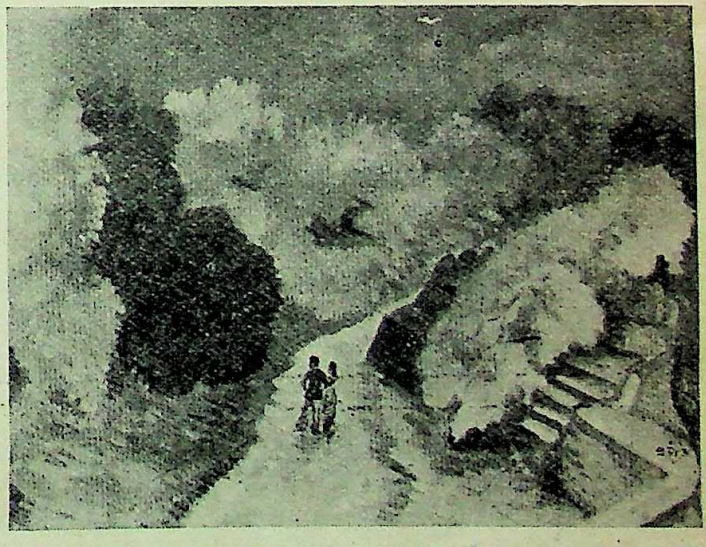
Rythm *by* Sudhir R. Khastgir



Curiosity *by* Prabhat K. Niyogi



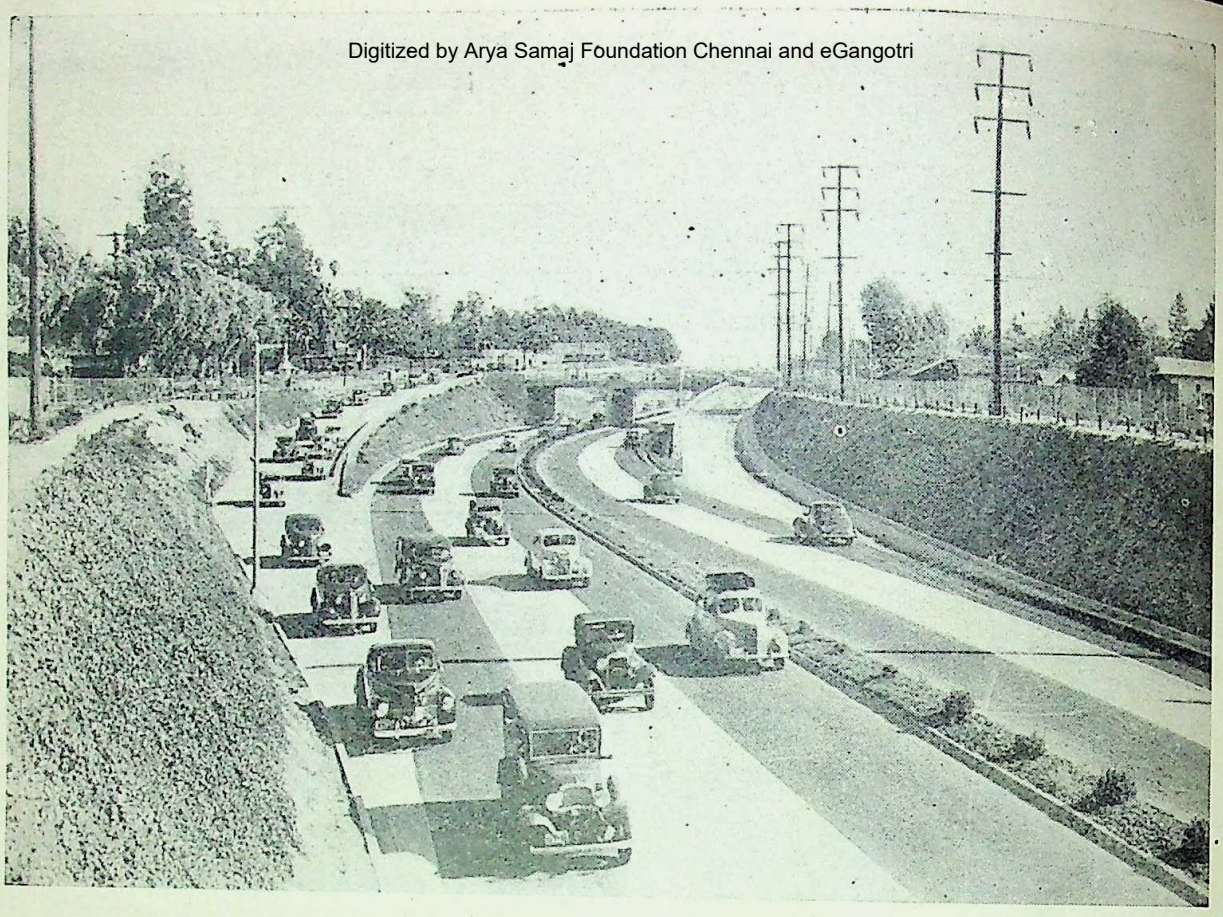
Deers *by* Sudhir R. Khastgir



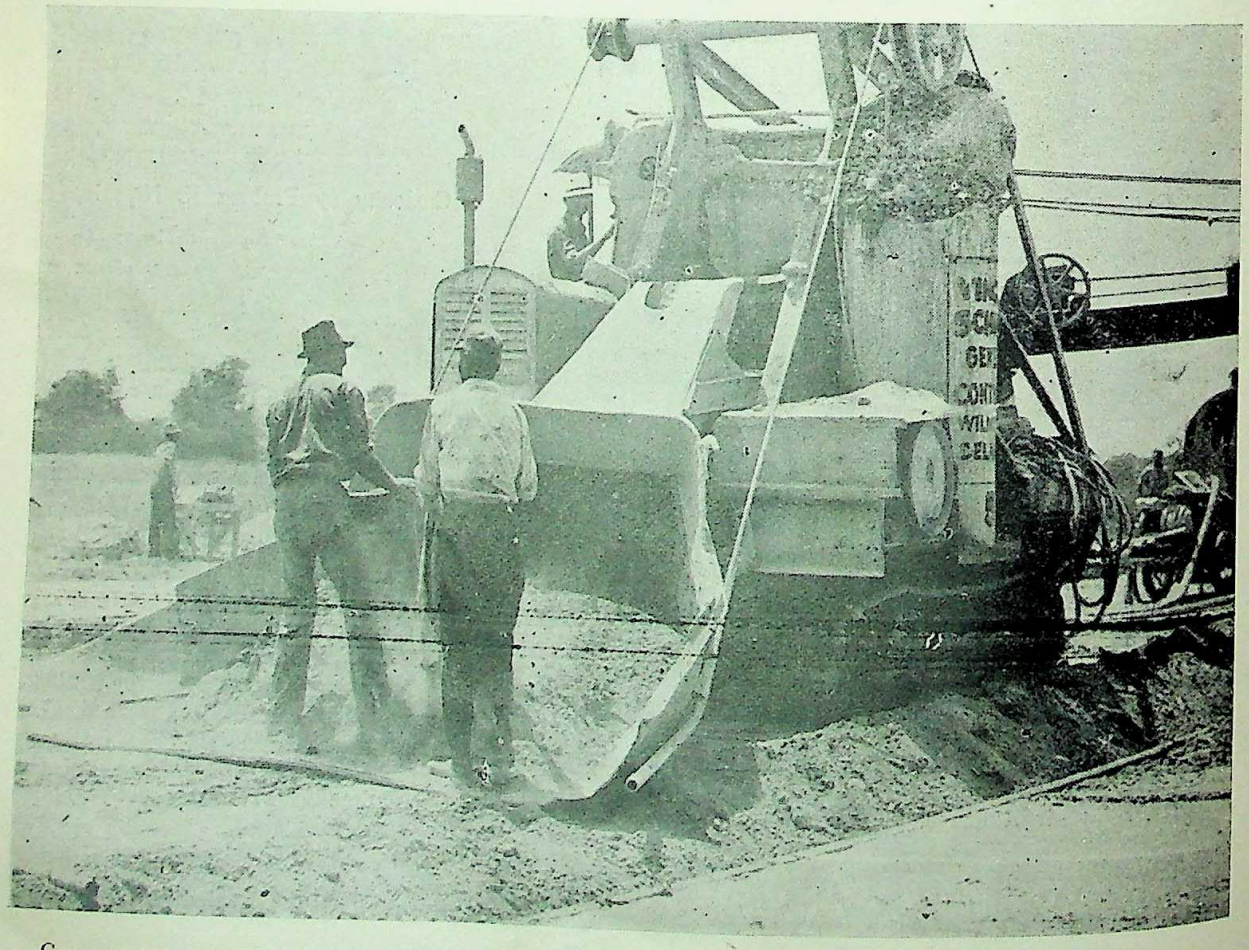
Springtime *by* Prabhat K. Niyogi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Typical of the major arterial highways of the U. S. A. is the Arroyo-Seco highway near Los Angeles, California



Construction workers operate a huge cement-mixing machine, laying concrete road-bed in the vast post-war highway program in the United States

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been done. Files had no intimidation for Kripalani sions or a high bank balance or foreign education or visits to foreign country or mixing and hob-nobbing with the big and mighty of other lands. Mahatmaji's pet disciple and favourite follower, this self-abnegating national hero is sure to win the deserving place in the love and adoration of men and women throughout India.

He is gifted with the rare faculty of distinguishing wheat from the chaff. He looks straight at things events without any emotion, without any senti- Deeply analytical, his capacity for diagnosing and effects is marvellous. He can stand no bun- or conceited attitude from any individual, how- high he may be.

Spare in body and great in intellect, he represents the ideal Indian whose motto in life is plain and high thinking. Frugality and simplicity of are his strong points. He thinks himself to be a in the Gandhian army who should always be ced for the battlefield where he might be clapped prison at any time by the British Government ompelled to lie on the hardest of the beds and ke of the humblest of fares. Yet notwithstanding self-inflicted hardships and privations, he would s remain humorous and jovial, and would always a kind word for everyone. Apparently gruff ng to those who do not know him personally, eart is soft like that of a woman. He is pained by wrong or injustice done to any individual in sphere of life and would try to undo the injustice would lie in him. He made a large circle of friends admirers at Allahabad who hold him in high m and call him affectionately. *Dada*. The students s would tease him to address them in all the ent functions of their institutions where he would to enthuse them to national work by infusing in the true meaning and conception of the Great er's teachings of lofty idealism, practical politics unselfishness in the devotion to the country.

To have Acharyaji as a friend is indeed a boon a veritable asset, for he never lets down the hum- of his friends. His evening tea, humble though it always ready to be served to any one who would to him then, and he would insist upon him to a cup before he would open his lips. In days of perity of a friend, he may make himself scarce, in dark days or illness of his friend, he is sure to here, by the side of the sick bed or to soothe his ted and distressed mind.

A great scholar and fervent admirer of Gandhiji, has written many books depicting the innermost acteristics of Gandhian philosophy and Gandhian lution and methods of education, in his own itable style—direct, simple and fascinating. How the midst of strenuous work as the Congress Secre- he could snatch the time to settle down to write such serious subjects, is indeed a marvel to his ds and those who know him. His public lectures addresses are vibrant with sincerity and high ism.

His kind humour, his ever present joviality, his beaming with intelligence have always stood him good stead and he can make a stable friend in the se of a few minutes by his simplicity and unassum- nature and manners. Yet he can be deadly sarcastic ed when he chooses to be. For him the achievement the freedom of the country is the main objective which all others must be subordinated.

He is the people's President. He has no preten-

No picture of Acharya Kripalani, however, can be complete without giving some description of his noble and idealistic wife, Srimati Sucheta Devi, who is an extremely devoted and affectionate wife and yet a great public worker. She is almost the head of the Kasturba Organisation under the guidance of Mahatmaji. A well-educated lady, an M.A. of the Benares Hindu University and an ex-Professor of Politics in the same University, when she chooses to talk of ordinary matters with ordinary individuals, few would be able to know, unless previously acquainted with her, that one is talking to a most well-educated woman. Witty, always smiling or laughing, she is the counterpoise of Acharya Kripalani who is outwardly solemn, grim and stern-looking. It is his wife or his friends who bring smiles to that countenance. Husband and wife—they both represent simplicity itself. The strength of the lady lies in holding as it were the ever-roving mind of Acharyaji in strong chains of domestic felicity. Since their marriage, the wife takes pride in asserting that she has brought good luck to Acharyaji. Whether she has brought luck or not—his friends do not know, but this much they know that she has relieved him of some of his arduous domestic duties to devote himself all the more whole-heartedly to the country's cause. She has brought happiness to him and mellowed his rough exterior to a great extent. Both the husband and the wife are extremely hospitable.

The recent visit of Acharya Kripalani and his wife to the deeply troubled and dangerous areas in Eastern Bengal, without any consideration for their personal safety, is sure to ensure to them the love, admiration and adoration of millions of people of India and elsewhere. Bengal must note that a friend in need is a friend indeed. In the darkest hours of Bengal, the couple went to see with their own eyes the horrible atrocities which have shocked not only Bengal but through Bengal the whole of India, nay the civilized world. Barbarities of the worst kind—abduction, arson, loot, murder, butchery—have all taken place, and the President-elect before he was officially declared the President, hastened to go to Bengal. Bengal and the whole of India expect that he would not hesitate to advise the adoption of the sternest and strongest measures to put down the utter lawlessness in Bengal which has tarnished the fair name of the province and has turned it into a No-Man's Land. He has left all his tasks behind to go to the most afflicted province to see how he can bring succour and help to the province.

The whole country should be glad that this new Rashtrapati, the poor, unostentatious, great patriot, imbued with Gandhian philosophy, high in idealism not divorced from reality, is today at the helm of the affairs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES ETC. IN BENGAL

By Rai Bahadur BIJAY BEHARI MUKHARJI

The Government of one country by another is an anachronism. The manifold ramifications of such a situation can hardly be measured. The modern psychologist well knows that the effect of individual repression is a set of complexes of more or less serious intensity which often result in more or less unlooked for behaviour patterns. In the case of groups, the result is the same. The more developed the operating components are the more serious is the result. India with her hoary civilisation, with developed ideas and ideologies which played important and far-reaching parts in the evolution of human history was checkmated by England with not always but very often contradictory ideals, ideologies, standards of values and approaches to life and its problems. The greater the tempo of what England considered her efficiency in the running of the Colonial Empire the more ruthless had been the denial of chances of self-expression to the Indians. The more secure the concentration of powers in the Rulers the greater had been the Indian frustration and still greater the spiritual and the mental deformities that followed in the ruled. The ruler who exercises irresponsible and not unoften immoral powers does not escape. His human value heavily deteriorates. Lord Hewart in his book *New Despotism* cites :

> "There is an agreeable story not too old, of a distinguished Anglo-Indian Civilian who returning home on leave after prolonged absence passed the Houses of Parliament on his way from Victoria to Charing Cross. 'What place is that ?' he asked. 'That, Sir,' was the answer, 'is Parliament—the Houses of Parliament.' 'Really !' he exclaimed, 'Does that still go on'?"*

Aldous Huxley in his *Ends and Means* dilating on the essential need of satisfactory social background for the evolution of human types, writes :

> "It should be noted that the kindliness of the English manifests itself only at home . . . The Indians do not find their rulers particularly kindly. And in effect, the ethical standards of Englishmen undergo a profound change as they move from the essentially peaceful atmosphere of their own country into that of their conquered and occupied Indian Empire. Things which would be absolutely unthinkable at home are not only thinkable but do-able and actually done in India."

Judged in the context of human progress and of the progress of humanity this situation inflicts a tremendous and an immeasurable loss. "Power corrupts. Absolute power absolutely corrupts," said Lord Acton. In India, the Englishman exercises absolute power. He has not escaped the effect. In the practical field, the situation produces fantastic results. For the purposes of the present discussion one may take up "communalism," its growth and its ramifications, and examine in summary the loss that the social organism here as a whole suffers today. The individual units baffled, turned down, twisted and deformed, exhibit a spout of dementia, and the groups share. The development of wrong and perverse ideas and ideals is encouraged. Evils grow. The cause is forgotten. One resultant evil leads to another till the whole is engulfed.

The problems of Bengal which are in marked contrast to the problems of most of the other provinces bring out clearly the cause and the effect. The All-India and other Provincial political leaders seldom care to enquire into and analyse the position. In Bengal, which bore the brunt of the political struggle for the last forty years, there are definite signs of mental and moral exhaustion. Leadership is dwarfed and derelict.

Bengal, constituted as it is, has over thirty-two millions of Mahomedans. The number represents nearly a third of the total Mahomedan population of India. In number, it is the one province, which has the largest number of Mahomedans. The Punjab comes next with a population of about sixteen millions or half the number in Bengal. This preponderance of Mahomedans in Bengal is the result of administrative changes made with, the cynic says, a definite purpose. The purpose was to sterilise the position of the Hindus in general and of the Caste Hindus in particular and reduce them to a position of political, economic, and social ineffectiveness.

Bengal Hindus and the Caste Hindus in particular had been the force, which the British administration had utilised to establish itself. Bengal was the first area to come under British rule. With the revenue raised and stabilised here, with its Bengalee Hindus trained in English educational institutions and in the British system of administration and of professions, the alien government had a stronghold on the minds of the people who had spread far and wide in India to initiate and establish the system of British administration in every branch. Her eminent and leading men including that outstanding figure of the 19th century Raja Ram Mohun Roy had advocated and preached for trust and faith in the British administration. The Raja had preached that the British intended only to improve the condition of the Indians and would withdraw as soon as the task was done which he prophesied would not take more than forty years. This was in the first quarter of the 19th century. There was no outbreak of anti-British feeling or of anti-British administrative antipathy throughout the first half of the 19th century so much so that the Sepoy Mutiny which in 1857 convulsed India left Bengal cold. The starting of the Sepoy insurrection in Berhampore and Barrackpore was confined to non-Bengalee Sepoys in Cantonments, who found no response in the civil population of the province. The East India Company rule ended and Queen Victoria took over the administration with a proclamation which announced that "our subjects of whatever race or creed. be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, integrity fit to discharge." Time rolled on but Raja Ram Mohun Roy's prophecy was not fulfilled.

The British administration was not found in any mood to budge. All powers and all positions of responsibility were gathered up to be centred

* Lord Hewart's *New Despotism*, page 15.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British hands. "The Indian Civil Service remarked the Montagu-Chelmsford report, "was service but a ruling corporation." The ruling ration gathered up all threads. Queen Victoria's mation was sweet to the ear but was found to no parsnips. Bengalee Hindu boys with means it is true, the hurdle, crossed over thousands of of sea, lived in foreign land, successfully com- in the Indian Civil Service. Their number was, ver, exceptionally few. Even those few met with reception. Surendranath Banerjea, one of the first was dismissed and the result of late Mr. R. C. 's appointment as Commissioner on British Officers een discussed in his biography by Mr. J. N. Gupta, S. (Retired). In the meantime, Public Service mission sat in the eighties of the century and d with the problem of Indianisation. The result that Indians drifted to "positions of minor nsibilities" (an official phrase) for which alone in fficial view they were held to be fit.

Frustration was deep though no overt act was in The century closed. It was in 1904 that there was uggestion that Lord Curzon intended to partition al. A lighted tip was thrown on this heap of dry ration. There was an immediate flare-up when in of protests and representations Lord Curzon proved ant and the partition was given effect to in 6. It is remarkable how modern history is written; R. Coupland in his report almost completely s any mention of this all-important incident in the ical history of the country. The public men and s sensed a feeling of fatuity as well as of insult. took it that the wishes of the people carried no ht whatever in the counsel of the Ruling group that their views and their objections were treated contempt. This had a country-wide psychological ion. The zero point was touched. This set aflame huge heaps of frustration that had been collecting. the first time there was mass demonstration st the Administration at various levels. Meetings held, opposition was organised, fiery speeches delivered and people were told that their s were spurned by the rulers. Anti-government ngs and anti-British feelings were roused. British s were boycotted and at places burnt. There was a al sense of wounded national feeling throughout country. As the movement developed from strength rength, the powers that be in charge of the nistration decided to stop it by repression. tional youths overstepped the bounds of reason, nised secret societies, carried on political dacoities llect money for arms and weapons. The first om appeared at Mozaffarpore (then a part of al) where two European ladies were killed with s by mistake, the District Judge being the mark as the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta had responsible for the trial and punishment (including ging) of many youths. A bomb factory was dis- ed. Widespread arrests were made. The accused ial included Aurobinda Ghosh, the defence counsel ded C. R. Das. The Government arrested many s and men.

They resurrected an obsolete Regulation and put prison many without trial. This conflict of oralities yielded immoralities. There was a sudden of anarchical crimes—officials were shot, some British, more Indians—more Hindus than either ems or British, more Caste Hindus than Scheduled Caste Hindus. Very unfortunately Eastern Bengal and Assam had a Lieutenant Governor in Sir Bamfylde Fuller, who had more emotion than discretion, and surrounded by officials (mainly British but with a fair contingent of Indians) romped about the country delivering speeches replete with indiscretion. To him any one who entertained anti-partition sentiment was a "wrong" individual and one with pro-partition outlook was the "right" individual. Sir Halim Ghaznavi was one among many Moslems who had anti-partition attitude and to Fuller Sir Halim was "the wrong Ghaznavi." His brother who subsequently was rewarded with membership of the Executive Council had "pro-partition" sentiments and was the "right Ghaznavi." Sir Bamfylde Fuller with a vulgarity amazing in a man of his position revelled in expressions which described that he owned two wives (apparently in addition to a British third) and of them the Mahomedan was the favourite one. The Mahomedans acquiesced. As the folktales narrate the "favourite wife" prospered and the non-favourite one withered. His anti-Hindu and pro-Moslem attitude was very pronounced and so was also the attitude of many of his top officials. They kept the goose-step with His Honour. Many are the stories of the pranks that they played actuated by this feeling. He and his officials for the first time in this fair land of Bengal sowed the seed of poisonous communalism. It was they who sowed the wind. Many imperialists and many more sneaking Indian sycophants nourished it. The Calcutta riots and the great killing of Hindus and Mahomedans are only a part of the reapings. Now the whirlwind is reaped.

On a background of political immaturity and economic backwardness due to long historical causes, if you draw the fantastic picture of the unfortunate Moslem leadership slipping into the hands of people with more greed at heart than grey matter in the cerebrum, it will be no exaggeration. The Swadeshi agitation continued till in the year 1912, when the partition was modified but the poison remained all the same. The province of Lord Curzon disappeared but Sir Bamfylde Fuller cadets of British officials and of Muslim leaders lived on. Nationalism had to be checkmated. So, communalism must be developed. Bengal was re-partitioned but that the Hindus must be in a minority was not overlooked. Large parts of Chotanagpore peopled throughout by Bengalee Hindus for ages must be kept back and with an apparent pose of absent-mindedness these tracts were added to Bihar. They had been parts of Bengal for hundreds of years. The Bengalee Hindus were forced to be a minority in Bengal but even then to the tune of 42 per cent. If analysed in the terms of voters or in the terms of adults, the proportion will show other results. Some go so far as to say that if the census be correctly taken, other results are inevitable. It is remarkable that neither in the 18th nor in the 19th century there is any record even in British written reports that there was any clash between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in the area now constituted as the Province of Bengal. It is remarkable that in all the papers presented to Parliament by Lord Curzon up to 1906, there is not even a mention of Hindu-Mahomedan differences in the Province. In 1904, Lord Curzon visited Dacca, and to his dismay found a strong opposition.

Sir Henry Cotton, I.C.S., said at the time of the Partition of Bengal :

"The object of the measure was to shatter the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

unity and to disintegrate the feelings of solidarity which are established in the Province of Bengal. It was no administrative reason that lay at the root of the scheme. It was a part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing powers and to destroy the political tendencies of a patriotic spirit."

The *Statesman*, the premier Anglo-Indian daily, and by no means a pro-Hindu paper, wrote :

"The object of the Partition was to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of a Mahomedan power which, *it is hoped*, will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the *Hindu Community*."

This was not all. There is a certain group of officials in the Imperial Services in India and in Bengal, who, it is alleged, constituted and still continues to constitute the shadow cabinet of the Muslim movement. They act in collaboration with the non-official British mercantile community and the group of diehard Imperialists of which Winston Churchill is a well-known specimen. One such official was Mr. Archbold of the Indian Educational Service. He was the Principal of the Dacca College, and subsequently he was transferred and came to occupy the position of the Principal of the Aligarh College. Since the late Sir Syed Ahmed thought it discreet to divert the educated Mahomedan from nationalistic and Congress ideals not without official inspiration, Aligarh has been one of the main centres of Mahomedan politics. In 1906, Mr. Archbold spent his vacation at Simla and naturally mixed with the Government of India officials. On 10th August, 1906, Mr. Archbold wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Hony. Secretary, Aligarh College :

"Colonel Dunlop Smith (Private Secretary to the Viceroy) now writes to me that the Viceroy is prepared to receive the deputation of Musalmans and intimates me that a formal petition be submitted for it . . . apprehension should be expressed that in introducing elections injury will be done to Musalman minority and hope should be expressed that in introducing the system of nomination or granting representation on religious basis, the opinion of Musalmans will be given due weight . . . My personal opinion is that the wisest thing for Musalmans to do would be that they support the system of nomination because the time for introducing election has not yet come. Besides, it will be very difficult for them if the system of election is introduced to secure their proper share . . . You are aware how anxious I am for the good of the Musalmans and should, therefore, render all help with the greatest pleasure. I can prepare and draft the address for you.

"If it be prepared in Bombay, then I can revise it, because I know the art of drawing up petitions in good language. But, Nawab Saheb, please remember that if within a short time any great and effective action has to be taken then you should act quickly."

Mr. Archbold did not omit to mention :

"But in all these matters I want to remain behind the screen and the move should come from you."—(Italics ours).

This deputation, described later by Mahammad Ali, a deputationist, as a "Command performance"[2]—duly engineered as suggested by Mr. Archbold, was received by Lord Minto in all solemnity on October 1, 1906.

With equal solemnity Lord Minto in reply stated :

"You yourselves the descendants of a conquering and a ruling race—your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of administration . . . . in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral representation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire I am entirely in accord with you."

This deputation and that answer had been considered a high water-mark of Imperial statesmanship.

Lady Minto in her *India and Morley—1905-10* records that she forthwith received a letter from an official which ran thus :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today—a work of statesmanship *that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people (the supposed Muslim population) from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.*"[3]

Probably the official was correct in his prophecy though not exactly in the sense that he made it. It was the event which probably led to the events that completely destroyed the Englishman's moral stature in India and brought to the surface a group of people disloyal to the country who had to be fought in the open. Subsequent events roused India from the stupor in which she was in and paved the way for India's independence which in the interests of India as well as of England, of the East as well as of the West, of the Hindus as well as of the true Muslims, had to come. It is a glaring instance of how "problems" evolve in India. This gave Lord Minto the basis for suggesting 'communal representation' and 'weightage' and thus develop the fissiparous tendency in a section of a thoughtless minority community.

In the meantime, Dacca—the earlier sphere of the educationist Mr. Archbold's benevolent activities had its stirrings. With those true instincts for the main chances which are the characteristics of geniuses, Nawab Salimulla, a zemindar of Dacca, though initially opposed to the Partition of Bengal, found that there was an opportunity to rehabilitate his exhausted resources—exhausted through his own endeavours—and championed Partition. Lord Curzon was pleased. Zemindars had had serious plights after the permanent settlement and as a result thereof, which the readers of Sir W. Hunter may know, not one was so fortunate for about one hundred and fifty years as Nawab Saheb. He had had over ten lakhs of rupees loaned out to him by the British Government together with a British Manager, who not only managed his

1. See Tufail Ahmad's *Roshan Mustaqbal*, pp. 360-61.
2. Lady Minto's phrase in Countess of Minto's *India and Lord Morley*, p. 56.
3. Countess of Minto's *India and Lord Morley*, p. 48.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tes but provided him with all the intellect that Nawab Saheb's somewhat deficient cranium badly eded in the varied activities he was called upon to dertake and to which he was unused. In 1906, Nawab limulla founded the *Muslim League* on the 9th Nov- mber, which is thus the *Action Day* of the Muslim ague just in its 40th year. It may be noted that e Nawab of Dacca is not a territorial magnate and s not the slightest connection with the Musalman bedars and others. The family started in the 19th ntury with a small trade in hide which through luck d industry prospered and secured wealth to purchase ndaries. To the great credit of the family, Nawab dul Gani (locally addressed by his pre-honorific title Gani Meah) and Nawab Ashanulla, the grandfather d father respectively of Nawab Salimulla, were en of generous temperament and completely free m communal outlook of any sort as were e representatives of the best types of the 18th d the 19th centuries. Both were held in great spect by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. lorley, the Secretary of State, at first shied at this w-fangled idea of communal representation but ulti- ately his imperialist instinct got the better of it d his life-long liberal principles went under. The ea was incorporated in the scheme known as the linto-Morley Reform of 1908. This thin end of the edge to develop fissiparous tendencies in India and evelop communalism to checkmate nationalism was arted with a blatant false postulate which was ex- ressed and left unnoticed in the form of address with hich Lord Minto addressed the engineered Maho- edan deputation :

"You yourselves the descendants of a conquering and a ruling race."

Long before the Hindu-Muslim problem was so edulously developed it had been recorded in written istory that Bengal Mahomedans were descendants of converts from the bottom rungs of the Hindu society and as stated before, Bengal Mahomedans form nearly a third of the total Mahomedan population of India). What is true of Bengal, with rare exceptions here and there, is true of the rest of India. Whether the histori- al falsehood continued in the form of address was a pure and fabricated bluff of Lord Minto or was due to his colossal ignorance is a matter of conjecture. That it was untrue is too patent to be dis- garded. But the device had the desired effect. That communal electorate, which is a complete negation of democracy, could only end in a complete separation of parts of a social organism, could easily be foreseen. No national State in process of evolution has ever admitted it as a part of its representative institutions. Neither England and Scotland, when they decided to deve- lop one British State out of two bitterly fighting nations inhabiting two different countries, could admit the device, nor George Washington developing one United State out of multi-national States, nor Bismark, contemplating a Federation of till then warring princi- palities of Prussia and Germany, could permit it. A national State integrates diverse and even warring elements into one whole. A non-national State dis- covers differences, expressed or dormant, in an orga- nised whole and disintegrates. In integration lies strength. In disintegration develops weakness.

Congress leaders versed in abstract politics but unused to tackle realities failed to grasp implications and in their eagerness to appease the carefully developed Muslim intransigence con- tracted a pact in 1916 known as the Lucknow Pact. The pact consisted of two parts—a separate pact with the Muslims conceding separate electorate and a common pact demanding political powers from the British. The former was approved of and the latter turned down.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report with a seeming disapproval of communal representation accepted the communal electorate, and elaborated a cautious political evolution known as Dyarchy (alleged to have been suggested by Lionel Curtis). The separate electorate worked beyond the expectation of its authors. The communities drifted apart as they did never before in Bengal. Riots multiplied and there were signs of great religious intolerance and animosities. Sir John Simon came with a commission appointed by the British Parlia- ment and submitted a report squarely condemning the communal electorate and forbidding its extension. This report was submitted to Parliament in 1930. In 1932, Mr. A. E. Porter, I.C.S., one of the ablest of recent adminis- trators in Bengal, with wide experience of districts, reported as Commissioner of Census that, "The De- pressed Classes were not an administrative problem in Bengal." In spite of all these, in 1934 came the Communal Award extending the communal electorate and allocating to the Muslim community 119 seats out of 250 with 20 seats to Europeans which invested the latter with the same authority and opportunity as the Irish party of the Parnellites had in the British Parliament to the disgust of the latter. Between the two, the Muslims and the Europeans can always have an understanding and thus secure an overwhelm- ing majority in the Assembly. This allocation of the majority by separate electorate was based on curious mathematics. The number of one hundred nineteen was not pro-rata to the enfranchised number in the elected rolls nor even pro-rata to the adult manhood and womanhood of the community who alone could function as citizens to exercise civic rights but pro-rata to a population including babies—actual or fancied. The communal award introduced a further wedge in the shape of a separate electorate for castes scheduled by His Majesty as such "though in 1932 the depressed classes were not an administrative problem" and till then nothing had been heard of such a pro- blem.

Mr. A. E. Porter, I.C.S., wrote in 1933 :

"For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist, save in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in *comparatively recent years* as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, *the attempt to treat any social usage or disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail."*[1]

London East End needs special measures for the improvement of its economic condition and standard of education and so did the "other England" that Dis- raeli discovered and analysed in the *Sybil*. Could that be thought of by the provision of separate electorates ?

[1] Census of India, Vol. V, p. 497.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mahatma Gandhi, with the true instinct of the patriot and with a full realisation of what the seed of a separate electorate would mean here too, undertook a fast. The separate electorate for the scheduled caste was discarded but at a heavy cost to Bengal of thirty seats in an assembly of 250 by what is known as the Poona Pact. Thus the checkmating of nationalism by communalism was complete. The Bengal Assembly today is a body, the intellectual and moral stature of which can be tested by any chance on-looker. He will need no psychiatrist to discover that it has no stock intellectual or moral, actual or potential to meet the heavy demand indispensable to the solution of Bengal's varied and complicated problems—political, social, administrative and economic. The Bengal Famine, the Calcutta Riots, the widespread corruption, the complete breakdown of its administrative system are but small proofs of its hopeless but natural incapacity. It is Emerson who said that one could not get out of a man what is not in the man. Could one get out of the group what is not in the group ? The system—which is a mockery of democracy—leaves Bengal with its sixty-four millions of people and grave problems that demand the highest efficiency and integrity for solution at the mercy of the dregs of the social organism. Evil breedeth evil. Even Ministers, with Gandhi-caps and immaculate khaddar and bearing the imprimatur of and coming to positions with the support and sanction of the Congress, have been known—to the chagrin of all genuine lovers of Congress—to be as dishonest as any other and as devoid of moral sense as the worst the communal electorate could provide. The entire public life in Bengal has been corrupted, and the standards of values turned upside down. The poisonous miasma has spread from the centre to every fibre of its moral stature. Adverting to the form of Lord Minto's address, suffice it to say that Buchanon Hamilton in the first decade of the 19th century recorded :

> "Although the followers of the Koran form a large portion of the inhabitants of the district,[5] there is little reason to suppose that many of them are intruders. They seem in general from their countenance to be descendants of the original inhabitants who have been converted in a great measure probably by the intolerance of the Kings of Bengal."

While the first Report of the Bengal Census written by Mr. H. Beverley, I.C.S. in 1872, recorded :

> "If further proofs were wanted of the proposition that the Musalmans of the Bengal delta owe their origin to conversion rather than to the introduction of foreign blood, it seems to be afforded in the close resemblance between them and their fellow countrymen who still form the castes of Hindus. That both were originally of the same race seems sufficiently clear, not merely from their possessing the same physique but from the similarity of the manners and customs which characterise them."—Para 353.

Dr. Wise, the Civil Surgeon of Dacca, carried on an extensive scientific examination and came to the same conclusion in the early seventies of the last century. With polygamy and widow remarriage the number of Muslims multiplied. The Musalmans of present-day Bengal and for the matter of that of the whole of India, are no more "descendants of a conquering and ruling race," as Lord Minto feigned to believe, than the Indian Christian converts "the descendants of a conquering and ruling race" today. This difference between the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal is that, while both are bereft of their political status, the former have retained and the latter lost the social and the religious status of their ancestors. They speak the same language, eat the same food, take fish and meat (excepting one type of meat) and are subject to the same economic and physical conditions and have almost the same outlook of life. Yet false history, specious fictions and false ideas are essential to develop the schismatic trends. Even today the *Times* of London does not hesitate to attribute Hindu-Moslem riots—definite outcome of the policy pursued—to differences in economic condition, as if converts of one economic and intellectual stratum could be transformed overnight, as if Hindu ryots economically are in any sense different from the Muslim ryots, as if Hindu shop-keepers are better off than Mahomedan shop-keepers. The *Times* ignores the fact that the East End Londoner economically is not the same as the West End Londoner and yet does not go in for riots and British labourers are not the same, economically, as the British capitalist magnates whom the State never allows them to attack.

The seed of communalism was sown not in ignorance nor without a purpose. The records[6] of the time are replete with references which will help an honest enquirer to come to a definite conclusion as to how far a conscious policy with a definite objective was followed. The Communal Award was given by Premier Ramsay Macdonald who in his non-renegade days had toured India and knew the background of the so-called Hindu-Muslim conflict. He expressed in his book *The Awakening of Asia* :

> *"Sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government. The Mahomedan leaders are inspired by certain British officials and these officials have pulled wires at Simla and in London, and of malice aforethought sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities by showing to the Mahomedan special favour."*

He was thus perfectly aware of the genesis, of the source of vitality and of the life of the so-called Hindu-Muslim conflict. The separate electorate was an automatic internal combustion mechanism. It automatically works, provides its own dynamics, dismembers and disintegrates.

It was Sir J. Maynard, I.C.S., of the Punjab Government, who said :

> "Mass rivalry between the two communities began under the British rule . . . Hindu and Moslem masses, before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and become religion-conscious *worshipped peacefully at the same shrine.*"

It is with very good reasons that Dacca and Calcutta, rich in wire-pullers, so frequently become centres of communal riots. Communal electorate accentuates and stratifies communal consciousness and communal rivalry. They are kept alive by people interested in their exploitation. It is essential to put these in writing, for the generation that had

5. Rangpur—the typical North Bengal district with a preponderance of Mahomedans.

6. Vide *Recollection of John Morley* (Secretary of State for India), and published Diary of Lady Minto.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

essed peace and tranquillity reigning supreme among Hindu-Muslim population of Bengal and afterwards the Hindu-Muslim conflict in Bengal being born, eloped, accentuated under its very eyes, is fast passaway. The generation that has succeeded, both Hindus and Muslims, seems to accept it as inseparable concomitant of political or social in Bengal. In the recorded history of the Province Bengal of the 18th and the 19th centuries, ere could be found any reference to Hindulim conflict in Bengal. The voluminous papers of East Ind.a Company, the *Fifth Report*, Stewart's ory of Bengal, *Bengal under Lieutenant Governors* Chief Secretary Mr. Buckland, *The Administration orts of the Province of Bengal*, published by the ernment, will bear that out. Bengal had had con- and commotions—economic and social—during 19th century. The reports and records of the indigo ation in Bengal, the rent and tenancy agitation ding to the passing of the Agrarian Disputes Act 1867, and the Rent Law Commission in 1880, will out that the Hindus and the Muslims worked on ommon platform with unity of purpose and unity of rests. Not a spark of communal ill-will as such was e. How the disintegrating policy and the corrupting em function to the utter ruin of the social organ- can be demonstrated by its progressive march.

The Dyarchy system started after the Government India Act of 1919, was set functioning. The comnally elected Ministers and the communally selected mbers of the Executive Council started agitating for communal representation in the services of the Pubadministration. When India was being administered a Colonial Empire of the British people the Indian ruitment was sought to be based on a test of effiency. The laws that were passed since 1833, the es that were framed for recruitment subject to ropean reservation, nowhere laid down that the ndus should have any preference. It is one of the e of the British administrators that they gave equal portunities to all which attitude later was summed in Queen Victoria's proclamation referred to before. the Colonial Empire was not to break down, it was ential that the machinery should be good and strong. e Mahomedans who got into the services were those o were competent and would not hesitate to go in competition or were selected for merit or for sideration of birth or of special service of their milies. The obvious and honourable course would ve been to speed up education, to develop the ellectual and the moral statures of not only the Mahomedans but of all the backward sections by special ilities of education and progress and to put them positions of responsibility in the administration. ither a Sir Syed Ameer Ali nor a Sir Abdur Rahim, ither a Dr. Zahiruddin nor a Sir Shamsul Huda ested the dishonest system of political patronage get recognition of their unquestioned merits. It st be said to the credit of several European memrs of the Indian Civil Service that they foresaw the strous effect of such discrimination on the adminisrations and the inequity of communal representation the services and opposed it. To my personal knowge several European officials protested. Their voices t unheard. They must carry out the policy and ordinate their principles,—this was the attitude of powers that came in. But with the progressive development of the communal feeling which separate electorate by its automatic working accentuated, the demand grew and there was the other type of European officials to foment and foster communalism though never at the cost of the European preserve. With the growing strength of the communally-minded legislators —most of whom had an inferiority complex because of their own lack of education, and an utter incompetence which only a dishonest political system could cover up—the voice of objectors got fainter and executive instructions commenced to be issued laying down mathematical formulae for communal representation in the services. With the legislature and consequently, the Ministry corrupted by the ingress of a type of moral and intellectual renegades as a result of Ramsay Macdonald's communal award, a complete go by to the principles of right administration could be and was given. This development received support from a group of Bengal Hindu leaders which had long kept away from political and still more from administrative responsibilities and thus had grown as inevitably bigger in emotions as smaller in political insight. Power starvation—political and administrative—leads to curious psychologies. Of the developed and balanced outlook they had no idea. They could hardly comprehend that the administrative machinery in the concrete must be honest and efficient, if the social organism was to get, if not the best, at least something out of a constitutional system. The 18th century poet was forced to express that

> "For forms of Government let fools contest,
> What is best administered is the best."
>
> —*Goldsmith*

The support of Hindu leaders lent a moral flavour to an immoral position and gave to senility the look of a politico-philosophical dogma. The Ministry of Ramsay Macdonald's patent of democracy deputed Mr. (now Mr. Justice) McSharpe of the Indian Civil Service, to go into the question and to evolve for the democrats (we are told that Islam is cogenitally democratic) ,the principles and procedure not of free competition and unbiased testing of merits but of communal representation in the services of Bengal. His report was given the honorific title of the "Bengal Services (Communal ratio) Recruitment Rules" of 1940" and issued to all offices with special returns enjoined to help the Government to make sure that no one gets in to hurt this specially delicate texture of communal administrative mechanism built up by the McSharpe formula. The formula laid down that

(1) 50 per cent of the recruits must be Mahomedans ;
(2) 30 per cent should be of the Scheduled Castes ;
(3' 20 per cent should be *General*, which includes Caste Hindus, Anglo-Indians, Buddhists, Jains and others.

It should be remembered that the Caste Hindus provide over 90 per cent of the first class Honours men of the Universities in both Bachelor and Master's Degrees in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering and Law. Trade, Commerce, Industry and Agriculture provided avenues for any one who did or did not go through the modern system of education. Even when a competitive system for recruitment is in vogue

7. India Act, Public Service, Com. Reg.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Communal Ratio rules apply and if the quota is filled up, poorer types must be picked up, for example, the fourth man in the examinees' list is passed over for the 50th in the list to provide the quota for the other community. The other day the Bengal Government advertised for the Principalship of the Art College with the condition added that the candidate must be of "the Scheduled Castes." An agitation followed and the absurd condition was later altered. But the policy survives and is almost a law. An actual advertisement is noted below to show how the rules are applied in practice :

"*Public Service Commission, Bengal* : Applications are invited to fill the following posts at Medical College, Dacca, in the Bengal General Service : (1) Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department on Rs. 300—50/2—700—75/2—1,000 (reserved for a Muslim) ; (2) Professor, Anatomy Department on Rs. 550—75/2—1,000, plus non-practising allowance of Rs. 150 per month (reserved for a non-Muslim) ; (3) Professor, Physiology Department on Rs. 550—75/2—1,000, plus non-practising allowance of Rs. 150 per month (reserved for a member of the Scheduled Castes) ; (4) Assistant Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department, if a non-B.M.S. Officer is appointed. Pay Rs. 125—25/2—150—20/2—250—15/2—310—20/2—350 (reserved for a Muslim) ; (5) Three Demonstrators, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department, two posts are reserved for Muslims and one for a member of the Scheduled Castes. Pay Rs. 125—25/2—150—20/2—250—15/2—310—20/2—350. Persons holding substantive appointments or appointments on probation against substantive vacancies in the Department of Health and Local Self-Government (Medical), Government of Bengal, are not eligible to apply.

Qualifications : Every candidate must possess the following qualifications :

(*i*) He must be domiciled in British India or born of parents habitually resident in India and not established for temporary purposes only. Preference will be given to candidates who are natives of or permanently domiciled in Bengal. For the post of Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department.

(*ii*) He should have a Science degree with post-graduate and research experience in Bio-Chemistry as well as teaching experience and should not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Professor, Anatomy Department.

(*iii*) He must be a medical graduate with post-graduate experience in Anatomy with adequate teaching experience, his age must not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Professor, Physiology Department.

(*iv*) He must be a medical graduate with post-graduate and research experience in Physiology with adequate teaching experience, his age must not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Assistant Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department.

(*v*) He should hold a Science degree and have teaching experienre preferably in Bio-Chemistry. For posts of Demonstrator, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department. (*vi*) He should at least be a Science graduate in Chemistry or Bio-Chemistry.

Applications (for which there is no prescribed form) are to be made in writing. Each candidate must furnish the following particulars in his application : (1) Name, (2) present address, (3) home address, (4) father's name, (5) age, (6) academic qualifications, (7) experience, if any, (8) *religion and caste*.

Applications together with a treasury receipt for Rs. 5 must reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Bengal, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, on or before the 27th May, 1946.

Applications from candidates who are in permanent or temporary employment under any Government of India, will be rejected unless they are submitted through the appointing authority of their post or service. Canvassing will disqualify.

Alipore,
the 16th May, 1946 P. B. RUDRA, Secretary"

If it had been provided that all other qualifications being equal preference would be given in case of a Professor of Chemistry to a Moslem and in case of a Professor of Physiology to a Scheduled Caste candidate and in case of Anatomy to a non-Muslim one, there could be an understandable position, but here the result comes to this that if there be the minimum standard of qualifications, a Scheduled Caste candidate will be a Professor of Physiology and a Moslem a Professor of Anatomy, and so forth, in spite of the fact that incomparably better qualified individuals exist in the country and can be had on the terms offered though they do not fit in to the caste or the creed compartments. The money of the tax-payers will be spent on and the social organism as a whole will get not the best but only one with minimum qualifications. Generations of students will be taught by persons who are not the best qualified but who have the privilege of belonging to a caste or community that for no fault of others could not make the same progress as others did.

This pernicious principle has been attempted to be introduced in every sphere. Fifty per cent of the contracts for the Public Works of the Province must go to the Moslems, so much per cent must go to the Scheduled Castes, so much to the General or non-Muslims. Whether an individual had ever executed a contract before or ever built a house or a canal efficiently in the past is a matter of little or no consideration. The fact that he belongs to a religious faith or to an unprogressive caste is enough for a passport. If rations have to be controlled and controlled Governmental shops have to be started, the distribution must be on communal ratios. If the quota is filled up an actual grocer with generations of traditions behind him must be shut out (and without authority he can trade no more) and some one of the caste or faith whose quota has not been filled up will come in irrespective of the fact that he had no traditions nor any experience behind him to warrant a presumption that society will be better served.

The net effect on the society and in offices is this. The best and the most efficient do not come in. Those that come in include a minimum number of the efficient and a maximum of the average or the undeveloped. The texture of the office markedly deteriorates. Those that come in on communal basis expect preferment on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
76410

basis and not unoften they get it. The Bengal istration Committee, 1945, records :

"We have been told that there has been a rked deterioration in the morale of the services a result of the impact of political forces on the mework of the permanent administration. The rvices apprehend that amenability to Ministerial ssure and a "correct' attitude towards questions which the party for the time being in office is rticularly interested are more likely to lead to motion than administrative efficiency."[8]

Those that belong to less favoured communities that promotions or preferences go by political nage and there is really one party that patronises that party patronises communally. An unconscious lination to do their best comes in. Every office down to the lowest level and stagnates at the mum efficiency. The system develops not the best the worst standards. This pathology is the high not only to inefficiency but also to dishonesty. ption in consequence is rampant. Inefficiency is large on every branch of the administration.

In his broadcast on 4th January, 1944, the Hon'ble Casey, the Governor of Bengal, said :

"It is common knowledge that there is a good eal of corruption in Bengal, and I, together with he great mass of decent people in Bengal, very greatly deplore it. The Public Service in Bengal *njoyed a high reputation for integrity but that in ecent years the position has greatly deteriorated pecially since the war began seriously to affect ndia*"[9]

The new Indian constitution with Communal ad started working in 1937, and the war started 939. The filling up of appointments is not a question istribution of jobs to different sections of the l organism on a rule-of-three basis. It is a question unning the administrative machinery at the highest l of efficiency at a cost economical to the tax- ers. It is vital to the country. If this is overlooked, ale and efficiency deteriorate. The social organism rs heavily. The best lose an incentive to work and in just the minimum to keep his job going. In and when nepotism and the system of political nage operated in the matter of recruitment and of otions as they did since and from before the days Lord North right up to the middle of the 19th cen- the inevitable deterioration followed. It is on record as England grew in stature and had to undertake se responsibilities the deterioration in the public es led to serious disasters in diverse spheres. It record that in June, 1855, Mr. Layard, a Member he House of Commons, moved :

"The House views with deep and increasing oncern the state of the nation, and is of opinion hat the manner in which merit and efficiency have een sacrificed in public appointments to party and amily influences and to a blind adherence to routine as given rise to great misfortune and threatens to ring discredit upon the national character and to volve the country in great disasters."[10]

Sir Stafford Northcote pointed out :

"The habitual disregard of the principle of promotion by merit, and the supersession of men in service by the appointment of strangers from outside the service to the best and the highest paid situations had produced the inevitable results of demoralisation and inefficiency."

This led to a great movement in which Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Benjamin Jowett and others took leading parts. It ultimately succeeded in freeing the Public Services from the moorings of nepotism and political patronage. Competitive examinations were introduced. Civil Service Commissioners were appointed. Definite rules for weeding out the undesirable and for developing the efficient were framed and worked under the watchful eyes of the Treasury Branch.

India is on the threshold of great changes. But a political constitution, however meticulously perfected, will be completely wrecked if the administrative machinery is not arranged to be kept at the highest level of efficiency and integrity. Bengal has its most serious economic and social problems to solve. If the political constitution provides opportunities for the nincompoops to become the heads under the rule-of-three basis laid down by the communal award, and its limbs in the administrative machinery are provided on the communal ratio basis with minimum qualification conditions, nothing but grave disaster awaits the country. The Bengal Famine, the Calcutta Riots, the widespread corruption, the hopeless inefficiency all about and all in a period of twenty-five years[11] of political and administrative jerrybuilding, should be a warning to all the lovers of the country. They are unmistakable pointers. From the history briefly summarised it will appear that the inevitable growth of nationalism was sought to be checkmated by communalism, communalism had to be bolstered up by patronage and bribery, and patronage and bribery had to be met out of the taxpayers' blood-money : hence separate electorate, hence communal award, hence communal percentage in the services and elsewhere. And all these had to be camouflaged and disguised in the terms of the so-called political philosophy and provided with formulae dressed in political jargon and verbiage. The little Englanders of the English diehard imperialist groups in Britain and the little Englanders that are engaged in commerce and appointed in the services in India, aided by indigenous sneaking sycophants, had their day. It is the guileless and the innocent that suffered. It is they who died, they who produce the wealth and pay the pipers. But they who played the tune of utter incompetence and selfishness played a death dirge to innocent victims quite unchecked. The political mechanism foisted on Bengal rather helped than hindered the process.

In the Report on the Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission at page 107, Sir John Woodhead and his Committee wrote :

"A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to the circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members.

8. The Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee's Report, 1945, p. 219.

9. *Ibid*, para 223.

10. Fourth Report,—Royal Commission on Public Service, 1914, p. 8.

11. The Provincial Autonomy started in 1920.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indeed, there was a moral and a social break-down as well as an administrative break-down."

Many more died from the after-effects of famine though statistics take no note of them.

The Calcutta riots added a new inglorious feather to the cap of the administration. The Anglo-Indian daily, the *Statesman*, on August 23, 1946, wrote :

> "As previously remarked *the unparalleled tragedy in Calcutta, the frightful scenes of brutality and destruction during the great killing have inevitably besmirched the name of the Muslim League before India and the world.*"

But if unchecked other graver disasters would follow.

The shadow of Lord Minto receiving the deputation with Mr. Archbold peeping behind the screen, the great "eventful day" of the official mind, Nawab Salimulla receiving a cheque for rehabilitating his zemindary and establishing the Muslim League, the communal electorate, the communal award, the communal representation in the services, the Dacca riots, the Bengal Famine, the widespread corruption, the hopeless inefficiency in the administration, the Calcutta Riots—all in the period of 40 years—fly past the mind's eye in relentless succession of cause and effect. The venue of the reeling Indian drama shifts behind prison-bars. Thousands are there along with Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad and others. The gaunt figure of that staunch Muslim, Abdul Gaffur Khan, is also seen there. In between pop up and down like King Charles's head—the figures of Quad-e-Azam Jinnah (Beverley Nichols' discovery—"the most important man of Asia"), of B. R. Ambedkar panting with a telegram to Churchill : "Murder ! Fire ! Cabinet Mission threatening real self-Government to India—Othello's occupation gone—help, rescue," of shrewd-eyed broad-chinned Winston Churchill puffing his cigar and elaborating the thesis : "I have not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire." The drama ends. The reel stops. On the wall blazon forth the words, "The wheels of God grind slowly but grind exceedingly small."

One comes now to the task of reconstruction. The whole machinery must be readjusted, slogans, fictions, bluffs must give way to reality—the souls of the dead and of the skeletons of the dying in a Province, that was once the garden of India, demand it. The communal representation in the services must go lock, stock and barrel. It was permitted nowhere else but tried only here in India and specially in Bengal for the last twenty years and has been found, at the heaviest cost imaginable, wanting. The administration shaken, broken up, corrupted and emaciated is in stupor. Appointments made on communal basis for the last 20 years should be checked up against the record of their performances. Those found satisfactory might be kept on but those found unsatisfactory should be weeded out. In future the open competitive examination should be the one process with a period of probation during which the unpromising and unworthy should go. The syllabus should be comprehensive and provided with widest opportunities. The process shoud be pushed on—symptomatic treatment will not go far. The entire pathology must be probed. The septic focus must be scrapped and rooted out. The centre of bad metabolism must be scotched. Communal award must go. Separate electorate must go with a period of joint electorate and reservation of seats in transition. India is on the march. Nothing but the best and the highest should be accepted from the top to the bottom to work for the renaissance. Caste, creed and religion must yield up the best. Education must fit up and gather up the rear. The authorities and those in power should be approached. They should have the courage to own up the disastrous effect of the policy so far followed and which must change and remember what Bertrand Russell says :

> "Where some class containing individuals of energy and ability is debarred from desirable careers there is an element of instability (in the state) which is likely to lead to rebellion sooner or later."[12]

For this and for the interests of the social organism as a whole the entire policy should change and the administrative machinery be set to the highest pitch of efficiency and integrity.

12 See Bertrand Russel's *Power*, p. 101.

———:O:———

MUHAMMADAN GROWTH NOT ALWAYS FASTER THAN HINDU GROWTH

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Because the Muhammadans of Bengal have increased by 51·2 per cent, while the Hindus have by 22·9 per cent during 1881-1931, it is tacitly assumed that the Muhammadan growth was, is and will ever remain greater than the Hindu growth. The recent greater growth of the Hindus during 1931-1941 is explained as due to inflation. Those who make the above assumption forget that in the Burdwan Division where one-third of the Bengali Hindus live, there has been actual decrease of population twice during the census period on account of the prevalence of the 'Burdwan fever' or malaria and the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. This has not been always so. The relative proportion of the Muhammadans over some large areas—more extensive than the Burdwan Division has come down, while that of the Hindus increased.

Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* was published in London in 1838. It contains various statistical data and informations regarding Bihar and Northern Bengal. The data were collected round about 1810. From these data we may draw certain conclusions.

We shall deal with the population figures of the then districts of Dinagepoor, Runggopoor and Puraniya. The boundaries of these districts have since then undergone profound changes; some areas have been excluded; some new areas included; and new districts have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

formed out of them by sub-division and amalgamation with other areas. As these three districts were contiguous what has been loss to one has often been gain to the other. The area covered by these three districts was estimated by Martin to be as follows :

Puraniya	..	6,340 sq. miles
Rungpoor	..	7,400 „ „
Dinagepoor	..	5,374 „ „
Total		19,114 sq. miles

The area covered by these *three* districts is now more or less spread over the following *five* districts:

Goalpara	..	3,985 sq. miles (now in Assam)
Jalpaiguri	..	2,932 „ „
Rungpore	..	3,496 „ „
Dinajpore	..	3,948 „ „
Purniah	..	4,972 „ „ (now in Bihar)
Total		19,333 sq. miles

The two areas are practically the same; the error due to the inclusion of new areas or exclusion of old areas seems to be of the order of less than 5 per cent. The population of this area was estimated to be as follows:

	Muhammadans	Hindus (or non-Muhammadans as we would say now)
Puraniya	12,43,000	16,61,380
Rungpoor	15,36,000	11,99,000
Dinagepoor	21,00,000	9,00,000
	48,79,000 +	37,60,380
	= 86,39,380	

The populations of the presentday five districts corresponding to these areas in 1872 and in 1941 are given below:

	1872	1941
Goalpara	4,46,741*	10,14,285
Jalpaiguri	4,16,781	10,89,513
Rungpore	21,49,119	28,77,847
Dinajpur	14,35,309	19,26,833
Purniah	17,14,995	23,90,105
	61,62,945	92,98,583

The population of this region has increased during the last 70 years by 50·9 per cent. Assuming the same rate of growth and calculating backwards the population 130 years earlier (*i.e.* about 1810) would be about 34·75 lakhs or 35 lakhs. But the estimated population is over 86 lakhs. However inaccurate and liable to error the methods adopted may be at the time of the earlier survey, there cannot be almost 245 per cent *over*-estimate of the population.

Rather all the earlier estimates of population were under-estimates. In 1787, Sir William Jones, the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the centenary of whose birth we have recently celebrated, thought that the population of Bengal amounted to 24 millions only including part of the United Provinces then attached to Bengal. Five years later Mr. Colebrooke placed it at 30 millions. In 1835 Mr. Adams estimated it to be 35 millions, but this estimate was thought to be too high and was reduced to 31 millions in 1844. In 1870 the population was held to be 42 millions or less by more than a third than the figure disclosed by the first regular census of the province in 1872. The Census disclosed a population of 62,335,217.

However inaccurate Martin's estimate may be of the population of this region there must have been some *de-growth* of the population during the following half a century.

Even if we assume that the estimate of the total population was wrong, the relative proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans would not be and could not be wrong, for the same error of *over*-estimate or *under*-estimate due to the defective method or methods adopted would affect the two communities in the same proportion, and the resulting proportion would be practically free from error.

At the time of the survey in 1810, the percentage of the Muhammadans in this region was 56·5. In 1931, it was 49·2 per cent ; and in 1941 it is 50·7. Their percentages in the several districts have been as follows :

	1881	1931	1941	*Change during* 1881-1941
Goalpara†	27·51	43·92	46·35	+18·84
Jalpaiguri	35·85	23·99	23·03	—12·82
Rungpore	60·99	70·79	71·40	+10·41
Dinajpur	52·55	50·51	50·23	—2·32
Purniah	41·70	40·54	40·83	—0·87

Taking the entire area the percentage of the Muhammadans is slowly increasing at present. In 1881, the percentage was 53·2 ; in 1891, it was 48·3 and in 1901, it was 47·6 per cent. Their percentage was decreasing from 56·5 in 1810 even during the census period ; now it is increasing. A part of the increase is due to immigration—even then it has much leeway to make up to reach the former figure.

In former times immigration from outside was practically *nil* : now-a-days we know that a large number of Muhammadans are migrating from Mymensingh into Assam. Out of 8,83,000 persons in Goalpara (Assam) in 1931 as many as 1,70,000 were immigrants from Bengal ; and most of them were Muhammadans. The Census Superintendent of Assam for 1931 writes thus :

> "This large increase is due principally to the continued influx of Mymensinghia immigrants into the Brahmaputra valley, the increase of Muslims in that valley being 61 per cent, which is only slightly less than it was in 1921 where the percentage increase of Muslims in that valley reached the enormous figure of 65."

Therefore, in this region the increase in the percentage of Muhammadans due to natural growth must be much smaller. Besides their natural growth the Muhammadans were increasing their strength by *conversion*. Speaking of Puraniya, Martin in his *Eastern India*, Vol. III, page 144, says :

"The followers of Muhammad, although by no means so numerous as in Dinajpoor, have more influence, a much larger proportion of the land being in their possession, and the manners of the chief

* As in 1881.

† As in 1891.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

town being almost entirely Muhammadan. In general also they are somewhat more strict observers of their law, although the difference is not very material. *The faith on the whole seems to be gradually gaining ground,* (italics ours) the strictness with which the doctrine of caste is here observed occasioning many converts, and the passage from one religion to the other, according to the existing practice is very trifling, as scarcely any new dogmas or practices are required, a few external ceremonies is all that is necessary, and the convert continues to dread the same imaginary beings, and to appease their wrath in the same manner as he did before his conversion."

Again at page 512, while speaking of Runggopoor Martin says :

"The faith in Muhammad seems to be daily gaining ground, (italics ours) owing to converts who no longer could have been received in their original castes. The two religions appear to be on very friendly terms and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other, when they imagine, that supplications to their own have been ineffectual."

Thus in spite of the accession to their strength by conversion, in spite of Muhammadan immigrants from other districts, the relative strength of the Muhammadans has gone down from 56·5 per cent in 1810 to 53·2 in 1881 and further went down during the census period. It is only recently that their relative strength has begun to increase.

———:O:———

INDIA'S CASE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI and Dr. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

India appeals to the United Nations Organisation on behalf of her quarter of a million nationals in South Africa, in the belief and confidence that this appeal is not only within the competence of, but is sustained by, the United Nations Charter. India calls upon South Africa, her co-signatory to the United Nations Charter, to fulfil the Preamble of the Charter :

> "To affirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small;
>
> "To establish conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations arising from Treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and
>
> "To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

These inescapable principles of human freedom, to maintain which fifty nations, including South Africa and India, have subscribed their signatures to the United Nations Charter, are now threatened with extinction by the Union of South Africa, in so far as the right to live as peaceful citizens of Indian nationals in the Union is concerned.

India files this appeal with the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation under Article 13 of the United Nations Charter, demanding assistance "in the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" as far as Indians in South Africa are concerned. India files this appeal to the Assembly of the United Nations, after having exhausted the provision for "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." contained in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. Even Articles 52 and 95 of the Charter are inoperative, in so far as there is a breakdown in the constitutional law and procedure of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations. The responsibility for this breakdown in the *regime* of international law is entirely and solely that of the Union of South Africa, which has refused the Government of India an opportunity for discussion of the Indian question in South Africa at a Round Table Conference, on the model of the Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932, as repeatedly requested by the Government of India. The result of this refusal by the Union Government, which today claims that, the Indian question in the Union is a domestic question, is in complete variance with the law and fact relating to the history of the entry of Indians into South Africa during the past 86 years, and has resulted in the Government of India terminating diplomatic and trade relations with the Government of the Union.

At the bar of world opinion, India has the confidence to prove that the dispute between herself and South Africa is a dispute which concerns vitally and irrevocably the interstatal relations between herself on the one part and the Union on the other, and the international relations between India and South Africa on the one part and the United Nations Organisation on the other. The Union Government has committed a breach of international law, and there is a threat of breach of international peace thus created. Indians in the Union today have risen in a non-violent and peaceful revolt against denial to them of franchise, right to gainful employment, and the opportunity to live as peaceful citizens. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which were responsible for the introduction of Indians into the Union, before the Union Constitution was drafted in 1910, today looks on helplessly, unable to discharge the legal and political obligations they have towards these hapless Indian residents in the Union, and it is thus that the Government of India bring forward this appeal to the United Nations Organisation.

The law and fact of the dispute between India and South Africa must be set forth as clearly and concisely as possible. They naturally get mixed up at almost every angle, and constitute the history of Indian immigration into South Africa, which first started in 1860 at the frantic request of the White community of the Union. The better method seems to be to state the law, both national and international, in order to demolish the claim of the Union Government that the Indian question is a domestic one, and then to state the fact relating to the quantum of legal rights to life and to gainful employment which Indians, as citizens of South Africa, are entitled to at the bar of the United Nations . . .

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Law Relating to Dispute

The fact that both India and South Africa were ...atories to the Treaty of Versailles, and were, later, ...itted as original members of the League of Nations ...e Annexe to the Covenant of the League of ...ions) automatically lifted these two countries from ...ambit of the outmoded and time-worn usage and ...om relating to the British Empire and Common...lth of Nations. Steadily literally year by year, both ...a and South Africa participated in the *regime* of ... League of Nations, whose legal successor today is ... United Nations Organisation, and submitted them...es to the jurisdiction not only of the League of ...ions and the International Labour Organisation, ... also of the Permanent Court of International ...tice. The fact that both India and South Africa had ...ed to be bound by the conventions passed from ...e to time at Geneva under the auspices of the ...ague of Nations and its ancillary bodies, and that ...y had additionally agreed voluntarily to submit ...nual reports on action taken on the conventions ...ered to by them, created a new precedent in the ...e of these two countries, particularly with reference ...interstatal and international relationships. Both the ...ntries are today agreed to throw into the common ...l of international organisation, definite portions of ...ir national sovereignty, and to abide by such inter...tional action as is deemed necessary to meet the ...gencies of any issue.

India and South Africa have ratified the Protocol ...ablishing the Permanent Court of International ...tice, the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court, ...d the General Act of 1928 [see Appendices I to III]. ...d hereby hangs a tale which both His Majesty's ...overnment and the Government of the Union of ...uth Africa want to interpret to the disadvantage of ...dia which, however, is not factually, and in terms ... international law, tenable at all. His Majesty the ...ng has, on behalf of both India and South Africa, ...evocably bound himself and his successors to abide ... the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, even ...ough Ministers Plenipotentiary, who are nationals ... these two countries have, in respect of their in...idual countries, deposited ratifications of these ...struments of the Permanent Court in the Registry ... the League of Nations Secretariat.

There are, however, certain vital reservations to ... ratifications, in particular of the Optional Clause, ... His Majesty's Government, the Government of the ...ion of South Africa and the Government of India. ...s Majesty's Government had sought to riddle their ...ification of the Optional Clause *on behalf of the ...itish Empire*, with a proviso that they would prefer ...tlement of disputes *inter se* the various units of the ...itish Empire outside the jurisdiction of the Perma...at Court. Very naturally, India at the behest of His ...ajesty's Government, was obliged to conform to this ...ule of ratification. The relevant reservations made ... behalf of India in this regard will be discussed later, ... it must be remembered here that while the Irish ...ee State ratified the Optional Clause with the sole ...ndition of reciprocity and no reservations at all, the ...overnment of the Union of South Africa specifically ...mitted the justifiability by the Permanent Court of ... disputes *inter se* the various units of the British ...ommonwealth of Nations, but preferred to settle ...em by other means.

In the Instrument of Ratification of the Optional Clause, which was deposited on behalf of India with the League of Nations by the late Sir Mohammed Habibullah, on September 9, 1929, there were four reservations, two of which are relevant to our discussion, and are reproduced below. They are to the effect that the Government of India would submit to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court all disputes :

(1) "Other than disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of settlement;

(2) "Disputes with the Government of any other member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner *as the parties have agreed or shall agree.*" (Italics ours).

Additional to these reservations to the ratification of the Optional Clause, the Government of India, while ratifying the General Act of 1928, appended a series of reservations, in which the two mentioned above are included. In the reservations to the ratification of the General Act the Government of India stated that "disputes concerning questions, which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States, will be excluded." Section 3 of this list of reservations to the ratification of the General Act, relates to the manner in which disputes *inter se* between the Government of India and others, including units of the British Commonwealth of Nations, are to be settled. The League of Nations Secretariat received on February 15, 1939, a communication from the Secretary of State for India containing the following declaration :

> "India will continue, after the 16th August 1939, to participate in the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, subject to the reservation that from the date of the participation India will not, should she unfortunately find herself involved in hostilities, cover disputes arising out of events occurring during the War. This reservation applies also to the procedure of conciliation. The participation of India in the General Act after the 15th August 1939 will continue as heretofore, subject to the reservation set forth in the Instrument of Accession in respect of India."

Articles XII, XIII and XV of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to which both India and South Africa are adherents, are specific in relation to the obligations undertaken by these two countries in the *regime* of international law which was sought to be established during the inter-war period, and which is valid even today, by virtue of both India and South Africa being members of the United Nations Organisation.

> Under Article XII of the League Covenant it is stated: "The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any disputes likely to lead to a rupture they would submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council." Article XIII provides: "The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration." Under Article XV it is laid down: "If there should arise between members of the League disputes likely to lead to rupture which is not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article XIII, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. *Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice to the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof*".—(Italics ours).

Reservations or no reservations, as regards the ratification by India and the Union of South Africa of the Statute and the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the General Act of 1928, the procedure under the Covenant of the League of Nations is crystal clear and does not give the Union Government any loophole for escape.

The substance of the Indian case, with respect to the Pegging Act and other discriminatory legislation of the Union of South Africa, is that the Indian question in the Union is not a domestic question, but is one which involves not only the relations between India and South Africa on the one part, but also between India and South Africa and the rest of the world on the other. It is true that Resolution No. 21 of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 was accepted by India and South Africa as follows :

"It is the inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own populations by means of restriction of immigration from any of the other countries."

But the present dispute between India and South Africa is not in regard to any claim by India to send emigrants into the Union, but in relation to the 250,000 Indian residents in the Union, who are there today because South Africa wanted them at one time and India permitted them to go out. Their status and future are thus the concern of India and of the United Nations Organisation.

The Indian question in South Africa had never been a question which is domestic to the Union Government. Before any of the existing units of the Union of South Africa had any Legislatures of their own, Indian labourers were taken out of this country under a contract to which His Majesty's Government and the Government of India were parties. When the existing units of the Union of South Africa obtained their legislatures, and particularly after the South African Union was formed in 1910, the legal and moral responsibility of His Majesty's Government for the preservation of rights of Indian settlers in South Africa was transferred to them. By implication, and without any room for doubt, the Union Government and the various Provincial Administrations in South Africa today, as was also the case during the preceding long decades of the doleful history of the Indo-South African question, became responsible for the discharge of obligations thus undertaken.

If the Indian question in South Africa was ever a domestic question, within the unfettered competence of the Union Government, it would not have been possible for India to send out the deputation under Sir George Paddison in 1926 in connection with the Class Areas Bill and other proposed legislation of the Union Government. If the Government of India and the people of India had no concern with the fortunes of Indian settlers in South Africa, the two Cape Town Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932 between representatives of the Government of India and the Union of South Africa participated as representatives of two high contracting parties, would not have been held in the Union. If the Indian question in the Union of South Africa was at all a domestic question, the Union Government would not have agreed to receive an Indian Agent-General since 1927, to become the natural spokesman of the Indian settler community in that country in their relations with the Government of the Union. The more recent conversion of the status and functions of the Indian Agent-General into those of a High Commissioner, was only an incident in the development of India's diplomatic appointments abroad, which was necessitated by the exigencies of the Second World War and, even though an Indian High Commissioner took the place of an Indian Agent-General during the past six years, it is clear that the Government and the people of India *did not* surrender their proclaimed and recognised responsibility to the Indian residents in South Africa.

By no stretch of the imagination can it be said by the Union Government that the Indian question of South Africa is a domestic question. When the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act was put on the Statute Book, 1907, the Chinese Minister in London lodged a protest with the British Foreign Office as follows :

"Apart from the fact that the ordinance is not in consonance with the principles of international comity, it is indeed repugnant to the policy of fairness and equality which is always advocated in the United Kingdom."

A quarter of a century ago, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told Field Marshal Smuts, in the open session of the Imperial Conference, bluntly and categorically, that "if the Indian problem in South Africa is allowed to fester much longer, it will pass beyond the bounds of a domestic issue, and will become a question of foreign policy of such gravity, that upon it the unity of the Empire may founder irrevocably."

It is quite clear that the Union Government cannot hope to escape through the horns of a dilemma by repudiating its obligations to the Government and the people of India and to the United Nations Organisation which is the legal successor, so to say, to the League of Nations of the inter-war period, by converting the Indian question in the Union into a domestic minority question. On September 18, 1922, the third Assembly of the League of Nations passed the following resolution, on the motion of the representatives of South Africa :

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular sanction of the Council."

Two years later, both India and South Africa again participated in, and undertook obligations at, the international Conference on Emigration and Immigration held in Rome (1924). Paragraph 7 of Resolution VII of this Conference, to which both countries were parties, ran as follows :

"The labour contracts drawn up in the emigration countries between the employers and the workers in conformity with the laws of that country,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shall have full force in the immigration country, except as regards causes of public order and laws and regulations of the latter country."

These two International Instruments of conduct d South Africa to a procedure which is irrevocable, d whose quantum of law certainly has its incidence favour of the Indian resident community in the ion. The minority treaties of the League of Nations re never intended for the purpose of protecting *only* Czechs, the Poles, the Germans, etc. of Central ropean countries, and, at any rate as far as Indians South Africa are concerned, the spokesmen of the ion Government to the League of Nations, accord- to the resolution of its 1922 Assembly, undertook igations voluntarily and irrevocably in their favour. ain, in terms of the labour contracts drawn up ween an Indian indentured emigrant for South Africa the sixties of the last century, as is examined in the xt section of this Memorandum, Indian residents in Union today, being largely the progeny of the iginal Indian indentured emigrants, have their legal hts assured. These rights are inviolate.

Today there is a complete breach of diplomatic lations between India and South Africa. On Novem- r 5, 1944, the entry into or residence in India, with- t permit, of South Africans was banned by the overnment of India under Section 3 of the Recipro- y Act of 1943. The Indo-South African trade agree- ent has, on July 17, 1946, been denounced, and there a stand-still in the trade relations between the two untries. The Indian High Commissioner in South frica has also been recalled. These three developments o necessarily resemble the position anterior to the eclaration of war between one country and another, d the Government of the Union of South Africa has nsistently refused to have parleys with the Govern- ent of India. The Union Government is not prepared convene a Round Table Conference in South Africa the model of the Round Table Conferences of 1927 d 1932. This complete diplomatic breach between dia and South Africa is, therefore, a matter for the gnisance of the United Nations Organisation. The ceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations d the ratification of the Statute and the Optional ause of the Permanent Court by South Africa and dia, which is valid even today, creates an obligation hich must be forthwith filled. The Union Government ecifically recognises the justifiability of disputes *inter* the units of the British Commonwealth of Nations the Permanent Court. India and South Africa have other specified machinery which can now be pressed o service for the adjudication of the dispute pending tween them today. The reservations made on behalf India in the ratification of the Optional Clause of e Permanent Court and the General Act, particularly ose specified in our discussion earlier, are inoperative, ith the result that the reference by India to the curity Council of the United Nations Organisation the Indian question is a perfectly valid one in the e of the International Law.

It might be suggested that the Judicial Committee the Privy Council in London might be seised of this spute between India and South Africa, and it might o be argued that at any rate, two such references re made before to the Privy Council in respect of e boundary disputes between Ontario and Manitoba 1884 and the Labrador Coastal dispute between Canada and Newfoundland in 1927. But there is no specified procedure for the filing of appeals before the Privy Council between the Government of two countries belonging to the British Commonwealth of Nations, even assuming that either India or South Africa, or both, are willing to submit this dispute to its jurisdiction. On the contrary, as has been pointed out amply in this memorandum, both India and South Africa are distinct international personalities, and have assumed specific obligations which are immutable in the eyes of International Law. Quoting an earlier precedent relating to India's admission to the International Labour Organisation, immediately after the promulgation of the Covenant of the League of Nations, it will be seen that both India and South Africa, which were members of the International Labour Organisation continuously since 1921, were admitted to this Organisation as High Contracting Parties. An earlier draft of the Instrument, setting up a permanent Organisation for the promotion of international labour conditions, actually styled South Africa and India "as if they were independent States." It is not only the intention behind the promoters of the *regime* of International Law and organisation during the inter-war period which is of vital significance to us today, in the light of the creation of the United Nations Organisation and the adhesion thereto of both India and South Africa. It is also the fact that India and South Africa are distinct international entities, with obligations which are binding and fundamental, not only as regards their relations *inter se*, but also in respect of their dealings with the rest of the world community. In the light of the civil resistance movement of the Indian resident community in South Africa, additional to the breach of relations between India and South Africa on the very same account, it is obvious that the United Nations Organisation is faced with a situation in which there is definitely threat of a breach to world peace. The equity, or the lack of it, of the Union legislation towards the Indian resident community within its territorial jurisdiction, is quite distinct from the facts that a grave threat of breach to international peace has occurred, that a minority community in the Union has revolted against the Government to whom they owe allegiance, and that the Government of India have broken off relations with the Union Government on the score that their nationals have been maltreated. These are facts which cannot be disputed, and the law of the United Nations Organisation must necessarily take notice of these facts.

Facts of the Case

The facts of the case must now be set out briefly, in order to establish the quantum of legal responsibility which vests with the Government of India, even today, for the welfare of Indian nationals in the Union of South Africa. Even though shiploads of Indian labourers were permitted to be sent out to Mauritius and to other British Colonies in various parts of the world at various other earlier dates, it was only in 1860 that the first shipment of Indian labourers was permitted to Natal. This was, however, not done until after frantic appeals were made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, followed by ample assurances of equitable treatment to such of the Indian workers who were permitted by the Government of India to emigrate to South Africa. In document 9 of 1858 of the Natal Provincial

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Administration, Lieutenant-Governor Scott wrote to the Secretary of State for Colonies as follows :

> "I am aware from past correspondence that the Indian Government do not appear very desirous of seeing an imigration of coolies from India to Natal, and that many difficulties did exist to such a scheme, but seeing that the Planters here regard this privilege as of importance, I shall be glad if these difficulties could be overcome."

A tabular statement of the terms offered to an indentured Indian emigrant labourer in the Colony of Natal, dated January 27, 1874, is attached as Appendix IV to this Memorandum. It will be seen that, for the sake of a mere pittance, the unlettered Indian agricultural and urban worker permitted himself to be shipped across the Indian Ocean in search of an *El Dorado* which never existed, because it was the recruiter's chicanery and pressure which supplied the motive force to his emigration.

In a despatch of the Government of India, of 1877, the method of recruitment under indenture was stated as follows :

> "Colonial Governments appoint persons of approved character to conduct emigration on their behalf from the Presidency Towns of India. These agents employ recruiters of whose respectability they are required to convince the Government Protector of Immigrants. These recruiters persuade persons to emigrate and take them before magistrates who register their engagements. The recruits are then conveyed to Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, where they are housed under the immediate eye of the emigrant agent, in depots which have been licensed as fit places for the collection of emigrants by the Protector. They are thence shipped on board vessels, which are also licensed, care being taken that they are equipped in every respect with what is needed to ensure the safety of the passengers on their long voyage; and there the direct concern of the Government with the transaction ends."

The law and practice of indenture must be examined here, in order to establish the incidence of rights to Indian emigrant workers, once they were shipped across from India to distant parts of the world. The British Guiana Royal Commission, which reported in 1871, describing the indenture of Indian emigrant labourers in British Guiana, which was exactly identical with the system of indenture prevalent in Natal, wrote as follows :

> "The indentured system differs from slavery principally in this respect—that of his proper civil rights those which are left to the slave, if any, are the exception ; while in the case of the indentured labourer the exceptions are those of which he is deprived. Hence, it is the freedom of the slave and the bondage of the labourer, against which all the unforeseen incidents and accidents of law must tell."

In another place, this Commission observed as follows :

> "Indenture, as it seems to us, is justifiable, however contrary to English ideas, to ensure payment by [to] the immigrant for services rendered, that is for his passage out, which payment, it seems, can be ensured in no other way. It may also be defended on the ground of his helplessness on arrival in a country; for, if a man must necessarily be dependent on others for the preservation of his health, there is no harm in recognising it by law." In the Command Paper of the British Parliament (No. Cd. 7,744 of 1915), two Commissioners of the Government of India, after a world-wide inquiry into indenture, wrote that the employer "exercises *quasi*-judicial authority in disputes between immigrants, is entrusted with the temporary care of their savings, and acts as their confidential adviser."

Lord Olivier, who, as Governor of Jamaica in the first decade of the twentieth century, had occasion to observe Indian indentured labour in that colony, writing in 1909, stated :

> "The protection by the State of the indentured labourer in the Colonies is not a democrotic domestic compulsion. It is a paternal and humanitarian compulsion. It is imposed from without by the statesmanship of the Indian and British Governments."

Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal and a co-adjutor of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, writing in 1909, described Indenture in its legal incidence as follows :

> "Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature entered into, not under the common law of the country, but under a statute specially devised to meet the case. The labourer never knows to what employer he is to be allotted, being required to enter into his contract in India, and to consent to allotment to any employer that the Protector might choose for him. Between the master and the servant under such a law there can be no human relationship, save as may often be observed between an owner and his cattle. And, as a matter of fact, the Indian labourer is often regarded by his employer as of less account than a good beast, for the latter costs money to replace, whereas the former is a cheap commodity. So long as breach of contract on the part of the labourer is *always* (and on that of the employer *seldom*) regarded as a criminal and not as a civil matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any light other than of a system approaching one of servile conditions, and this quite independently of what may obtain in other parts of the world where conditions may be better or worse."

It will be seen that Indians entering Natal in 1860 and afterwards, had entered so initially for a period of three years, with a right to reindenture for a further period up to a total of ten, after which, in case the indenture period aggregated five years out of this total, they are entitled to a free return passage to India. The tabular statement in Appendix IV, however, suggests a slight variation to this procedure, in that the initial contract was for five years. The point of law which must be remembered here is, whether the contract, as shown in the Appendix, subsisted between:

(1) The Government of India and the Government of Natal; or
(2) the Indian labourer and the Protector of Immigrants in Natal alone; or
(3) the Indian labourer and the employer to whom he was allotted ultimately on arrival in Natal.

It will be presumptuous to try to fix the problem of law relating to the above three alternative propositions, particularly in the knowledge that they relate to a period which is ninety years old, but it is clear that the overall picture of Indian emigration to Natal under indenture system does bind irrevocably the Government of India, the Provincial Administration of Natal, and the Union Government of South Africa after it came into existence in 1910. More than everything else, in view of the fact that the Natal Provincial Administration, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a factotum of the British Colonial Office, the legal sponsibility of His Majesty's Government towards dian settlers in Natal was all-pervading and not minal. It is established that the law relating to the migration, residence and ultimate settlement of dian labourers in South Africa was and continues to one which involves the responsibility of the cipal for the engagements of the agent, the principal this case being, jointly and severally, His Majesty's vernment, the Provincial Administration of Natal the Government of the Union of South Africa.

A brief examination of the law of Natal, partirly during the years 1859-70, is very helpful in this nection. Under Law No. 15 of 1859 of the Natal gislature, White employers in Natal were enabled introduce at their own expense immigrants from dia. In 1860, an agent of the Government of Natal Mr. W. H. Collins) proceeded to India for the purse of selecting the first batch of Indian emigrant bourers, which landed in Durban on November 17, 60. Law No. 17 of 1864, passed by the Natal Legisture, provided for the extension of the period of denture from three to five years, a decision which eaks loudly of the imperative need for the continued troduction of Indian labourers for the benefit of the onomy of Natal. The Consolidation Law No. 2 of 70 of the Natal Legislature must hold our attention while here. Under this Law, there was an offer of e passage back to India to Indian indentured labourrs after the completion of ten years' residence in tal, five years of which must be indentured service. however, an Indian labourer, who proved his claim a return passage under this law, elected to remain rmanently in Natal, *a parcel of freehold land was en to him in lieu thereof*. Bonuses were offered to dian labourers to induce them to reindenture themves. They were also protected from arrest for civil bt. Very soon, after the passage of this Consolidation w (which was ten years after the first indentured dian set foot on the soil of Natal) several Indians imed and obtained under Section 51, parcels of land the Umsinto area. A report of the Protector of migrants in Natal, dated March 31, 1881, had the lowing very remarkable passage :

"Return passage and lands to be provided by Government under Section 51 of Law 2 of 1870. Forty (Indians) have applied for land under this Law. If the lands are not provided for them, they will demand a return passage to India which will be a very expensive matter (about 200 Indians, including children). They should be either positively refused, or to be put in possession of the land."

The intention and fact relating to the continued idence of Indian indentured labourers in Natal are clusively proved by the Consolidation Law of 1870. dian labour was frantically needed by the White aters of Natal, and was proved to be infinitely aper than Negro labour, particularly the labour of e Negroes who were manumitted only a couple of ades earlier. In order to save the return passage e Natal Legislature voted £200,000 in 1859, for the oduction of Indian labour, and at a later date ded a considerable loan to service the Indian indened labour system), indentured Indian labourers, on pletion of their contracts, were induced to stay on land *as free citizens*.

Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for the lonies, in a despatch to Natal, referring to the profound discontent and indignation caused in India by ill-treatment meted out to Indian immigrants in overseas countries, wrote in 1874 as follows :

"Above all things, we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangement, that the Colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed their service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colony, will be free in all respects, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any of His Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies."

Under Article XIV of the London Convention of 1884, Indians, who freed themselves from indenture in Natal and entered the Transvaal, were enabled to acquire property and rights to trade, though later legislation succeeded in destroying these rights. The Sanderson Committee, which was appointed (1910) by His Majesty's Government to inquire into the question of Indian immigrant labour in every part of the British Empire, recognising fully the value of permanent settlement of Indian indentured labourers overseas, observed as follows :

"It is true that where, in the circumstances of the case, free immigration is impracticable, the immigration is under indenture, and that such immigration was originally undertaken with the object of providing sugar planters with a regular and efficient supply of labour. It still benefits the planter in the first instance. But it also benefits the Colonies in two ways: first, by encouraging the principal industries on which its prosperity depends; secondly, by promoting the development of its still latent resources. The immigrant himself is a tax-payer, and in most cases contributes to the revenue of the Colony in no inconsiderable degree by the duty on articles required for his special use and consumption."

In the wake of indentured immigration of Indians into Natal, motley crowds of free Indians also entered the Colony, and at later stages entered the other units of the present Union of South Africa, namely, the Cape Province, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Until the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement educated free entrants from India were permitted to enter South Africa, and the Indian indentured immigration into South Africa ceased in 1910. The presence of free immigrants from India side by side with indentured Indian workers and Indians who gained their freedom after completing their terms of indenture, did always complicate the legal position of the Indian resident community in South Africa, and it certainly offered a baffling legal problem in so far as the actual regulated status of Indians in the Union was concerned. Today, it is stated that more than 90 per cent of the Indian resident community in the Union is local born, and that possibly an equal proportion of the Indian settlers was the progeny of the original indentured Indian immigrant. A statistical appraisal of the sectional problems involved in the presence of categories of Indians in South Africa today might be extremely helpful, but is not possible, because no records were properly maintained distinguishing these three categories of Indians in the Union. The problem for the United Nations Organisation is, however, not the comparative merits of different categories of Indian residents in the Union today. It is a question involving the minimum rights of a citizen in the eyes of Law, which the Union Government cannot be permitted to flout.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Time and again the Union Government, even after the first Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which accepted in principle the status of Indians as citizens of the Union, sought to get rid of the resident Indian community by the application of the Repatriation Clauses of the Agreement, and it is on record that nearly one-fourth of the total Indian community in South Africa was got rid of by this means and were repatriated to the Mother Country. In 1933, the Young Committee was appointed "for the exploration of the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries." The Committee was asked "to report as to the country or countries in which further investigation as to the successful operation of such a scheme might be advantageously made, having regard to the political, climatic and economic conditions in such country or countries, and the extent to which Indians in the Union would participate therein." It is not necessary here for us to investigate the sequel to the investigation of this Committee, apart from stating that the attempt to transplant Indians from South Africa in other parts of the world, like British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana, was given up as a failure. The conclusion on this question of the Second Cape Town Conference of 1932, to which India and South Africa were parties, was as follows :

> "It is now recognised that the possibilities of the Union's scheme of Assisted Emigration to India are now practically exhausted owing to the economic and climatic conditions of India, as well as to the fact that eighty per cent of the Indian population of the Union are now South African born."

The abandonment of this scheme by the Union Government is a tacit admission that such of the Indian residents in South Africa, who survived the Assisted Passage Scheme to India were part and parcel of the body politic of the Union, and that the Government of the Union have obligations which are incidental to the relationship of the State and the individual, not a whit smaller in quantum both as regards law and fact.

The question of South African nationality must be discussed here in some detail. Under the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, to which both India and South Africa were parties but which the Union Government today seeks to nullify unilaterally, it was stated :

> "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Additional to this vital principle, under which the Union Government recognised Indians in South Africa as a community which is integral to the body politic, there were other provisions in the Agreement which must be noticed. It was proclaimed that "an Indian should be enabled to live a happy family life in the country, in which he is domiciled," and it was agreed to by the Government of the Union of South Africa that the Government of India "should certify that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child, as the case may be, of the person who makes the claim." This right has been exercised by the Government of India during the past twenty years. It was also stated in the Agreement :

> "If the Government of the Union of South Africa make representation to the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments, the Government of India will be willing to consider such a request."

The Union Government did make such a request, and an Indian Agent-General was appointed to the Union in 1927 and continued there for a decade and a half, even though, in more recent years, the status of Indian representation in the Union was changed from an Agency into a High Commissionership.

The Government and the people of India, in addition to the Indians in South Africa, have accepted the principle of "the maintenance of Western standards of life by just and legitimate means and Indians in the Union have, as has been amply demonstrated from time to time during the past twenty years in Union Government reports, faithfully surrendered their right to live their own life and conformed to Western standards of living. So far, there has been no proved breach of this essential condition of the Gentleman's Agreement between India and the Union, which the resident Indian community in the Union have faithfully adhered to. On the contrary, it is the gravamen of the dispute between India and South Africa that the Union Government have, through their segregational and other legislation and administrative practice, sought deliberately to prevent Indians in the Union from having the means and opportunity for conforming to Western standards of life.

Hardly before the signature of the Union Government dried up on the First Cape Town Agreement, the South African Nationality Bill, which subsequently became the law of the Union, was introduced on November 15, 1927. Section I of this Act, defining South African nationality, runs as follows :

> "A person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union, who is not an alien or a prohibited immigrant under any law relative to Immigration."

In view of the implications of the legal expression "prohibited immigrant," which came into current use after the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement which led to a gentleman's understanding relating to the stoppage of free Indian immigration into the Union, this definition of 1927 relating to South African nationality, certainly created a difficult position for the Indian community in the Union. The result was that the question was taken up before the Supreme Court of South Africa, whose Appellate Division, in the case *E. M. Seedat versus Appeal Board*, by the judgment of the Lord President, laid down as follows :

> "The regulation is no doubt an Act of administration of a nature on scale which can seldom, if ever before, have been entrusted by the Legislature to the discretion of an individual. As was said in the case of *Dava Ratanjee, 1913, N.L.R. 467*: 'The Minister, without distinction of nationality, class or circumstances, has simply declared the whole Asiatic population of the world.....to be unsuited on economic grounds to the requirements of the Union, and therefore restricted.' But while that is so, we are unable to say that in so doing he has gone beyond the enormous powers conferred upon him by paragraph (*a*) of sub-section (1) of Section IV of the Act. This

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

words of that enactment, taken in their ordinary and grammatical sense, are wide enough to cover the Regulations, and we find nothing elsewhere in the language or scope of the Act to render such an interpretation repugnant, or to force us to a more limited one.

"What are economic grounds, and who are to be deemed unsuited on such grounds are matters which, in plain terms, are committed entirely to the discretion of the Minister: and whether he exercises that discretion by prohibiting each Asiatic person separately and individually who attempts to enter the Union as it was conceded he might do . . . . . or by prohibiting 'every Asiatic person' as a class by declaring them unsuited on economic grounds, makes no difference. He is left to classify as he pleases."

This judgment, however, related to the Draconian Law of the Union of South Africa with reference to fresh entrants from India into the Union territory.

In 1940, the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of Natal, in the case of *Jussodia*, defined the position of the indentured Indians and their descendants in Natal. Justice Statham said :

"Law 12 of 1872 erected a Department of State called *Protector of Immigrants*, whose duties are defined by law, and designed to safeguard the welfare of the immigrants in a manner compatible with the theory that their residence in Natal was of a temporary character and their welfare was the concern of the Government of India whose subjects they continued to be. The law provided for the registration of Indian marriages by the Protector, and made registration *prima facie* proof of a marriage.

"Section 63 of Law 25, 1891, and Law 7, 1896, though passed at dates later than 1883, read with Sections 13 and 14 of Law 12, 1872, all of which validate in Natal marriages, which by the common law of Natal were invalid, lent weight to the view that it was the intention of the Legislature all through to apply to Indians who come to Natal as labourers their own marriage system, on the theory that they are birds of passage whose real domicile was India."

It is clear from these rulings of two competent Tribunals of the Union, that it was the intention of the Law in South Africa to render the progeny of the original indentured Indian labourers, in particular, stateless. As has been pointed out earlier, the overwhelming majority of the Indians in the Union today are South African born. They have not seen their Mother Country. Their ways of life, both as a result of the inescapable grip of the social and economic system and the White civilization of South Africa, and within the meaning of the Western Standards Clause of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, which they are voluntarily and faithfully observing even today, make them not only reluctant but unfit to return to India and to hope to get absorbed in the population of the Mother Country. It will not be a flight of the imagination to describe the present position of Indians in South Africa as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Little by little, but with the precision of a steam roller, a quarter of a million Indians in the Union are today being squeezed out of existence. The parliamentary franchise which Indians possessed till 1896, and the provincial franchise which they had in Natal till 1924 had been withdrawn. Their right to reside and trade on a par with the White community has been denied to them, both by Law and by administrative practice. Their freedom of movement between one province and another in the Union has been completely curtailed on racial grounds. They cannot travel in public vehicles, use the public counters in the post offices, or reside in hotels side by side with the White sections of the population. Law after law has been passed, both by the Provincial Administration and by the Union Government, in flagrant breach of repeated past promises, both by the Union Government and by His Majesty's Government at earlier dates, destroying the very basis of the existence of the Indian community in the Union. It is no longer possible for the Indian in South Africa to exist as a useful citizen and to hope to obtain gainful employment. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, as a protest against which the Government of India have enforced reciprocity legislation prohibiting the entry into India without permit of South African nationals, broke off trade relations and put an embargo on exports to and imports from South Africa, and recalled their High Commissioner, is only the last of a series of enactments of the Union Government and its subordinate Provincial Administrations, which have had the effect of withdrawing from the Indian community in South Africa their rights as citizens, leave aside the question of rendering them stateless.

The following is a list (*vide* Appendix to P. S. Joshi : *Verdict on South Africa*) of some of the principal enactments of the Union, which have had the effect of reducing the position of Indians in that country to that of an outcast community, which is not only disfranchised but which is completely prevented from having access to gainful employment :

1. Law 3 of 1885, Transvaal.
2. Statute Law of the Orange Free State, 1891.
3. Law 25 of 1891, Natal.
4. Law 17 of 1895, Natal.
5. The Franchise Act, 1896, Natal.
6. The Dealers Licences Act, No. 18, 1897, Natal.
7. The Immigration Restriction Act, 1897, Natal.
8. Law 3 of 1897, regulating the Marriages of Coloured persons within the South African Republic (Transvaal).
9. Law 15 of 1898, Transvaal.
10. Regulations for Towns in the South African Republic (Transvaal) 1889.
11. The Act No. 1 of 1900 to amend the Immigration Law, Natal.
12. The Immorality Ordinance, Law 46 of 1903, Transvaal.
13. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1903, Natal.
14. The Immigration Act, 1906, Cape Colony.
15. Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance (two private) of 1906.
16. The Act No. 3, 1906, to amend the 1903 Immigration Act, Natal.
17. The Arms and Ammunition Act, No. 10 of 1907, Transvaal.
18. The Immigration Act, No. 15 of 1907, Transvaal.
19. The Education Act, No. 25 of 1907, Transvaal.
20. The Act No. 27 of 1907, the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance.
21. The Workmen's Compensation Act, No. 36 of 1907, Transvaal.
22. The Immorality Amendment Ordinance, Law 16 of 1908, Transvaal.
23. The Townships Amendment Act, Law 34 of 1908, Transvaal.
24. The Gold Law, Act 33 of 1908, Transvaal.
25. The Asiatic Registration Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1908, Transvaal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

26. The Public Service and Pensions Act, No. 19 of 1908, Transvaal.
27. The South Africa Act, 1909.
28. The Public Servants Superannuation Act, No. 1 of 1910, Natal.
29. The Education Act, No. 6 of 1910, Natal.
30. The Act No. 31 of 1910 (to provide pensions for teachers in Government-aided schools) Natal.
31. The Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.
32. Indian Relief Act, 1914.
33. The Act No. 37 of 1919.
34. The Townships Franchise Ordinance, 1924, Natal.
35. The Rural Dealers Ordinance, 1924, Natal.
36. The Durban Land Alienation Ordinance, 1924, Natal.
37. The General Dealers Control Ordinance, 1925, Transvaal.
38. The Color Bar Act, 1925.
39. The Minimum Wages Act, 1925.
40. The Local Government (Provincial Powers) Act, 1926.
41. The Immigration and Indian Relief (further Provision) Act, 1927.
42. The Liquor Act, 1927.
43. The Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act, 1927.
44. The Nationality and Flag Act, 1927.
45. The Old Age Pensions Act, 1927.
46. The Industrial Conciliation Act, 1930.
47. The Immigration Amendment Act, 1931.
48. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act, 1932.
49. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1934.
50. The Slums Act, 1934.
51. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1935.
52. The Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance, 1935, Natal.
53. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1936.
54. The Marketing and Unbeneficial Land Occupation Act, 1937.
55. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, 1937.
56. The Immigration Amendment Act, 1937.
57. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure (Further Amendment) Act, 1937.
58. The Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939.
59. The Town Boards and Health and Malaria Committee Ordinance, 1940, Natal.
60. The Motor Vehicles and Road Traffic Regulations Amendment Ordinance, 1940, Natal.
61. The Durban Extended Powers Ordinance, 1940, Natal.
62. The Factories Machinery and Building Works Act, 1941.
63. The Resolutions for the Exemption of the Feetham areas in the Transvaal, 1941.
64. The Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1941.
65. The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal), Restriction Act, 1943.

APPENDICES

(From the originals published in Chapter I of "India in World Politics" by Dr. Lanka Sundaram)

I

INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL ESTABLISHING THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

GEORGE, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c., &c., &c., to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting!

Whereas a Protocol between Us and certain other Powers and States declaring acceptance of the adjoined Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice which was approved by a unanimous vote of the Assembly of the League of Nations, was concluded and signed at Geneva by our Representatives on behalf of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, our Island of Newfoundland and our Colonies and Protectorates Overseas, on behalf of our Dominion of New Zealand, on behalf of our Union of South Africa, and on behalf of our Empire of India, on the sixteenth day of December in the Year of our Lord 1920; on behalf of our Dominion of Canada on the thirtieth day of March, 1921; and on behalf of our Commonwealth of Australia on the sixteenth day of June, 1921; as well as by the Representatives of other Powers and States duly and respectively authorized for that purpose, which Protocol with the adjoined Statute are word for word as follows:

We, having seen and considered the Protocol aforesaid, have on behalf of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Our Island of Newfoundland and our Colonies and Protectorates Overseas, on behalf of our Dominion of Canada, on behalf of our Dominion of New Zealand, on behalf of our Union of South Africa, and on behalf of our Empire of India, approved, accepted and confirmed the same in all and every one of its Articles and Clauses, as We do by these Presents approve, accept, confirm and ratify it for ourselves, our Heirs and Successors; engaging and promising upon our Royal Word that we will sincerely and faithfully perform and observe towards other Powers and States who are or shall be signatories of the Protocol aforesaid, all and singular the things which are contained and expressed in the Protocol, and that we will never suffer the same to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as it lies in our Power.

For the greater testimony and validity of all which, we have caused our Seal to be affixed to those Presents, which we have signed with our Royal Hand.

Given at our Court of Saint James, the sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and twenty-one and in the Twelfth year of our Reign.

(Sd.) GEORGE, R. I.

| Great Seal of the Realm |

II

INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION OF THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF THE PERMANENT COURT

GEORGE, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c., &c., &c., to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting!

Whereas, at Geneva on the Nineteenth day of September, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

APPENDIX IV

TABULAR STATEMENT OF TERMS OFFERED TO INTENDING EMIGRANTS BY THE COLONY OF NATAL

Labourers	*Work*		*Minimum rate of wages per month*		*Rations free of charge*					
Classification	Nature	Duration	Adult males	Adult females	Minors	To adults	To non-adults of the age of one year and upwards	Housing accommodation and garden ground	Medicines, medical attendance and diet during sickness	Period of service	Period entitling to free return passage to India
ilts of and above age of fifteen rs	Agricultural labour, manufacture of produce and the various domestic occupations	Six days in the week, excepting holidays, and nine hours daily inclusive of one hour allowed for meals	S 1st year 10 2nd „ 11 3rd „ 12 4th „ 13 5th „ 14 Payable monthly	Half the rates to adult males	Rates in proportion to capacity for work	*Monthly—(three days in the week)* lb. Rice or Maize 2 lb. 1½ Dholl 2 Salt-fish 2 Ghee or oil 1 Salt 1	Half allowance	Free of rent	Free of charge	Five years	Ten years' continuous residence, five of which under indenture
nors from ten to een years											

27th January, 1874

H. A. FIRTH,
Emigration Agent for Natal.

e, there was signed on our behalf a Declaration der Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court International Justice annexed to the Protocol signed Geneva on the Sixteenth day of December, One usand nine hundred and twenty, which Declaration word for word, as follows:

"On behalf of the Government of India and subject to ratification, I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court, for a period of ten years and thereafter until such time as notice may be given to terminate the acceptance, over all disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations or facts subsequent to the said ratification.

Other than disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement, and Disputes with the Government of any other Member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree, and disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India and subject to the condition that the Government of India reserve the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within ten days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the Court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of twelve months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all members of the Council other than parties to the dispute.

(Sd.) Md. HABIBULLAH.
Geneva, September 19, 1929."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

III

GENERAL ACT, 1928

The Act was ratified by India subject to the following conditions :

"(1) That the following disputes are excluded from the procedure described in the General Act, including the procedure of conciliation:—

(i) disputes arising prior to the accession of His Majesty to the said General Act or relating to situations or facts prior to the said accession;

(ii) disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other methods of peaceful settlement;

(iii) disputes between the Government of India and the Government of any other member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such a manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree;

(iv) disputes concerning questions which by International Law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States; and

(v) disputes with any party to the General Act who is not a Member of the League of Nations.

"(2) That His Majesty reserves the right in relation to the disputes mentioned in Article 17 of the General Act to require that the procedure prescribed in Chapter II of the said Act shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within ten days of the notification of the initiation of the procedure, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of twelve months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all the members of the Council other than the parties to the disputes.

"(3) (i) That, in the case of a dispute not being a dispute mentioned in Article 17 of the General Act which is brought before the Council of the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant, the procedure prescribed in Chapter I of the General Act shall not be applied, and if already commenced, shall be suspended, unless the Council determines that the said procedure shall be adopted; (ii) that in the case of such a dispute, the procedure described in Chapter III of the General Act shall not be applied unless the Council has failed to effect a settlement of the dispute within twelve months from the date on which it was first submitted to the Council, or, in a case where the procedure prescribed in Chapter I has been adopted without producing an agreement between the parties within six months from the termination of the work of the Conciliation Commission. The Council may extend either of the above periods by decision of all its members other than parties to the disputes."

———:0:———

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS, Vol. III : *By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Minerva Bookshop, Lahore. 1944. Pp. x + 183. Price Rs. 7.*

The first volume of this series deals with the period 1739-1768. The second and third volumes bring the history of the Sikhs down to 1799 A.D., the former dealing with the Cis-Sutlej and the latter, the one under review, with the Trans-Sutlej states.

This volume is a worthy companion to the preceding two which were reviewed in these columns and have elicited high praise from some of the renowned historians of India. The author has shown the same zeal and patient industry for collecting facts and the same critical spirit for shifting evidence. The result has been a highly interesting and instructive picture of the Sikh community during the period when it was hopelessly torn asunder by internal dissensions and faced with a series of invasions by the Afghan king Shah Zaman, the grandson of the Durrani king Ahmad Shah Abdali. The author has treated the life of the Sikhs in all its aspects and has clearly shown the elements of both weakness and strength in their organisation. The numerous *Misls* into which they were divided enabled them to rapidly subjugate the different parts of the Punjab and neighbouring hill-states and extend the domain of the Sikh rule from the Indus to the Jumna. It also developed individuality and resourcefulness of the different chiefs, and enabled them to set up tiny principalities whose peace and prosperity offered a happy contrast to the harried dominions of the Mughals. But the absence of any central authority was a fatal weakness which stood in the way of their becoming a great nation. This is clearly shown by the author in the history of the thirty years delineated in this and the preceding volume. For during this period the energies of the Sikhs were mainly diverted to two channels,—military raids into the neighbouring lands on the east and north, and fighting among themselves for power and pelf without any higher motive or constructive statesmanship for evolving a single solid and stable Sikh State in the Punjab.

The year 1799 with which these two volumes close 'forms a landmark in the history of the Sikhs'. The repeated invasions of Shah Zaman were repelled by the disunited Sikhs, but this discomfiture of the Kabul ruler brought into prominence, courage, bravery and military genius of the young Sukarchakia chief Ranjit Singh. Though still in his teens, he had deeply impressed the Sikh leaders by his character and personality and now made the unification of the Punjab the great aim of his life. Shah Zaman left Lahore, for the last time, on January 3, 1799, and its fort surrendered to Ranjit

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...h on July 7. As the author rightly remarks: Hence-...ard the history of the Sikhs "centres almost exclu-...y in this great man. The event marks the down-...of the independent Sikh chiefs on the one hand and ...establishment of Sikh monarchy on the other". It is ...confidently hoped that the author will complete the ...work he has so well begun by writing the history ...Sikhs under Ranjit Singh. We cannot, however, ...the note of pessimism struck by him in his Pre-... He laments lack of encouragement and complains ...the "teaching profession does not even provide him ...decent means of livelihood". "After twelve years' ...st toil," says he. "I find myself unable to make both ...meet. I feel therefore compelled to call a halt to ...rch activities and redirect my energies into some ...channel." It would be indeed a great pity if this ...to be true and we can only hope that the author ...soon be in a position to resume his self-imposed ...for which he seems to be the fittest person.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

AN EXPLANATORY DICTIONARY: *By H. ...in. K. and S. Cooper, Bombay. Price Rs. 18.*

This is a very fine dictionary for the use of advanced ...ents excepting for the price, which, though in keep-...with the fine printing and get-up, will be beyond the ...s of the majority. Special care has been taken to ...the simplest terms possible in the explanations. ...We hope that a cheaper popular edition will be ...coming, as there is a real need for such a book for ...n students.

K. N. C.

PICTURE OF A PLAN: *By Minoo Masani. Illus-...ed by C. H. G. Moorhouse. Oxford University Press. ...ember 1945. Numerous coloured illustrations. Pp. 63. ...e Rs. 2.*

Mr. Masani has already earned just reputation ...h his *Our India*. The present book, which has been ...en round the Bombay Plan, will maintain his ...utation as a distinguished writer on economic sub-...s simplified for the young. In it, the reader will be ...e to gather a clear idea of how planning is actually ...e; and he will, at the same time, gain an introduc-...n to the fundamentals of Capitalism and Socialism, ...one or other of which a national plan has ultimately ...be based. The illustrations are of great merit, and ...be of great help to the reader.

BACK TO SANITY: *By Y. G. Krishnamurti. ...ur Brothers, 139, Hill Road, Bandra, Bombay 20. ...xvi + 80. Seven plates. Price Rs. 5-8.*

Philosophical musings on the distracted condition ...the modern world. The writer is of opinion that the ...y hope of rescue lies in a return to sanity, as exem-...ed by the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. In spite ...the good printing and plates, the price seems to have ...n set too high for the average reader. But perhaps ...e nature of the musings themselves precludes the ...k from being popular with the common run of the ...ding public.

THE HILL TRIBES OF JEYPORE: *By Lakshmi ...rayan Sahu, M.A., Member, Servants of India Society. ...a Mission Press, Cuttack. Pp. 205 + viii + 8 + 22 ...strations.*

Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Sahu here gives us an ac-...nt of the life of a little more than a dozen tribes ...abiting the Jeypore Hills in the district of Koraput in ...sa. These cover such interesting tribes as the ...adhas, Sauras and Porojas etc. Mr. Sahu has drawn ...gely upon reports of previous workers; but he has also supplemented them by some amount of personal observation. The ethnoligical description of the tribes in question is often of an indifferent quality; but the sympathy which the author entertains for these tribes finds fuller expression in his account of their depressed social and economic condition. His suggestion for their all-round improvement are sound and practical, and will be welcomed by all who are interested in the welfare of this very important section of India's population.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LANDMARKS IN THE LIFE OF SIR J. P. SRIVASTAVA: *By E. V. S. Manien. Published by Patt & Co., Cawnpore. Pages 47.*

The ex-Food Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council Sir Jwala Prasad was born in Aug. 16, 1889 in Basti District. U.P. He had a good educational career both in India and England and he began his life as a teacher. Afterwards he took to business and was a successful man in the line. As a politician he made his mark in the U.P' Legislative Council and was elected as Minister of Education in 1931. It was at his instance that Unemployment Enquiry Committee with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as chairman was appointed to enquire into educated middle class unemployment. During the Bengal Famine of 1943, Sir Jwala Prasad could not do much in spite of all his efforts and as a result 35 lakhs lost their lives. The Governmental machinery at the centre and also at the provinces, was inefficient and corrupt and still continues to be so under an irresponsible alien government. Another famine is at the door of India and the country is still under the rule of a bureaucracy not responsible to the people. Sir J. P. was recently the food member of the Government, which sent a food deputation to Europe and America with a beggar's bowl, India is ruled by the British but so far as this begging business is concerned, Indians have been found suitable to represent the administrators. The Congress has rightly disassociated from such business.

THE ART OF DISCIPLINE, MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP: *By Mr. Abul Hasanat, I.P. Published by the Standard Library, Dacca. Pages 447. Price Rs. 5.*

The author of this book has for his treatment a very interesting subject—Discipline and Leadership. Discipline not only distinguishes a group of persons but explains different degrees of progress among the nations of the world. The person who is able to enforce discipline becomes the true leader of his group. Leadership attained by coercion must be short-lived but a popular leader, *i.e.*, the leader who occupies his position by people's consent is the person who can do real service to mankind by his guidance. Self-discipline and self-development go together and properly developed they bring self-confidence and fearlessness in man. The author discusses the subject as an art, so the readers will be benefited by following his instructions in the methods he advocates for self-development. The author believes that most men have immense potentialities and possibilities of becoming great but they remain ordinary fellows throughout their lives for want of proper culture, education and determination to be great. To guide, lead and rule men, a person must have a good grasp of human psychology which most men lack and once these fundamentals are mastered, the individual becomes a leader of men, a source of inspiration to others. The author is very resourceful in citing illustrations drawn from history and also from every day life which make the book interesting.

We have no doubt that the readers will find this book not only interesting but useful.

A. B. DUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ISLAM AND THE THEORY OF INTEREST : *By Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, M.A., M.Sc., Econ. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Dub). With a Foreword by Professor Gyanchand and an Introduction by Allama Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmir Bazar, Lahore. Pp. 219. Price Rs. 5.*

This book is an attempt to criticise the modern theories of interest and to interpret the Islamic injunctions on interest, with an object to show that "the decree issued by Islam fourteen hundred years ago was not only entirely right but an unmixed blessing for humanity and really conducive to the welfare of human societies." The book is divided into the following chapters:—(1) The Western Theories of Interest; (2) The Islamic Theory of Interest; (3) Interest—Usury; (4) Islam and Prohibition of Banking Business; (5) The Effects of Usury on Society; (6) The Effects of Fixed Interest Bearing Loans on Business.

It is remarkable that the author, who has so lucidly and brilliantly analysed and criticised the western theories of interest as "an academic economist", has floundered in the quagmire of theology in his efforts to correlate Islamic concepts to modern conditions and to demonstrate the Islamic doctrines to be a living economic theory capable of future guidance. This is another regrettable example of how theological doctrines, however valuable they may be in our personal life and in the domain of religion, are clouding the clarity of our vision in those spheres, where, objectively speaking, they can no more be correlated to and integrated with modern social facts. Usury, interest-taking and bank-promoting are as much facts among Muslims as they are among others and the consideration that weighs with the Muslim capitalist, as with every other capitalist, is the percentage of profit and the amount of dividend and not the scriptures. Dr. Qureshi would have done well to take into consideration these objective facts of capitalism and to build up his theory on the basis of those facts—a method he himself has followed in his analysis and criticism of the theories of the western economists. In its absence, however, the book, with its occasional brilliant interludes, continues to be an interesting specimen of schizo-phrenia.

J. M. DATTA

THE SAYINGS OF PROPHET MUHAMMAD : *Edited by Muhammad Amin, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the Lion Press, Lahore. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-4.*

The author, who has two more popular books on the life and wisdom of the Prophet, has collected 451 of his sayings on the various problems of human life and society, in this neatly got-up little volume. A nice picture of the Holy Mecca, the pocket size of the book and the salience of the sayings it contains make it all the more attractive and interesting for daily use. In the short introduction the editor quotes appreciative opinions of Draper, Dr. Lala Har Dayal, Bernard Shaw and Dr. Johnson on the prophet's wonderful power and influence on humanity.

According to the prophet, a perfect Muslim is he from whose tongue and hands mankind is safe, and no man is a true believer unless he desires for the brother man what he desires for himself. The Prophet teaches his Mumin or the faithful follower to strive always to excel in virtue and Truth, to be persistent in good actions and to help the fellow brother in the hour of need. He asserts that the enemy of Islam is he who does acts of infidelity and sheds the blood of man without cause. He wants his followers never to murder his own species, and never to commit adultry and plunder. It is just now badly necessary for the Indian Muslims to analyse their hearts and ascertain whether they have carried out these universal teachings of their Prophet in their lives.

The handy volume deserves a perusal from every English-knowing Muslim of India at the present time. The editor would have done well if he had classified the sayings under appropriate headings.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

BIRA-PUJA : *By Sm. Srila Devi. Parag Publishers, 169 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book contains thirty poems eulogising mythical, historical and modern heroes of India. The language is elegant and the rhythm graceful.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

MRIDANGA TABLA VAADAN (Part III) : *By Mridangacharya Govind Devraj Guruji. Published by the author himself from Burhanpur, C.P. Cloth bound. Pp. 12 + 466 + 6. Price Rs. 6.*

Obviously this voluminous work of nearly 500 pages (and yet the third volume of the whole book) is not meant for the students (of Tabala and Mridanga), for they could not get much enlightenment out of this work. Even the teachers might feel confused. Of course, they could take the information given in this work, as a supplement to their own knowledge. But the information is not worded clearly, and the author's knowledge of Hindi falls very much short of the requisite for attempting a precise and lucid essay on the subject.

That, however, goes only so far as the 12 prefatory pages are concerned. The 466 pages of the main text do not require any perfect knowledge of Hindi on the part of the author, for herein are given the various notations for playing the two musical instruments, Tabala and Mridanga. The text is well-planned, and the notations, some of them the author's own work, are really very good. Some of them bear the stamp of perfection. As a text-book, the book is perhaps the best available—though the text-book will not be very helpful to any except the teachers.

The author is "one of the very few leading Mridanga players, and knows his subject fully well, having been trained in a systematic and scientific method", but if he took the pains to write out this book, he at least should have made it more comprehensible, and should have taken the help of some professional writer to have his language moulded. His writing is defective both in grammar and in composition, and what with the general crowding in the opening pages (foreword, explanation for the high price of the book—quite unnecessary—, dedication, acknowledgments, contents, indication of the symbols occurring in the book, a biography of the author's preceptor, an elucidation of the science of playing the instruments, a note on the *tala*, a word to the teachers, and what not) the reader feels bewildered. The book is quite well got-up and printed, and one can have no grudge on that point or in the matter of price.

DOULATRAO PARSHURAM

HINDI EKANKI : *By Satyendra, M.A. Sahitya Ratna Bhandar, Agra. Pp. 202. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a valuable addition to the existing slender volume of scientific studies in literary criticism in Hindi literature. It deals with the one-act plays in Hindi literature and their writers and their theme and technique, along with analytical estimaes of some of the well-known present-day essays and achievements in the field. Perhaps, for the first time, we have here a detailed treatment of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ject. And the author's name is a by-word for high-
ting critical acumen. An indispensable book for the
libraries and the college-going students.

RIYASTI JANATA KI SAMASYAEN : *By Baij-
Mahodaya. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore.
61. Price twelve annas.*

A well-thought-out and suitably documented bro-
e on the problems of the people, living in the Indian
es, and an earnest plea for solving them in the light
e sound political principle that real sovereignty rests
e people and is derived from them.

G. M.

MARATHI

ARYA VIRANGANA : *By K. B. Dongre, B.A., Re-
l Subah, Gwalior. Cr. Oct. Pages 227. Price Rs. 3.*

This very useful little book supplies critical lives of
nty-seven Indian Women of historical fame, both
harashtrian and north-Indian. Some of these are cer-
ly unknown to the average reader. In constructing
lives the author has followed the latest criticism of
orical research. The book deserves to be welcomed
historical students and common readers alike.

G. S. S.

MITRA ANI MAITRINI : *By "Sahridaya." Pub-
ed by Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Bombay 4.
e Rs. 3.*

This little imaginary skit purports to reflect faith-
the life and behaviour of the lower middle class,
lish-educated folk, in the District and taluka towns
Maharashtra, covering in its unfolding their interests,
inations, political proclivities, morals, likes and dis-
s and the general want of discipline and self-respect
the popular institutions like the Municipalities, Dis-
Local Boards and Village Panchayats. The pen-pic-
s of Anandrao, Bhayyasaheb, Yeshwantrao, Sushila,
a, Subhadra and others who constitute a circle of
nds, true and otherwise, are skilfully and realistically
n, Anandrao leaving his salutary influence on the
er, because of his high-minded altruism and human-

JANGLANTIL CHHAYA : *By S. R. Bhise. Pub-
ed by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price
5.*

This is a novel, but it resembles more a study made
a Ph.D. thesis in Sociology. It is more an authentic
rt than an imaginary description of the conditions
ife under which the aborigines of the Western
es in Thana, Kolaba, Poona and Nasik districts
age to live in spite of the forest contractors,
ey-lenders, land-holders and their subservient
loyees, who serve the ends of these exploiters of
Adivasis for a mere mess of pottage. The account
d as a story of a few families in distress, rescued
the selfless workers of the Adivasi Seva Sangh
s as a chronicle of the altruistic activities of Mr.
G. Kher, and his colleagues including the writer.
e it throws a flood of light on the atrocious and
man ways of the exploiting sections of our society.
s is the first novel of its kind because of its sub-
matter and background, although, it must be said,
it lacks the engagingness of a novel. It also suffers
want of an elegant style of a finished novelist
Phadke, Khandekar, Madkholkar or Varerkar.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

VEDA PANCHAMRIT : *By Chandulal B. Patel, B.A. Vidyadhikari, Gondal. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 80.*

Mr. Patel is a close student of the Vedas and the Gita ; and he has projected a scheme through which to popularise the study of the Vedas in all its aspects. The work under notice is the first instalment thereof. It comprises (1) Riks in Sanskrit as well as (2) their Bhashya ; then (3) the meaning of the words and (4) their objects in Gujarati, winding up with the substances of the text in one stanza in English. It is a highly technical work, and we wish Mr. Patel godspeed in his difficult task.

ASHIANA DHARM DIPAKO : *By Mrs. Malatibai Bakre. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1944. Cloth cover. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the translation of a Marathi book, Mr. G. G. Talvalkar's Ashiache Dhurmdeep. It opens with prayers in six sections. Vaidik, Baudh, Jaina, Christian Islamic and Zoroastrian. It treats of Dharma and Avatar, and has dissertations on certain philosophical problems and gives short lives and the life-work of Shri Krishna, Bhagwan Buddha, Bhagwan Mahavir, Jesus Christ, Hazrat Mohammad Paigambar and Asho Zarathushtra. It is a readable and informative work.

SADEVANT SAVLINGA : *Edited by Gokaldas D. Raichura. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Press, Baroda. 1944. Thin illustrated paper cover. Pp. 24. Price four annas.*

Mr. Raichura, the editor of the well-known magazine *Sharda* and one of the collectors of Kathiawad's Folk Tales and Bardic Literature, has projected the publication of a cheap four annas series of popular Folk-lore Tales. This booklet is one of them. The story as to how Sadevant, a Rajput married prince, fell in love at first sight with Savlinga, the daughter of a Bania *mahajan* and how he married her by impersonating her prospective bridegroom is told here, lucidly and clearly. This tale was very popular in Gujarat, sixty years ago, but interest in it had faded. It is now revived.

(1) SORATHNE TIRE TIRE : *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1943. Second Edition. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.*

(2) CHARANO AND CHARANI SAHITYA: *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 209. Price Re. 1.*

(3) DHARATINUN DHAVAN : *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published as in (1). Thick card-board cover. 1944. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Jhaver Chand Meghani's pen here treats of varied subjects, such as (1) journey in a small sea-craft, (2) literature relating to the life and life-work of the Bards of Kathiawad and (3) dissertations on Folk-lore, in a realistic and at the same time charming way. Most interested in the rescue and preservation of the Romance and Folk-lore of old Kathiawad, he has tried his hand in other directions too, and that also with equal success, but the object has always been unearthing and rescue of ancient local lore. The short coastal trip (1) was arranged with that view, the history of (2) the bards also hits the same target while his seven dissertations in (3) also are concerned with the same subject. All the three books have become popular, as they deserve to be and add considerably to our knowledge and store of literature bearing on this hitherto neglected subject.

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). *In case of failure, Money refunded.*

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—**H. O.** 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., **B. O.** 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What A Tragedy.

"**The tragedy of the Bengal famine** in 1943 cannot be over-exaggerated. * * * The figures for infant mortality were extremely high. The proportion of children below five years old who died was found to have varied from thirty to fifty percent of the total deaths. The death-rate among adult males was much higher than among adult women, nearly twice as many adult men died as adult women. This meant that a large number of families were deprived of their wage-earners just at the very time when needed them most. The throwing of a large number of women on their own resources was later found to have the inevitable result an increase in prostitution and other social evils. * * * Small peasants lost all their cultivable lands. Finding nobody who would lend them either money or food they parted with the evidence of what to many families represented everything that made life worth-living, their small bit of their mother land. Fishermen sold their boats and nets, even their fishery rights, at the very time they were more than ever necessary in the economy of the province. Parents **sold** their **children.**

Public memory is short. In 1946 we have salved our conscience by expecting **Government to take necessary action. We forget that People get the Government they deserve.**

Public opinion must never be allowed to forget the tragedy that was enacted in Bengal in 1943 unless and until action has been taken to make a recurrence possible." But how to do it?

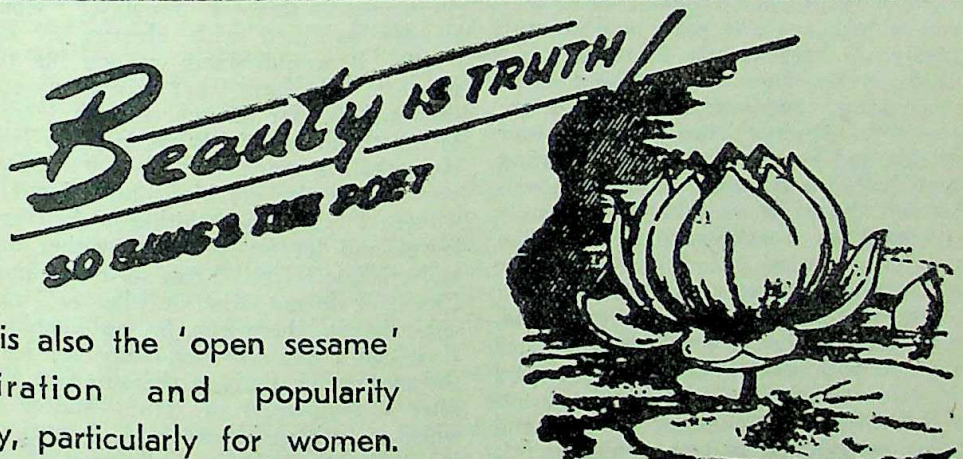
READ

FAMINE OR PLENTY (Illustrated)

By A VILLAGER Price Rupees Five.

SAHITYIKA

123, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA



BEAUTY is also the 'open sesame' to admiration and popularity in Society, particularly for women.

Preserve and enhance your beauty!

MARGO SOAP

helps to protect delicate skins, the foundation of all beauty, with its active Neem principles.

NEEM TOOTH PASTE

Keeps the teeth white, sparkling and healthy, the foundation and source of a charming and sweet smile.

CALCUTTA CHEMICAL :: CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mind

The following article which forms a chapter of Rabindranath Tagore's *Panchabhuter Diary* or the *Diary of the Five Elements* has been translated into English by Indira Divi Chaudhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Here I am sitting at midday in a room on the ground-floor by the river in the village: a lizard is ticking in a corner of the room : a pair of sparrows, intent on building a nest in the hole meant for the punkha-rope, are continually going backwards and forwards bearing tit-bits from outside and twittering busily ; boats are passing along the river, their masts and portions of their swelling sails visible behind the high banks against the blue sky; the air is cool, the sky is clear; from the distant line of the further bank up to the little garden enclosed by bamboo-fencing in front of my verandah; the whole scene looks like a picture in the brilliant sunshine. Here I am, feeling quite comfortable; just as a child feels a sense of warmth of well-being and tenderness in its mother's lap, so a feeling of living and caressing and gentle warmth pervades my whole being from all sides, as I nestle close to the lap of old Mother Earth.

Then what harm is there, if I remain like this? Who is prodding you to take pen and paper and sit up? Where is the necessity of girding your loins all of a sudden and making a great show of recording your opinion on this or that matter and intimating your assent or dissent on certain other matters. Turn your eyes over there towards the fields and see how prettily a whirling wind has twirled and danced and passed on with its veil of dust and dry leaves! Standing straight and tall only on its toes, how it posed for a moment only, and then scattering everything to the wind how it rushed away, heaven knows where. And what was its stock-in-trade : a few wisps of straw, and handfuls of dust and sand, whatever came conveniently to hand; how pretty a game it played with these and with what alluring gestures and postures. Thus it dances away the whole quiet afternoon all over the fields. It has no object in view and no spectators. It has no opinions and no principles ; it has no well-considered homillies to deliver on sociology and history. It blows a warm breath through those forgotten and forsaken things that are altogether unnecessary in this world, and arouses them to living beauty for a single moment.

If only I could gather together trifles in one breath like this with the utmost ease and spin them round like a top into a beautiful form and scatter them to the winds and depart. If I could create thus playfully and blow away my own creations. With no thought, no effort, no aim; nothing but the joy of dancing, the passionate urge for beauty, nothing but a living whirlwind. Unconfined fields, unclouded skies, unlimited sunshine.—in the midst of all these to take up handfuls of dust and create magic with them, merely out of the expansive delight of my own mad mind.

This I can understand. But to sit down and place one stone on top of another with the sweat of one's brow and raise up a mound of immobile opinions. In which there is neither movement, nor love, nor life,—only a stolid fame, which some admire, push away with their foot, whatever its deserts may be. But can I give up doing so even if I want to? For the sake of civilization, man has over-indulged a part of himself called mind, like a spoilt child; so that even if one wants to get rid of it, it will not leave one in peace.

As I write I look outside and see a man wearing a *chaddar* on his head as a plotection against the sun, going towards the kitchen with a sal-leaf-cup containing some curd in his right hand. He is like a smooth shiny jack-fruit tree, full of leaves and adequately nourished with mould. This kind of person fits in completely with the landscape outside. There is no hard-and-fast dividing line between the two. This man is living naturally in close communion with this vast life-giving and fertile Mother Earth; there is no contradiction or discord whatever within himself. Just as that tree is a custard-apple tree from top to bottom and doesn't bother its head about anything else, so is my rotund smiling Narayan Singh just a complete Narayan Singh from top to toe.

If some naughty child-god were to throw only one drop of mind into that apple-tree in fun. Then what a dire disturbance would ensure within its juicy greenwood life. Then its green leaves would become pale with thought like parchment, and from trunk to tip it would become wrinkled like an old man's brow. Would its whole body then become so thrilled with young leaves in Spring within three or four days? Would its every branch become so filled with clusters of round pock-marked fruit? It would stand on one leg the whole day and ponder: Why have I got leaves only and no wings? Why cannot I see far enough, though I try my best to stand so erect and high? What is there beyond that horizon? How shall I reach that tree on whose branches those stars in the sky are blooming Until I know for certain whence I come and whither I shall go, I shall shed my leaves and let my branches wither and stand stock-still and mediate. Until I can solve the question as to whether I exist or do not exist, or whether I am both existent and non-existent, there can be no happiness in life for me. How can I express adequately the joy that thrills me to the marrow on the day the sun first rises in the morning, after a long spell of rain?—and at the end of winter when a southern breeze suddenly springs up towards evening about the middle of *Falgoon* (February-March) then how I long for,—who will tell me what I long for?

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office :

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN :

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This is the sort of thing that would happen. The poor thing would be done with the bearing of flowers, with the mysterious ripening of custard-apples. With trying to be something more than what it is, with longing to be something which it is not, it would become neither one thing nor the other. At last one day as a result of this inward travail it would burst open from trunk to top and there would appear a magazine article, a critical review, an untimely disquisition on forest society; in which there would be neither that rustle of leaves, nor that shade, nor that vigorous, all-round completeness.

If some powerful evil spirit were to enter the bowels of the earth stealthily like a serpent and inject a dose of mind into all the trees and plants and grass and creepers on earth, through the hundreds and thousands of twining and twisting roots underground, then where on the face of this earth would man be able to soothe his troubled spirit? Thank goodness one does not find any meaning in the song of birds when coming into the garden, and does not see dry white monthly magazines, newspapers and advertisements hanging on every branch instead of unlettered green leaves.

Thank Heaven there is no thoughtfulness among trees. Thank our stars that the hemlock-tree does not criticise the Kamini tree and say—in your flowers there is softness but no vigor; that the plum fruit does not say to the jack-fruit—you consider yourself to be a big person, but I consider the pumpkin deserving of much higher position; that the plaintain doesn't say—I publish the biggest leaflet at the lowest price; and the yam doesn't prepare to compete with it by coming out with a still bigger one at a still cheaper rate.

Harassed by argument, harrowed by thought and tired out with speechifying, man attains a certain measure of calmness and self-control by looking upon the shining open broad outspread brow of the sky, unfurrowed by thought; by listening to the wordless murmuring of the forest, and the meaningless lapping of the waves; by plunging into the mindless unfathomable calm of Nature. The peaceful blue waters of this boundless ocean of non-mind are necessary in order to allay the fiery heat of that one spark of mind.

The fact of the matter is, as I have said before, that our mind has grown disproportionately big and upset our inner balance altogether. It is unable to find enough room for itself. It has become far bigger than is necessary for man's food and clothing and comfortable living. Hence, even after all his needs have been supplied, plenty of mindstuff is left over on all sides. So what can he do but sit down and write diaries, argue, become a newspaper correspondent, prove that easy things are difficult, make things appear to have a meaning which they do not really possess, renounce everything else in order to concentrate on something that can never be understood,—in short, do many other things that are much more reprehensible than these?

But the mind of my none-too-civilized Narayan Singh is proportionate to his body; it fits his needs exactly. His mind protects his life from heat and cold, from disease, ill-health and shame; but it does not fly about in all directions at all times with the speed of forty-nine winds. (supposed to be connectel with madness). This is not to say that once in a way a secret wind may not pierce his mental armour through a button-hole or two and blow him out a little; but that small amount of mental disturbance is necessary for his own healthy existence.

The Alchemy of Art

Self-sublimation ever was the aim of the true alchemist—the transmutation of the base in man into pure gold. Art is one formula of the process. Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is said that St. Francis of Assisi loved a certain lady passionately. This was when Christ had not yet wholly occupied his heart. But for some time, even after the Prince of Peace had claimed him as his own, the Saint's passion for the lady persisted. The result was an emotional conflict of agonising intensity. To resolve it, the prospective "bride of the Lord" prayed hard, but in vain. At last he hit upon a device—it came to him in a flash of inspiration—which extricated him from the piteous situation. One morning, when it was snowing, he slipped out of his warm bed and betook himself to a secluded spot. There, using his fingers as a brush, he drew in the snow a picture of his lady-love and poured into it all the pleasing, but disturbing, poignancy of his passion. No sooner was the sketch completed to its minutest detail than the Saint experienced a calm and a chaste joy akin to what he used to feel whenever, in the chapel, he worshipped Christ.

The sublimation of passion, *is* a vital problem in the school and at the shrine.

In a sense, the spirit of art is the art of the Spirit. The story of St. Francis, which forms the preamble to this essay, testifies to this truth. The first stage in his journey from the love of passion to the passion of love was a fund of strong feeling centred on one particular person, in reference to his own individual happiness, derived therefrom. The second stage was his own self-effacement for the purpose of absorption in someone else. The third stage was the conflict of his intense emotion for this person, *other than himself*, with the tense tugging at his heart-strings by a being greater than his own self and that of the other person. The fourth and final stage was the resolution of this conflict.

It is alchemy of art which is responsible for this resurrection of the self. For, any "creative activity"—and by the term is meant all such activity as helps to *create*, to carve and churn out, a unitary beneficial value or vision of Life from the medley of emotions and ideas—to be worthy of the artist and his art must compass a reconciliation and a concord between the particular and partial aspect, on the one hand, and, on the other, the universal and all-embracing aspect of Love or Light or Life.

The ministry of art is similar to the ministry of the midwife. It brings to birth, *i.e.*, makes patent, the latent divinity or unity of Life, whether in terms of passion or of principle.

Varnasrama Dharma or Classified System of religion is the means to Salvation of Human Soul.

We have been preaching the *Varnasrama Dharma* being directed by our Almighty Mother. No human soul can attain salvation without this pure religion. We are mere guides. At the advent of preaching for revival of this religion we sincerely announce the direction of our Ordeal Deity that we are not the real workers to perform internal services of the *Ashrama*. There must be some other highly qualified person either householder or world-renouncer! Who is he? He is welcome to send his name, *Gotra*, address, etc. in his own handwriting to the undersigned to remove his want for the higher service to humanity. He will be regarded as proper *Ashrama-Secretary*. The *Ashrama* has its four preachers. After performance of services for long full twelve years, their achievement will be examined by the Secretary himself. The Secretary will be favoured with some wonderful article from the World Mother before the ocassion of that examination. **Surendranath Sarangi,** *Asst. Teacher, Salipur H. E. School, Po. Salipur, Cuttack*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The artist has first a flash of inspiration or of insight or the arousal of emotion from a particular point or person in the panorama of Life. Then he selects a medium to clothe his reaction or response thereto. The obstinacy and opaqueness of the material medium to the surging of the spiritual in him places in his way, later on, an apparently almost insurmountable obstacle, which serves the purpose of a solvent or a sieve, inasmuch as all that is foreign to the evolving accord between the two is burnt out or banished in the process. What remains as residue is as radiant as the sun, without caste or creed, though not without colour and cadence. The artist's creation has now entered the assembly of the All-pervading, All-purifying, All-perfecting Author and Artist of the Universe.

In short, the alchemy of art lies in its being an effective aid to the attainment of the sense of synthesis, of rhythm, which is the soul of beauty.

Swami Vivekananda and Modern India

Prof. K. R. Pisharoti observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

None has done more to rouse up and to raise up the spirit of India—and this is essentially religious—from the lethargy into which it has fallen; none has expounded in clearer terms and in more practical form this sense of spirituality, handed down from the Vedic period in unbroken succession, the spirituality which forms the warp and woof of our very being—than Swami Vivekananda.

Swami Vivekananda is a stern realist and realizes more trenchantly than any one before him or after him, how we have fallen away from our high pedestal. We have lost our seriousness and practicality, our organizing capacity and power of management; we have lost our honesty of purpose and cultural integrity; we have lost our sense of self-confidence and self-respect, our faith and love; and naturally enough we have degenerated into a nation of imbeciles—physical, intellectual, and emotional wrecks, worse, indeed, than hewers of wood and drawers of water. Time is rather past to give up our petty quarrels and petty differences; time is come to gather up our spiritual forces and achieve the national union of India. What we want today is strength, 'muscles of iron and nerves of steel and indomitable will.'

Ours was never isolated life, despite our natural geographical isolation; and, indeed, today no nation can live in isolation. Modern science has annihilated space and is in the process of annihilating time, for, even as it is, voice and form are being rescued from the hands of time, the destroyer. Isolation now is utterly impossible, and we cannot shut off foreign impacts and cultural contacts. In ancient days we assimilated whatever culture contacts we have had. Under the force of the impact from the West, we are giving up the traditional process of assimilation and introducing instead the unhappy process of imitation, and this has tended to produce a slave mentality. Let us, by all means, take whatever is good in foreign cultures,—the Grecian love of form perfection, the Roman love of precision, the English love of tenacity, or the German love of thoroughness. Let us receive in as rich a measure as possible the achievements of modern science and ameliorate the condition of the masses: let us accept the noble science of healing and alleviate the sufferings of our brethren: let us welcome that exuberant sense of freedom and personal liberty and do away with our social inequalities: let us cultivate their professional honesty and integrity and serve our fellow beings more efficiently. But let us not give up our sense of ethical and spiritual values: let us not practise duplicity to attain material ends: let us not convert honesty into a matter of policy and justice into a matter of expediency; let us not be deceived by the fads of social life and let ship. Let us hearken then to the warring of the revered seer: let us for ever be Indians.

The greatest service that Swamiji has done for us is to wrest religion from the hands of mystery-mongering priests and philosophy from the hands of academic pedants and bring them once again within the reach of the common man.

Bernard Shaw at Ninety

John Stewart Collis writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Bernard Shaw reached his ninetieth birthday on July 26th. He has had a long run for his money. What

Calcutta City Bank
Limited

Head Office:
102B, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

3-YEAR CASH CERTIFICATES

ISSUE PRICE	ON MATURITY
Rs. 8-10	Rs. 10-0
Rs. 86-4	Rs. 100-0
Rs. 862-8	Rs. 1,000-0

INTEREST:

Current A/C ...	... 1/2%
Savings A/C ...	... 2%
Fixed Deposit for 1 year	... 3 1/2%

FULL CLEARING FACILITIES
All kinds of Banking Business Transacted.
For particulars
Phone: Cal. 3447

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the secret of his great success and of his long life? answer is Self-discipline.

This may sound rather a banal half-truth. That it one of his secrets I have no doubt whatever. I felt the more convinced of it when I called upon him other day at his flat in Whitehall Court, and after apse of eleven years looked again closely into that arkable face.

The face and figure are so overwhelmingly Irish. I e often seen a similar figure and countenance in and. Many a beggar on a desolate road looks just the Bernard Shaw who might have been but was The same face—thin and high. The same trian- r-set eyes, one misty and the other clear, one hard the other soft, one kind and the other crafty, one e and the other mad. And the same nose. With t ease could Shaw's nose have become bulbous and with drink!

Every Irishman feels himself to be the playground two mighty opposites within him: the spirit of rtia and the spirit of hard work, the spirit of day- aming and the spirit of realism. A fine harmony be made from this tension. Shaw was afraid of the wilight" strain and fled to London, and for twenty rs never went a step further afield than Putney dge.

That fear is the fundamental explanation of his eticism. It was all or nothing. He had to take him- f in hand properly or not at all. So he became a rific abstainer from aids to relaxation and happi- ss. His only happiness has been hard work. "I never t off attending a political meeting or finishing a piece work to spend a gallant evening with a lady," he s said. He has dropped many similar remarks.

But he has merely dropped them by the way. He really very secretive. He tells us little about him- f. He refuses us the most interesting book he could ssibly write now—his autobiography.

When I called on him I put the question, "Why you not write your autobiography now?"

"I can never remember anything for more than out ten minutes," he said.

A mere evasion, of course. Memory is stored-up owledge, and there is nothing to prevent him from ping into his storehouse. *Everybody's Political hat's What* is tantalisingly crammed with autobio- aphical dippings. Only fragments of what could be wn on.

So I put the question—"In your own particular in," I said, "as a narrator of incidents and a des- ber of queer people you have known, your Comic use is at its best. You have not used half your terial. You have been content to throw down here d there gems of autobiographical incident. Is it too rmense a job to do the thing on a large scale now?"

"I have written as much autobiography as is needed," he replied, "partly in prefaces and the like, partly on the proof-sheets of my biographers."

But that is no answer at all. He may have written himself out in other fields, but not in this. There is a big difference between what can be said in a biography and what can be said in an autobiography.

Not one-tenth of what we want to know about Shaw's early life has been told—not to mention those priceless objective descriptions of others which he could give us if he chose, and which always make autobiography especially fascinating.

The real answer is that he lacks final personal vanity. Also he has nothing to work off his chest. He has always been without personal anger, rancour, bitterness, or malice. The behaviour of people, even when he has been personally involved, has always been regarded by him in terms of natural history rather than as something to become morally indignant about. Human beings were to him natural phenomena which one should not wish to judge or dream of feeling hurt by, any more than one feels inclined to judge a giraffe or feel insulted by an ass. Most people are too unhappy to be kind. Shaw was always too gay internally to be unkind. That is what George Russell meant when he said that Shaw was "the last saint sent out from Ireland to save the world." Perhaps for such a person there is no stimulus to write an autobiography.

For many years it used to be the fashion to say that Shaw was an arch self-advertiser, always talking about himself. "He keeps himself before the public." As a matter of business perhaps. It was all platform stuff. He was careful not to reveal much of himself,



BE TALLER

In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19½	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send Annas 14 in stamps with order.

Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

(Copyright)

Other Products:—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs. 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

ORIENTAL AYURVEDIC LAB. LTD.

LIVODIN

Recommended by all eminent Doctors and Kavirajes as a sure remedy for all liver troubles.

ORIENTAL AYURVEDIC LABORATORIES, LTD.,
8-2, HASTINGS ST., CALCUTTA

Founded by Late Dr. Charuchandra Chatterjee and Mahamahadhyapak Kaviraj Ramchandra Mallick.

Wanted Stockists and Agents everywhere.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and never to wear his heart upon his sleeve (which goes down well in England). For true self-revelation we must turn to his Keegan and to his Caesar. We get hints too from his remarks about cruelty to animals and to prisoners.

To quote Russell again, he used to say that if ever there was an angel in human form it was Bernard Shaw, that no man he had ever known "was more of a suffering, sensitive soul." We need not be surprised at this if we believe that true sensitiveness starts where "sensibility" leaves off, just as virtue starts where virtuousness leaves off, just as heroism starts where heroics leave off, just as religion starts where piousness leaves off, and temperament starts where temperamentals leave off. "Shaw surrounded himself with a brass band," said Russell, "and adopted the pseudonym of G.B.S."

When a man has reached the stage of being known by his initials, when familiarity has bred initials, then he may be said to have conquered his public. But there are drawbacks. Those letters G.B.S. recall to my mind a certain incident which has always seemed to me perfect as an illustration of a once popular view of Shaw, as well as being a good symbol of the ways of eye-witnesses all the world over.

I was talking with a friend in Dublin about Bernard Shaw. My companion inveighed against the man's colossal conceit. "I saw him at a hotel the other day," he said. "His car was outside on the drive, and, believe it or not, just above the index number he had actually put a plate on which was inscribed in large letters 'G.B.S.'!"

My friend had seen "G.B."—the letters that cars from Great Britain carry abroad. But he had expected to see, he had wished to see, "G.B.S." And so—like a true eye-witness—he saw it!

ONE STEP FORWARD

From the Thirty-second Annual Report of the **Western India Life** it becomes quite clear that in 1945 this trusted Life Company has gone one step forward on its path of progress. Sound financial position, efficient management, dutiful service to policy-holders, and a number of other things become clear from the report. Call for a free copy and be convinced.

Just the Company for you to insure with or to have agency connections.

WESTERN INDIA
LIFE INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,
Satara.



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY.....Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dairying in India Tomorrow

James N. Warner writes in *Indian* ...*ying*:

India possesses 200 million heads of cattle of which ...fth are buffaloes. The zebu is used principally for ... purposes while the buffalo is maintained primarily ... the production of milk. There are three facts which ...irm this. Firstly, in most parts of the country, the ... zebu is better cared for than the female, while the ...le buffalo calf is given better care than the male. ...dly, whereas four out of five of our cattle are zebus, ... buffaloes produce a little more than one-half of our ... According to the *Report on the Marketing of Milk ...dia and Burma*, issued in 1943 by the Central Agri-...ral Marketing Department, Government of India, ...verage annual milk production of the buffalo is 1,529 ... while that of the zebu cow is only 787 lb.; in each ... these figures include about 300 lb. consumed by ... calf. Thirdly, the buffalo not only produces more ..., but milk containing about 7 per cent of butterfat ...e only about 5 per cent is found in that of the zebu; ...hermore, about 57 per cent of our milk is used for ...ing *ghee* which is practically pure butterfat. The ... purpose of one sex of each of these animals, there-..., seems to be to assist in the reproduction of the ...ies. Nature might have been a little more thought-...and given us one species of which the male could be ...d for draft purposes and the female for producing ...k. We have two species, however, either of which is ...entially capable of serving both purposes to a greater ...ent than has yet been demonstrated.

Agreement with domesticated animals

Dr. Sam Higginbottom has said that when man do-...sticates an animal species, he enters into a bond where-...he will provide adequate feed, water and protection ...m enemies and diseases in return for a useful product ...a useful service. It is my opinion that we have not ...y failed to fulfill this bond in our relationship with ...y of our domesticated animals, but have, by our ...thods of management, made it impossible for them to ...fill their part of the agreement. Denmark has, I be-...e, shown what can be expected in a short time if ...n does his part. The average annual production of ...k per cow was increased in that country from 4,322 ... to 7,260 lb. in 40 years. What can be done in India ... increasing the average production of milk per cow, ...hout sacrificing draft ability, is unknown. The results ...ained in such places as Karnal and Patna with the ...arparkar breed and at Muttra with the Hariana indi-...es that yields of up to 5,000 to 6,000 lb. of milk or ...re a year do not necessarily reduce the draft ability ... our animals.

Feed and production of milk

Dr. N. D. Kehar of the Imperial Veterinary Research ...itute and Dr. Norman C. Wright of the Hannah Dairy ...search Institute, Ayrshire, Scotland, give us figures ...ch show that all the digestible nutrients available for ... cattle is less than one-half enough to properly main-... them, exclusive of that required for growth, for re-...duction, or for the production of draft power or milk. ...whereas a 500 lb. bovine requires 3·9 lb. of digestible ...rients daily, we can at best provide only 1·6 lb. They ...w us that while such an animal requires 10 to 11 ... of dry matter daily in its feed solely for maintainance, ... can provide only 3·4 lb. at the present time. This ... a sad state of affairs. Obviously we cannot expect our ...s to produce more milk until they are much better ...d.

It is frequently stated that village cows will give up ...50 per cent more milk on an average if properly fed ...d cared for. It would appear, therefore, that adequate feed alone would make it possible to increase our production of milk from 800 million to 1,200 million maunds yearly. Village zebu cows are reported to have produced as much as 6,000 lb. of milk, and village buffaloes as much as 10,110 lb. in about one year. It is known that the producing capacity of a cow is, on an average, approximately halfway between the producing capacity of its mother and the producing potentiality of its father. If cows which are capable of producing only 1,000 lb. of milk are bred to bulls with a producing potentiality of 6,000 lb., their daughters may be expected to produce an average of 3,500 lb. under the same environmental conditions. Our cows are inherently capable of producing more milk; their food supply, among other possible factors, prevents them from doing so. The same may be true of draft power as well.

More feed for cattle

Any reduction in the proportion of our land now used for producing grain and other crops for our people in order that great quantities of feed might be provided for our cattle would only make matters worse than they now are. Better tillage practices, irrigation, the use of more fertilizer and the use of higher yielding varieties of existing or of completely new crops must be relied upon to give us the required feed for our cattle. The development of new farm implements or the redesigning of those now in use may, apart from better feeding, make the zebu a more useful draft animal. No one has yet undertaken to design implements particularly suited to the buffalo. Is it not reasonable to suspect that there are some possibilities in this? Why not use our cows for draft purposes? They do so in Europe and still get more milk than we do. Where horses are used as a beast of burden, mares which are used for breeding purposes, are regularly worked. The practice of using breeding bulls for hauling feed and manure about a dairy farm is considered a good management practice. We might investigate the possibility of working our cows, particularly those which produce very small quantities of milk and produce a calf only every 20 months or so. They might prove particularly useful in providing draft power at those seasons when it is most needed in the operations of the farm.

The number of male calves born equals the number of female calves. For breeding purposes, however, one bull can serve from 30 to 70 cows. Consequently, only a small proportion, that is one in thirty or so, of the male calves need be kept specifically for breeding purposes; the remainder may be used as bullocks. If those to be used for reproducing our milk stock were selected carefully on the basis of the production of their mothers, the average production of milk could, it would seem, be rapidly increased. That this can be done is indicated by the progress made in Denmark.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিভীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও মড়ঙ্গ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ১৷৷০
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—সব বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশক—১২০।২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cattle for tomorrow

Our only dependable source of cattle for tomorrow is those we have today. If we are to provide the milk stock we will need in the new India, we must provide more and better feed for them and we must control their breeding. The control of diseases is by no means unimportant because it is not discussed here. It will play an even greater part in the future than it has in the past, and it has been extremely important so far. If we are to ignore the needs of our cattle, allow them to find their own feed—if they can, provide them no special protection against diseases, and allow them to breed in their own way, we cannot justify their domestication upon which the economy of our country so greatly depends. It is estimated, for example, that the market value of the milk produced each year is roughly equal to that of all rice, or three or four times that of all wheat. Dr. Wright, who gives us these estimates, states also that the value of cattle labour is about one-fourth of the total for all agricultural income.

Increase in milk production and decrease in cost

According to those who study human nutritional needs, each person should have 15 to 20 oz. of whole milk or its equivalent in the form of milk products daily. We now produce only about five to six ounces or one-third enough. The average farm cow in England or America produces from 4,800 to 5,500 lb. of milk each year. Surely it is not unreasonable to set as our goal for the India of to-morrow the production of three times the milk we now produce. This would give every person 16 to 17 oz. a day; it would involve a yield of 2,500 lb. a year by our zebu cows and 4,500 lb. by our buffalo cows. The cost of producing this milk cannot possibly be as high as that we now produce. If higher yielding fodder and grain crops are grown, feed costs will certainly be less than they now are; if higher producing cows are developed, a proportionately lower cost per maund of milk for maintaining the bodies of the producing animals will result; if much more milk is handled by distributing and processing establishments, surely the costs involved will be reduced.

Distribution of milk

One reason for the present high cost of distributing milk is the fact that the consumer is not equipped to prevent the spoilage of milk without repeatedly boiling it, which is detrimental to its food value and to its palatability. It is necessary, therefore, that deliveries be made twice a day instead of only once. This practically doubles the expenses for labour and the equipment involved in transporting milk. If it were possible for the consumer to own a small household refrigerator in which to keep perishable foods, the cost of distributing milk might be only a fraction of what it now is. Incidentally, if milk were on hand in the home at all times more of it would be consumed.

Milk produced within our urban areas is expensive mainly because of the cost of the fodder consumed by the producing animals. Fodder purchased at the rates prevailing in the city bazaar will constitute 30 to 50 per cent. of the cost of the milk. Such bazaar rates are commonly twice as high as the actual cost of producing that fodder in the village areas, sometimes more. If those cows now maintained in our cities were moved to rural areas where fodder is less expensive, not only would milk costs go down but our cities would be more healthful. There are many milk producers living just outside our cities who handle very small quantities of milk upon which they depend for a livelihood. One may commonly see a man or a woman carrying a small head load of milk from distances as great as three or four miles. The return trip requires as much as four hours. If the trip is made twice a day, no time is left, after caring for the producing animals, in which the person may increase his or her income from other sources. Either the milk must sell at a price sufficiently high to provide that person adequate income or it is not provided.

Because the customer is unable to keep milk in his home it must be delivered just at the time it is required for the morning or evening meal. Since most people have their meals at about the same time there is only a small period, perhaps two hours at the most, in the morning and in the evening when most of the milk must be delivered. The small producer finds that he cannot satisfactorily handle a quantity of milk that requires more than that short time to deliver. Consequently he produces only that much, perhaps a maund or two a day. The dairy which distributes large quantities of milk commonly finds it necessary for this same reason, to hire one delivery man for every two maunds of milk handled daily. The handling of larger volumes on each trip made by the distributor and the making of fewer trips would bring about a noticeable reduction in the costs involved.

There are many other points that could be mentioned. Two of these are the selling of milk through retail shops from which the customers must take delivery themselves, and the transportation of milk from the rural producing areas to the markets by lorries, thereby increasing the amount of milk handled per man. Apart from certain countries where the value of milk as a human food is unknown or unrecognized, I know of no greater promise of development in dairy farming and the dairy industry than in India tomorrow.

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 35, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: 107, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
	MARCH 1942 —	15%	
	„ 1943 —	10%	
engal Cotton Estate	„ 1944 —	10%	SONARPUR
Tripura	„ 1945 —	10%	(B. & A. Rly.)

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — —@ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For	one year	@	...	... 4½ p.c. p.a.
„	two years	@	...	... 5½ p.c. p.a.
„	three „	@	...	... 6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—**Honeycomb.** Phone :—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Health of India

Under the above caption Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retd.), President, India Office Medical Board and Medical Officer to the Secretary of State for India, 1933-39, delivered a lecture in the Royal Society of Arts, London with Sir John A. Woodhead, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. in the chair. In the discussion which followed, the chairman offered the following remarks, published in its *Journal*, March 15, 1946:

I am sure we are all grateful to the lecturer for a most interesting and thought-provoking address on the very complicated and difficult question of the health of India. Under-nutrition and mal-nutrition are unfortunately prevalent in many parts of the world, and are not entirely absent in this country; but they are widespread in India. Authorities have estimated that 30 per cent. of India's enormous population—now about 400 millions which will probably be 500 millions in 20 to 25 years—do not get sufficient to eat. A further proportion of the population, although they have sufficient to eat so far as quantity is concerned, live on an unbalanced diet and lack a sufficient intake of those protective foods so essential to the maintenance of good health.

It seemed to me that the lecturer made three main points and it may assist the discussion if I specify them. The first was that the improvement of nutrition in India is an essential part of India's health programme. The health of a population obviously cannot be good if it is not well and adequately fed. Medical relief, more numerous and better equipped hospitals, augmented medical services and improved public health arrangements in the shape of water supply, sanitation and other measures will not bring good health to a population which suffers from under- and mal-nutrition. The problem of nutrition in India is, therefore, a most essential feature of the health programme. India is, as you all realise, predominantly an agricultural country in which the majority of the cultivators live on the food they produce themselves or on that which their neighbours produce. Under-nutrition and mal-nutrition are due largely to an unsatisfactory balance between population and food production and I think the second point the lecturer wished to make was this: that in spite of all the efforts which should and can be made to increase food production, under- and mal-nutrition will not disappear if the population continues to increase at its present rate for many years longer. Ultimately there must be, if the standard of living is to be raised, a decrease in the rate of growth of the population. On these two points I think everyone will be in agreement.

The problem of population is a serious one. There are signs of over-population in many parts of India, though not in all; some provinces have not felt that pressure yet, particularly Sind and parts of the Punjab. But, as the lecturer has stressed, if the population continues to increase at its present rate, India will ultimately be faced with a deterioration in the standard of living and not an improvement.

The third point which the lecturer made was this: a check to population growth cannot be brought about without a great change in the outlook on life of the population, a change which will have the effect of bringing about a decrease in the birth-rate. In order to pave the way for that change he proposes that a Commission should be established with the duty of enquiring into the social and other customs which lead to the present rapid growth in population. There, I think, differences of opinion may arise as regards the steps to be taken.

I should like to refer briefly to certain aspects of the nutrition problem in India. There is, undoubtedly, scope for a large increase in the production of food and it is essential that now, and in the immediate future, every endeavour should be made to increase the area under cultivation by irrigation, by eradicating the deep-rooted weeds which not only affect adversely the yield of crops but which throw large areas of land out of cultivation; this is particularly so in parts of Central India, and so on. More land must be irrigated because an assured water supply not only almost doubles the yield but also enables land to be double cropped, a most important way of increasing production. Again, all other measures—there are many—must be pursued with the utmost vigour for increasing the yield of crops. Of these the more extensive use of manure is a most important one. India suffers from a lack of fertilisers and that lack handicapped severely the "grow more food" campaign during the war.

Industrialisation, though by itself it will not solve the problem of improving the standard of life in India, will assist towards that end. It will materially help towards a solution of many rural problems for it will relieve the pressure of the agricultural population on the land and will provide work for those not fully employed in the agricultural areas. I place industrialisation quite high in the scheme for the improvement of conditions in India.

I should like to remind you that in Britain the increase in population during the sixty years prior to about 1930 was much greater than that in India. Between 1872 and 1931 the population of England and Wales increased by more than 70 per cent., whereas in India the increase was only about half that figure. The increase in this country was practicable owing to the expansion of industry. There has been an illustration of that in India during the war. I am afraid that I have not figures showing how many men were taken off the land and absorbed into the Army and into the factories during the war years, but the number was very considerable, several millions, and it certainly had an effect on the labour available for agriculture in many parts of the country and on the agricultural wages paid in those areas. I have no doubt that industrialisation will provide one important measure of relief in India.

Another important factor is the maintenance of reasonable prices for agricultural produce. If there should be a repetition of the slump which occurred in the 'thirties and if agricultural prices should again fall to unremunerative levels I see little hope of better conditions. Indeed such a fall would be disastrous in the affect on the standard of living in India.

The last point to which I will refer is family limitation, and around that opinions will differ widely. It may perhaps be of interest if I tell you of the conclusions reached by the Famine Inquiry Commission, of which I was Chairman. Their view was that public opinion would not approve of a deliberate State policy of birth control. They considered that such a policy was at present impracticable, partly because, for religious reasons, public opinion was not prepared to accept such a policy and partly because the low economic condition of the poorer classes of the population, together with the fac-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the expense of contraceptive methods made the spread encouragement of birth control a practical possibility. The Commission, however, saw no objection the Government taking steps to spread the knowledge birth control through clinics—health and maternity ics—in charge of lady doctors who would be in a tion to advise women who wished to limit their ilies either because their health would not enable to bear a large number of children or because of a re to space their children with the object of giving h child the best care and the best education. That the line taken by the Famine Inquiry Commission. same subject has been examined by another Com-sion, the Public Health Commission.

India Citizenship Bill

In the *India Today*, July, 1946, published onthly by the India League of America, the eague announces the following news:

The India Immigration and Naturalization Bill was ssed by the Congress of the United States on June 1946. This Bill became law when President Truman ned it on July 2, 1946. At the signing ceremony at White House, several representatives of the Filipinos, ians and members of Congress were present. The dia League of America was represented at the ceremony Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the League.

The passage of this bill has been received with great claim by the press in India. Leading newspapers have itorially commented on this gesture of American friend-ip. The Government of India, conveying its apprecia-on of the active support of the United States Administra-on in a public statement said, "The new measure will welcomed by all sections of opinion in India as a fresh idence of the desire of the Government and the people the United States to accord to India an equality of eedom with the other free nations of the world."

Dr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, writing to Sir-ar J. J. Singh after the signing of the bill by Presi-ent Truman said, "The Department is highly gratified hat final action has thus been taken to remove an unjust iscrimination against the people of India from the laws the United States."

The India League of America wishes to pay special ibute to Representative Emanuel Celler for his earnest nd untiring efforts in getting this bill passed.

A Hindu Speaks in Sympathy to Jews

Under the above caption, Dr. Taraknath Das writes in the *Palestine*, August 1946, over he Palestine affairs:

The terrible news from Palestine these days resem-les the news that came from Ireland and India not so ng ago. Its causes and its nature can best be under-ood in the light of those precedents—as can the pros-ects for ultimate Jewish freedom in Palestine.

The basic proposition to be remembered is that Bri-ish imperialism—Labor imperialism it is now—has never ade concessions unless it has been forced to. After the ailure of the "black and tan" outrages in Ireland, Bri-ain had to concede to the creation of an Irish Free State. This she had to do not only because the Irish patriots arried on their fight for freedom in their homeland but lso because Irish-Americans in the United States made it clear to the Government of the United States that ooperation between the United States and Britain would be rendered most difficult and the agreements arrived at by the Washington Conference—including the Anglo-American Debt settlement—would be blocked if Ireland were not given full dominion status. It was thus through national and international action that the Irish won their

HERBAL

Hair & Brain Tonic

Guaranteed Cure of Grayness, baldness, hair-falling and Mental Weakness.

It contains the active ingredients of all the herbs & drugs so far known to Science for the rejuvenation of hair.

Its daily use preserves the natural loveliness of hair, prevents premature Grayness, stops hair-falling, turns Gray hair into black and extremely beneficial for mental power.

Not the Cheapest—
But the Best.

Please make enquiries to—

Free India's National Chemical Works

Roorkee (U. P.) India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Sole Agents:
KALAPI STORES
BOMBAY

freedom. The Irish Republic flourishes under the leadership of Dr. DeValera, who was more than once condemned by the British as a common criminal, and even sentenced to death for his fight for freedom. DeValera is carrying on the fight to heal the sore of "the partition of Ireland," which was carried out by the British in accordance with their general policy of "divide and rule." It is, we can be quite sure, only a matter of time till there will be a United Republic of Ireland, free to control the destiny of her people.

For more than a century the British have done their best to spread anti-Indian propaganda all over the world in order to make continued domination of India easier. But a living nation cannot be kept eternally in subjection, and the movement for Indian freedom has survived despite all the attempts to suppress it. In recent years, in the name of preserving law and order, the British had placed tens of thousands of Indian patriots in British concentration camps in India; they had imprisoned, without trials, hundreds of thousands of Indian patriots. To crush the Indian nationalist movement, the leaders of the All-India National Congress—the truly nationalist and non-communal movement—were kept in prison for years without trial and in violation of the so-called laws of India, even of ordinances proclaimed by the Executive. But today the Congress Party is leading the nation toward freedom. The British Government, knowing the fact that it cannot keep India in subjection, has taken steps to lead India toward freedom. Lest there be any misunderstanding, it should be clearly understood that the British are granting the Indian nationalists their just demands because of the intensity of the struggle for freedom in India and also because Britain and America are conscious of the danger of any further increase of Soviet Russian influence in India and other parts of Asia.

Today Britain has violated her solemn promise to the Jewish people and to the world at large, as stated in the Balfour Declaration. Instead of aiding the Jewish people to develop their homeland, the British Government—a Labor Government violating its own election platform—has adopted all kinds of measures to thwart the hopes of the Jewish people for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and even to obstruct and prevent Jewish immigration. But the cause of Jewish freedom will be victorious in spite of the fact that today thousands of Jewish patriots are rotting in British jails and concentration camps. There will be a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine provided Jewish statesmen continue their struggle for national existence. On the fundamental issue there cannot be any compromise; opportunism never succeeds in the long run. The struggle for Jewish freedom should be carried on on a word-wide scale and within the frame of the fight for world freedom. The greatest responsibility, it is clear, lies with the Jews in America, the most considerable and powerful element of the Jewish world today. The Jewish leaders in America and the popular movement behind them are naturally for an American foreign policy which will be for world freedom and thus for Jewish freedom as well. In the past, and even today, Jewish leaders have advocated Anglo-American cooperation. America has been more than generous to Britain, whom she has saved from possible destruction in two wars during the last quarter of a century. Today Britain depends upon American support in world politics and world economics. But no decent Ameriran can support a British policy of terror and the violation of solemn obligations, as it is practised in Palestine against the Jews. Those who believe that the British reign of terror in Palestine must stop and that the American Government should use its influence with the British Government regarding the present situation, should, if need be, use their political power—the ballot—to bring about a change in American policy.

I may be asked whether I condone acts of terror by the Jewish Underground. My answer is: "Repression and injustice invariably give birth to violent reactions, as they did in Ireland in the form of the Irish Republican Army and in India in the so-called terrorist movement." In Palestine the terrorist movement is the result of the denial of justice to the Jewish people. It will disappear with the rise of freedom. This has been the case in every movement for freedom and nationalism. The Jews cannot be an exception to the historic law of violent reaction to repression practised under so-called legal authority.

The Jewish people, who have suffered persecution for ages and yet survived, will outlive the present reign of terror of the British. Their struggle will go on until the cause of freedom becomes victorious. They will, I trust, fight brute force with the higher moral force of non-violent resistance and the help of world public opinion. As for the Jewish Commonwealth itself, it will be founded on the rock of cooperation with, and friendship for, all peoples. Following the teachings of the Prophets, it cannot but become a champion of human freedom for all, irrespective of race and creed.

Palestine Day

On the occasion of the observance of the Palestine Day by the Muslims of India, an Indian Journalist writes in the *Middle East Opinion*, 8th July 1946 that "Indians pledge support to Palestine Arab cause":

President Truman's attitude towards Palestine has pained every peace-loving man in the world. It has now become evident that the Jew-obsessed American Government is determined to force the Arab world to adopt a course which they have avoided till now. The Arabs have left no one in doubt that they will revolt to the point of an all-out Jehad, if England or America tries to implement the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, which, according to Soviet views, had no sanction behind it.

I do not want to lead this article with arguments

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gainst the findings of the Commission. Only one thing, hich only I want to tell the Arab world a few of them ow and realize, viz., that India will line up with the abs in their hour of trial. All Indian political parties ve made it clear that they support the Arabs. Mr. hammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim leader, was quite rrect in declaring that the Muslim world will not take lying down if these monstrous recommendations are ght to be implemented.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS SUPPORT ARABS

Rajah Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, an Indian Chris- n and a most respected Indian Liberal leader in a letter "The Dawn" says that: "As one who has twice visit- Palestine the last vacation being 1937, I sympathise h the Arabs in their dislike of the recent Anglo- erican Commission's proposals. Christian Arabs, who rm an appreciable minority in Palestine, stand shoulder shoulder with Muslim Arabs in their fear of Jewish migration on a large scale".

INDIA IS WITH THE ARABS

I want to assure the Arabs that Indians, irrespective religion and political differences, fully support the rab cause in Palestine. Last month, under the instruc- ons of All-India Muslim League and Jamiat-ul-Ulema ind, Muslim section of the Indian National Congress, alestine Day was observed and meetings were held roughout India. A new feature of these meetings, a ewspaper reporter says, "that Khudai Khidmatgars, ongress Muslims, Khaksars (non-Muslim Leaguers), nd the Ahrars (Independent Muslims) also joined" the eetings organised by the Indian Muslim League. One f these meetings was addressed by the Congress Prime linister of the North-West Frontier Province of India.

MUSLIM WOMEN ALSO STAND WITH THE ARABS

Muslim women of India have also protested against e findings of the Anglo-American Commission. In India omen have been taking active part in politics since 1920. hey have stood shoulder to shoulder with their men in e political struggle of their country. It is therefore ot surprising that they should declare that "the Mus- m women of India are with their Arab brothers and isters", and "are prepared to help their Arab brothers every possible way."

MUSLIM STUDENTS SUPPORT FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF PALESTINE

The students of the Muslim University of Aligarh assed a resolution stating that "This meeting of the uslim University Union vehemently condemns the nglo-American conspiracy against the Arab people the atest and the most shameless manifestation of which is e Palestine report issued by the Anglo-American Com- ission of Inquiry. Imperialism in its attempt to bolster p reaction everywhere, is running roughshot over the overeignty of the Palestine people.

"This meeting assures the freedom fighters of Pales- ne that any action they take to defeat the game of mperialism will have the full support of the students f this University. The battle cry with which the Pales- ne students initiated their battle. "We will die so that alestine may live, should not be abated".

The Muslim students of Agra, another important edu- ational centre, declared that "The Agra Muslim stu- ents are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the Holy land...."

The Sudan

In an exclusive interview with the editor of *Middle East Opinion*, Ismail Effendi Al Azhari, head of the Sudanese delegation now in Cairo, made the following replies to a questionnaire:

1. What are the definite results obtained by the Sudanese Delegation since its arrival in Cairo, regarding the linking of the Sudanese question with the present Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, and its participation in these negotiations?

Reply: "Since its arrival in Egypt, the Sudanese Delegation has been able to contact all the Egyptian political parties and governing bodies, explaining to them the national aims and aspirations of the Sudanese people regarding the future relations between the two countries. These aims have already been published, and may be summarized as follows:

(a) Political union between Egypt and the Sudan under one Crown, with one army, and one foreign representation.

(*b*) The Sudan will have the right to an autonomous democratic government chosen by a freely elected representative assembly and responsible before it. It will assume the fuller responsibility of all internal affairs including a separate budget, the revenues of which will be derived from taxes, from custom dues, etc., raised in the Sudan. As regards the second part of the question, the Delegation has obtained the assurance of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Egypt that the Sudan problem will be tackled immediately after the talks on the evacuation of Egypt proper will have been terminated.

Besides, the majority of the members of the Egyptian delegation have given us the same assurance on the subject. It must further be remembered that all parties in Egypt are consistent on this point and have made it the basis of national demands.

2. How do you explain the Umma Party's hostile attitude towards union with Egypt and what this party represents in the general consensus of Sudanese public opinion?

Reply: The best reply we are able to give to this question is to quote a reference made to this party in a publication issued in March, 1946, by "Inside the Empire".

"There is only one separate political party authorised by the government. It is called the Nation Party, or Umma Party. One point is worth mentioning here. The Congress is not recognized by the Government as a political party. The Umma Party claims complete independence for the Sudan and advocates only friendly relations with England and Egypt. It accepts every Sudanese as a member, educated or illiterate, if he pays five piasters as a subscription for life, or if it is paid for him by the party.

"This party supports the advisory council, and was initiated by the Sudan Government, but indirectly, and is supported by it. It is patronized by Sir Al Sayed Abdel Rahman Al Mahdi. Its important members are big native chiefs of the native administration and high Sudanese officials who are government puppets and from whom the Sudanisation scheme is supplied. All are "yes-men". The party has a daily paper of its own".

3. Would it be possible, under the present circumstances, to obtain a free expression of the Sudanese people's opinion in a plebiscite and would the Sudanese accept the holding of a plebiscite so long as British forces occupy the country?

Reply: No plebescite can be carried out and have any value whatever unless it is made under conditions completely eliminating extraneous pressure on the people. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that the Sudanese people will not accept the holding of a plebescite unless foreign influence in their country is first done away with.

4. What would be the attitude of the Sudanese in case of failure of negotiations, and what further action would the Sudanese take in the event of such break-down?

Reply: In case of a break-down of the Anglo-Egyptian talks, the Sudan, having linked its political destiny with that of Egypt, will synchronize its attitudes with that adopted by Egypt.

5. Do you feel optimistic after your stay in Cairo, as regards the results of these negotiations?

Reply: Who feels optimistic today?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ৯৲

সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ—
রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ৶০

সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ ৶০

চাটার্জির পিক্‌চার এল্‌বাম
(১, ৪, ৫, ৮ ও ৯ বাদে) প্রত্যেক ৪৲

চিরন্তনী (শ্রেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা দেবী ৪৷৷০

উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ ২৲

সোনার খাঁচা— শ্রীসীতা দেবী ২৷৷০

আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ ১৲

বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ ২৲

উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী ২৷৷০

কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক ৪৲

গীত উপক্রমণিকা—(১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) প্রত্যেক ১৷৷০

জাতিগঠনে রবীন্দ্রনাথ—ভারতচন্দ্র মজুমদার ১৷৷০

কিশোরদের মন—শ্রীদক্ষিণারঞ্জন মিত্র মজুমদার ৷৷০

চণ্ডীদাস চরিত—(৺কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সেন)
শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র রায় বিদ্যানিধি সংস্কৃত ২৷৷০

মেঘদূত (সচিত্র)—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য ৪৷৷০

হিমালয় পারে কৈলাস ও মানস সরোবর (সচিত্র)—
শ্রীপ্রমোদকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায় ৪৲

পাথুরে বাঁদর রামদাস (সচিত্র)—
শ্রীঅসিতকুমার হালদার ১৷৷০

জল্পনা—শ্রীহেমলতা দেবী ১৷০

খেলাধূলা (সচিত্র)—শ্রীবিজয়চন্দ্র মজুমদার ১৷৷০

বিলাপিকা—শ্রীযামিনীভূষণ সাহিত্যাচার্য্য ১৵০

ল্যাপল্যাণ্ড (সচিত্র)—শ্রীলক্ষ্মীশ্বর সিংহ ১৷৷০

ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়
১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

BOOKS AVAILABLE

	Rs.	As.
Chatterjee's Picture Albums—Nos. 1 to 17 (*No. 1, 4, 5, 8 & 9 out of Stock*) each No. at	4	0
History of Orissa Vols. I & II —R. D. Banerji each Vol.	25	0
Canons of Orissan Architecture—N. K. Basu	12	0
Dynasties of Mediæval Orissa— Pt. Binayak Misra	5	0
Eminent Americans: Whom Indians Should Know— Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland	4	8
Emerson & His Friends— ditto	4	0
Evolution & Religion— ditto	3	0
Origin and Character of the Bible ditto	3	0
Rajmohan's Wife—Bankim Ch. Chatterjee	2	0
Prayag or Allahabad—(*Illustrated*)	3	0
The Knight Errant (*Novel*)—Sita Devi	3	8
The Garden Creeper (*Illust. Novel*)— Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	8
Tales of Bengal—Santa Devi & Sita Devi	3	0
Plantation Labour in India—Dr. R. K. Das	3	8
India And A New Civilization— ditto	4	0
Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth (*Illust.*)—P. N. Roy	4	8
Story of Satara (*Illust. History*) —Major B. D. Basu	10	0
My Sojourn in England— ditto	2	0
History of the British Occupation in India —[*An epitome of Major Basu's first book in the list.*]—N. Kasturi	3	0
History of the Reign of Shah Alum— W. Franklin	3	0
The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa—With introduction by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—Prabhat Mukherjee	6	0
The First Point of Aswini—Jogesh Ch. Roy	0	8
Protection of Minorities— Radha Kumud Mukherji	0	4
Indian Medicinal Plants—Major B. D. Basu & Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar—Complete in 8 Vols. [Authoritative Work with numerous Superb Plates]	32	0

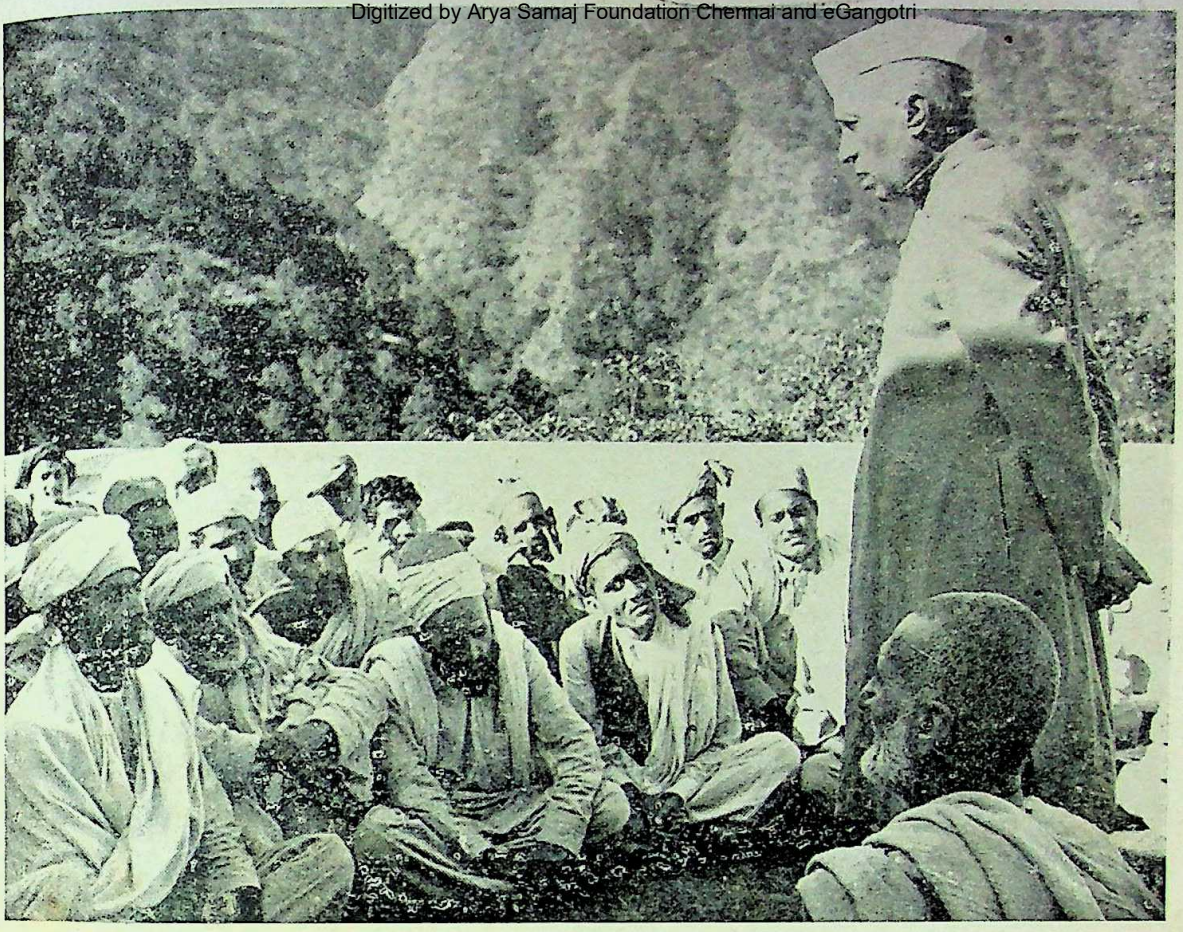
Postage Extra.

The Modern Review Office
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta

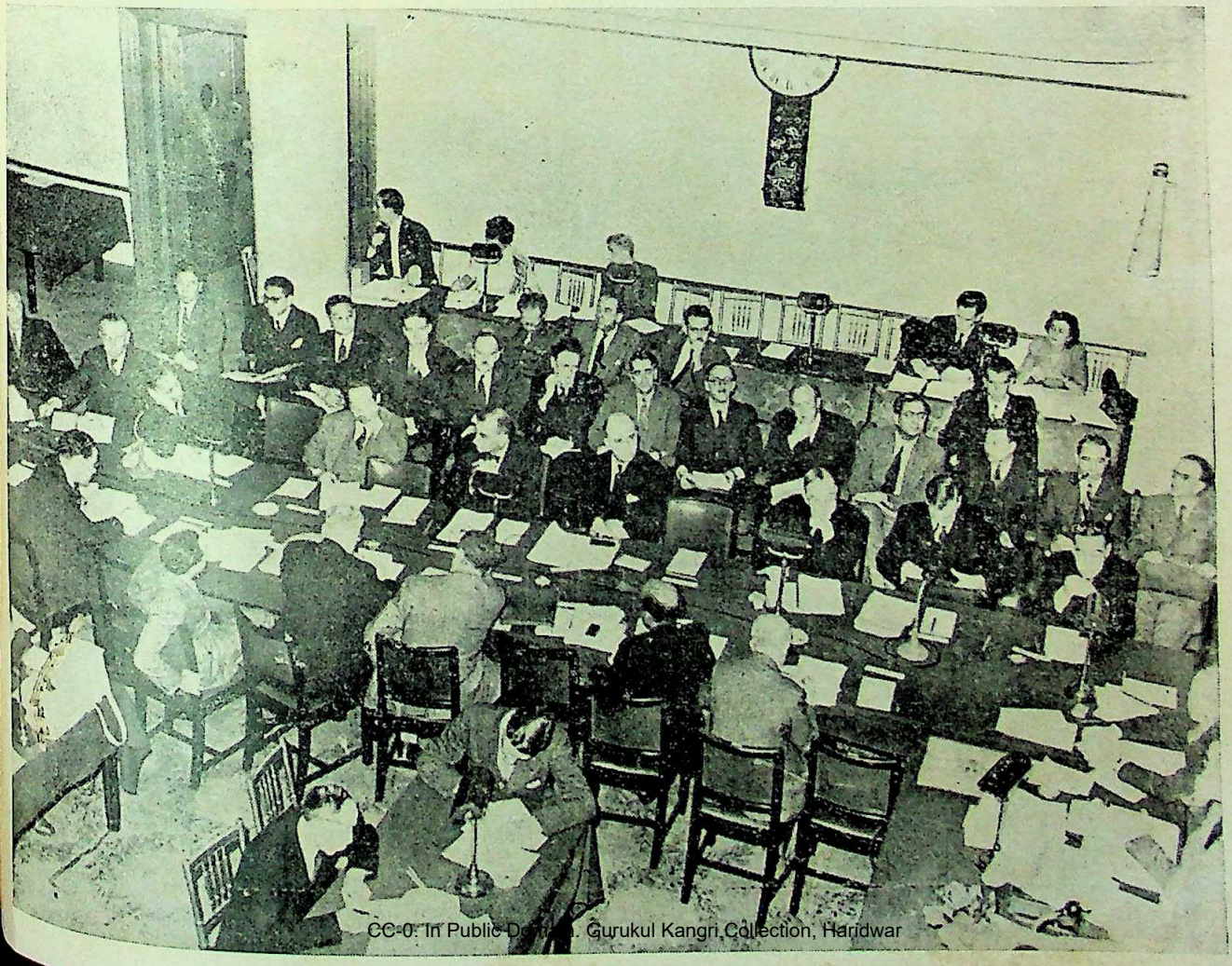
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



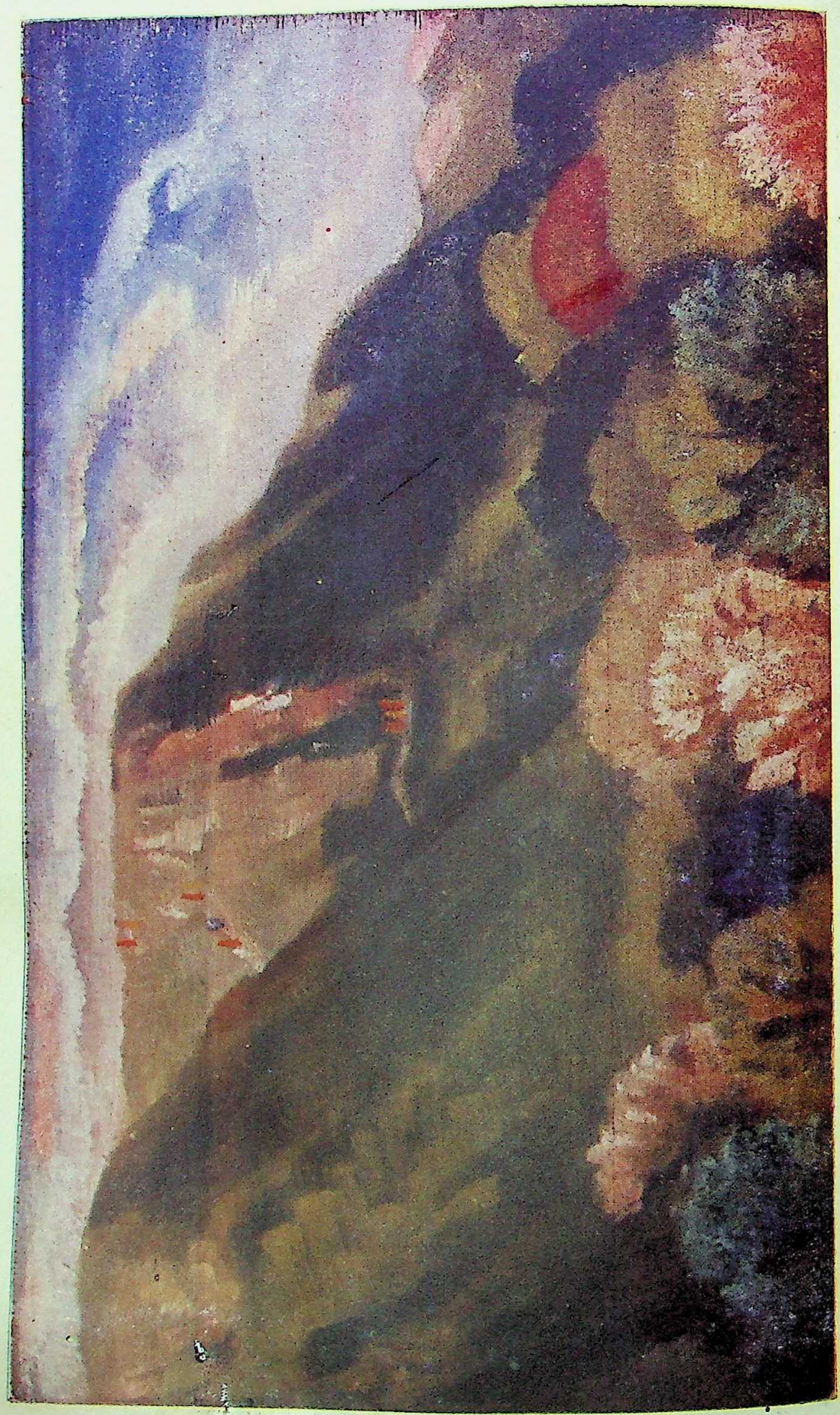
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addresses the tribal Maliks at Malakand



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

The Preparatory Commission of UNESCO as it met in London in July 1946

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE PILGRIM'S WAY
BHULACHAL, RAJGIR
By Bimal Ray

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1946

VOL. LXXX, No. 6 WHOLE No. 480

NOTES

The London Conference

It is very difficult as yet to assess the value, either ..y, of the results of the recent hurried conference in ..ndon. The British Cabinet, in its attempt at media..n, has raised problems for both parties in trying to ..ain a non-partisan character for itself. In the state..nt it has issued, which is flashed in the daily press ..the time of writing these notes, there are many ..tors that might raise fresh problems. It is not ..ssible to discuss them all at this stage but we think ..ew remarks are called for regarding certain features. ..e new statement goes on to say :

The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of Paragraph 19 (5) and (8) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, relating to meetings in Sections, which runs as follows :

Para 19(5)—These Sections shall proceed to settle Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so, with what Provincial Subjects the Group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of Sub-Clause (8) below.

Para 19 (8)—As soon as the new constitutional agreements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the Legislature of the Province after the First General Election under the New Constituent Assembly.

The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the Sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement, read as a whole, is that the Provinces have the right to decide both as to Grouping and as to their own constitutions.

H. M. G. have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the Statement, as so interpreted, must, therefore, be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which H. M. G. would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

It is, however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16 may arise and H.M.G. hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly, they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such a decision, so that the procedure, both in the union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan.

It will be seen that this putting forward of the legal advice obtained by the British Cabinet may have the effect of prejudicing the Federal Court. It will also be remarked that no new interpretation of Para 19(8) has been made and therefore the question of "opting out" remains where it was. There can be no question, therefore, of any province being forced to remain inside any group, *per force and ad infinitum*. The most significant paragraph however is the following :

> There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure. Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which *a large section of the Indian population* had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate —forcing such a constitution upon *any unwilling parts of the country*.

It will be seen that the effect of this statement cuts both ways. In effect neither Hindusthan *nor Pakistan* can be forced upon *any large section* of the Indian population, or any unwilling parts of the country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nehru-Wavell Correspondence

The terms of the Muslim League participation in the Interim Government have been made clear in letters from which extracts were released by Pandit Nehru. In giving the reasons that led to this release, the Government Note says :

> Certain correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. M. A. Jinnah was published about three weeks ago. This related to the participation of the members of the Muslim League in the Cabinet. A number of letters bearing on the subject and more specially on the terms of the Muslim League's participation in the Interim Government were exchanged between the Viceroy and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Some extracts from these letters are now released to the press for public information.

Extract from the Viceroy's letter of October 4, 1946, to Mr. M. A. Jinnah :

> In a Coalition Government it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I agreed that it would be fatal to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all.
>
> Since the basis for the participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution.

Extract from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of October 14 to the Viceroy :

> It is important for us to understand exactly how he (Mr. Jinnah) proposes to join and what these terms are to which he refers. Various statements in newspapers, and more especially in the official Muslim League organ, are disconcerting in the extreme. Our past experience does not encourage us to rely on vague and ambiguous phrases. These usually lead to misunderstandings and subsequent argument which is not edifying. It is desirable, therefore, to be precise in such matters and to know exactly where we stand.
>
> We know the terms of your broadcast in August last and I have seen your letter to Mr. Jinnah of October 4. I have not seen your letter to him of October 12. I trust that this does not contain anything beyond what was contained in the broadcast or the letter of October 4. If so, we should be informed of it so that we might know what the exact position is.
>
> As I understand it, the offer you made in your broadcast was that five places in the Interim Government could be taken by the Muslim League. In your letter of October 4, you made it clear that a Coalition Government must necessarily work as a team and not a joining together of rival groups which did not co-operate for a common purpose. Further you state that the basis for participation in the Cabinet must, of course, be limited to the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16.
>
> It seems to us much better that any possible misunderstanding should be removed at this stage so that, it may not come in our way later on. We have to face a difficult situation. So far as we are concerned we shall make every effort to work cooperatively and as a team. During the last six weeks we have done so with considerable success and to the advantage of our work. Almost every decision of ours, to whatever department it might have belonged, has been taken after joint consultation and agreement.
>
> This has made us to some extent jointly responsible for the working of the various departments and the burden of any particular portfolio has been shared by others. We propose to continue to work in this manner. How far the Muslim League members share this outlook with us I do not know. Any other approach would lead to friction and delay in the disposal of our work. In any event we think it necessary for us to know as fully as possible the terms to which Mr. Jinnah refers in his letter of October 13. If there is any variation or addition to them as contained in your broadcast and your letter of October 4, we should be informed of it.

Viceroy's letter of October 15 to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :

> Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Jinnah of October 12. There have been no assurances or explanations to Mr. Jinnah that go beyond the terms of the broadcast and the letters of October 4 and 12.

Extract from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of October 23 to the Viceroy :

> In my correspondence with you and in your letter addressed to me as well as to Mr. Jinnah it was made clear that the Muslim League's joining the Interim Government meant their acceptance of the long-term scheme of the Cabinet Delegation contained in the statement of May 16. I need not trouble you with references to this in various letters. It was pointed out then that a formal decision of the Muslim League to this effect would have to be taken by the council of the League as they had originally passed the resolution of non-acceptance. Nevertheless, it was made clear that the working committee of the League would itself recommend the acceptance of this scheme and the formality could follow soon after. It was on this basis that we proceeded.
>
> We suggest, therefore, that these two points should be cleared up : (1) The Muslim League's acceptance of the long-term scheme as embodied in the statement of May 16, subject only to a formal ratification by the council of the League at an early date which should be fixed. (2) The approach of the League to the Interim Government and in particular whether Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan's and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's speeches recently delivered represent that approach or not.
>
> If this clarification is satisfactory the step to be taken is the allotment of portfolios. The second step cannot precede the first for it is dependent upon it and governed by it.
>
> From past experience you will appreciate how this clarification and precision are necessary in order

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

o avoid future trouble. This is all the more necesary because the Muslim League are not joining the nterim Government after an agreement with the Congress. Even as it is we welcome their coming in, but that coming in would have little value and in fact might even be harmful to all concerned if it was really a prelude to inner as well as outer conflicts.

Extract from H. E. the Viceroy's letter, dated ober 23 to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :

I have made it clear to Mr. Jinnah, whom I have seen today, that the Muslim League's entry into the Interim Government is conditional on the acceptance of the scheme of the Cabinet Delegation, contained in the statement of May 25, and that he must call his council at an early date to agree to this.

As I told you, Mr. Jinnah has assured me that the Muslim League will come into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly, with the intention of co-operating. He regrets and condemns, as deeply as you do, the recent disturbances in East Bengal.

charya Kripalani's Presidential Address

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President of the fiftyrth Session of the Indian National Congress which ld its session at Meerut has been asked to wear the own of thorns" at a time when "our ship is nearing harbour which has been so heavily mined." He d, "True, we have not yet achieved the goal of rna Swaraj, but our representatives and leaders have ken into the citadel of power. This is not the end foreign domination, but it is surely the beginning the end, provided we know how to utilise our portunities."

After giving a short retrospective account of the st six years, Acharya Kripalani explained the structive revolution in the following words :

I believe that if the Congress had not taken up the challenge of British imperialism in August 1942, we would not be occupying the position we do today. Nor indeed would the Muslim League and other minorities, though some of them may not like to admit the fact. True, we have not yet achieved our goal of Purna Swaraj. But our representatives and leaders have broken into the citadel of power. This is not the end of foreign domination, but it is surely the beginning of the end, provided we know how to utilise our opportunities.

Our revolutionary movement, based as it is on non-violence, is unique in history. Usually political revolutions have aimed at the destruction of the old order. Their strategy has been designed to capture power. All constructive effort to remould the nation's life has been done after the old order was completely destroyed and power captured. This process has inevitably led not to one but a series of revolutions before things could settle down and constructive effort be begun. Not unoften, the process has led to civil war and ultimately to dictatorship. Both civil war and dictatorship have a tendency to defeat the aims of a revolution. It was so in the French and Russian revolutions.

The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has avoided overemphasis on mere destruction or on the capture of power. It has, on the other hand, laid great emphasis on constructive programme. Its destructive and constructive programmes have been worked side by side for the last 26 years. Indeed, for Gandhiji the only effective preparation for civil disobedience is the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. Now that Congressmen are at the helm of affairs in many provinces, and even at the centre we have some sort of a national Government, it should not be difficult to intensify our effort and realise the full possibilities of the constructive programme as enunciated by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress.

He dwelt upon the problem of post-war industrialisation and said that we should not forget that decentralisation alone would help effectively to solve the problem of chronic unemployment of the vast majority of our agricultural population. In his opinion, our agriculture too must largely follow the pattern of decentralised industry.

Speaking on national unity, he said, "In a short time we shall be assembling to form a new constitution for India. Freedom, if not achieved, is surely in sight. The British can no longer deny it to us, whatever their intentions.

Of all the political virtues, unity is the greatest and the most important, provided this unity is not super-imposed by force but is natural and spontaneous.

At present the greatest danger to our freedom are the communal differences, specially between the two major communities, the Hindus and Muslims. The foreigner has taken the fullest advantage of those in the past. Today he finds it his last trump card. He is playing it cleverly and subtly. It is unhistorical, unscientific, unethnic and unnatural to think that the Hindus and the Muslims are two nations. Their interests, social political and economic, are identical. Their common points are innumerable. Their differences can be easily counted and are only skin-deep. The foreigner cannot distinguish the Hindu from the Muslim except by the accident of dress, and that too only if he is familiar with sartorial differences which change from province to province.

Even though the present alien rule has dwarfed Indian genius by an unnatural system of foreign education and the denial of all opportunities of initiative, yet by the mere fact of uniting India under one common misrule, it has released the creative energy of the nation in various fields of thought and action. There has been an Indian renaissance. To think of India then as divided into two nations, Hindu and Muslim, is retrogade and reactionary. It is dividing what nature and history have united.

Kripalani on Constituent Assembly and International Relations

In two brief and compact paragraphs, the Congress President gave an outline of the foundation of the future constitution of India. He said :

We shall soon be meeting in the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of free India. It will be a democratic constitution and will be federal in character. We may not however forget that, in the administrative as in the economic field, centralisation, more than is absolutely necessary, is inimical to liberty. It is good, therefore, that the provinces in free India shall have the maximum autonomy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

consistent with external and internal security. But some of our provinces are each as big as a country in Europe. There may be over-centralisation in the administration of the provinces, which too we must avoid. Long ago, how long history does not record, the Indian genius worked on the village and local panchayat. It remained our fort through many a turbulent period. Kings and dynasties fought and failed, empires rose, ruled, misruled and disappeared, but the villager's life maintained its even tenor, away from the din of battle and the rush of rising and falling empires. He had a village-state which protected his life and property and made civilized life possible. Progressively, we must delegate to the village panchayat's judicial powers in petty criminal and civil cases; the local police too might be put under the charge of the panchayat. If we build upon this village unit of self-government, rehabilitate it to the altered conditions of today, we shall be working in consonance with the genius of our people. This is the natural and the easy way. Merely to copy the West should not be our object. We may also not imitate that the West has made, more specially in the big countries, democracy complex and expensive. West has evolved the official red-tape which makes the democratic machinery cumbrous and slow-moving. All these drawbacks we must try to avoid in the new constitution that we may devise.

Our judicial system must be simple and effective. The law's delay and expense and complicity must be avoided. Also there must be ample provision made for the enjoyment of civil liberties. They must be protected even from the arbitrary action of a democratic and representative government. We may not forget that power corrupts even the patriot in office. Ample provision, consistent with the larger interests of the country and the masses, must be made for the protection of minorities. Their language and culture must have free scope for development. There must be absolute tolerance in matters of faith and religion. Every individual and every group must be free to propagate his and its ideas, consistently with the maintenance of peace and public morality.

Explaining his views on the International relations of India with the world, he said that the Congress had for many years taken keen interest in international happenings. With India's national struggle based on non-violence, she has naturally always stood for international disarmament, peace, co-operation and open diplomacy. India believes in a new world order based upon international goodwill and co-operation. India believes that these objects can be achieved by an international organisation consisting of free and equal nations.

"We believe that so long as imperialism exists, whatever international organisation is devised for peace, will inevitably be turned into an instrument of ambition by powerful and unscrupulous nations. It will not be based upon equality, justice and fair play but upon the might of a few dominant nations. There will always be the Big Three, Four or Five. That way lies danger. International thieves and robbers, even as ordinary thieves and robbers, sooner or later, and sooner than later, fall out among themselves, and when they do, they shake the very foundations of the earth as they have done twice within the last thirty years. As long as there are dependent nations, and peoples, so long there will be conflict and war.

A free India will have in the field of international affiliations, connections more natural and more suited to her geographical position than she has under foreign domination. As a matter of fact, up to now we have had no free connection at all. We were bound to the wheel of British international affiliations. Whoever was a friend of imperial Britain was India's friend; whoever was Britain's enemy became automatically India's enemy. For the sake of British alliances and enmities, India was twice dragged into war at the cost of untold suffering and loss of life. Free India must cast off this heavy burden. We must have a foreign policy of our own.

Though we must develop and maintain equally friendly relations with all nations, our associations with our neighbours in Asia and Australia will naturally be closer. With China and Japan we have long historic and cultural associations. Even today, thanks to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in the fitness of things is our foreign minister we have cordial relations with China. But we are so much separated from our next-door neighbour that no cable can come from China direct here. It has to come *via* London and takes often more than four hours. All this must be changed. As soon as a democratic Japan, free from its imperial nightmare, comes into existence, India must cultivate its friendship. We may not be obsessed with other peoples' prejudices, be they of the East or the West. We have also cultural bonds with Indonesia and the Eastern islands, which we must develop. Our trade can most profitably flow in these lands to mutual advantage. India and Australia have nothing to lose and much to gain by closer intercourse. Central Asia and the Middle East are other lands with which we have cultural contacts. A fourth of our population professes in common with the inhabitants of these lands the faith of the Prophet. We must renew these contacts and forge new links of friendship. With Soviet Russia too our relations must be closer. With all that we must keep up the connections we already have with the Western democracies.

There is an aspect of our international relation about which it is necessary, in the interest of peace, that we should make our stand clear. And that is that though we make no fetish of national sovereignty and are willing to subordinate its rights to the claims of world peace and co-operation on the basis of perfect equality between all peoples, we will not tolerate interference with the right of our people to choose their form of government or violation of the territorial integrity of India. Whether it is the presence of British troops in India against the wishes of our chosen representatives, or foreign-paid propaganda to create dissensions in our ranks, or the continued occupation of portions of our soil by the Portuguese and the French on whatever pretensions, it is a violation of those fundamental freedoms of which no nation can be deprived. If the British can quit India, as they have unequivocally promised to do, it is ridiculous for the Portuguese authorities to claim that Goa is part of their country thousands of miles away. We congratulate Dr. Rammanohar Lohia for having exposed the gross injustice and indignity to which our compatriots are subjected in Goa. The days of empires are over, and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

day when even big and powerful nations are being liged to give up their empires, it is time that the mall nations, in their own interest, should gracefully ithdraw from theirs and thus help to remove the main ause of wars between nations."

U.N.O. Security Council and India

The failure of India to secure election to the ecurity Council of the U.N.O. will be looked upon the people of Asia as an event of major importance. e election of Belgium to the exclusion of India ows that the nations of Europe have not yet ased thinking of politics in terms of the nineteenth ntury balance of power.

The United Nations' power for action is concenated in the Security Council. The General Assembly the United Nations is subordinate to the Security ouncil to even a greater extent than was the Assembly the League of Nations to its Council. The extent its subordination is indicated by the fact that the eneral Assembly cannot even make a recommendation its own initiative concerning a dispute or situation hich is being dealt with by the Security Council. This ouncil has eleven members, five permanent and six hers elected for two years by the General Assembly. he five permanent members are China, Russia, France, ritain and U.S.A. Each member has one vote, in rocedural matters any seven votes can decide an issue. ut in other matters decision needs seven votes, the ive permanent members' votes and two others.

The utility of a member on the Security Council epends among other things upon its military capacity o deal with an aggressor nation. The capacity and illingness of the members of the Security Council will e the best check against any form of aggression. The ilitary strength of India and her economic potential ave been amply demonstrated during the two world ars. It is a matter of genuine doubt whether Britain ould have pulled through these two wars with merican help alone and without the Indian military nd economic resources at her back. On this score alone ndia should have had a seat in the Security Council.

India and China are the two great Asiatic nations ho hold between them a third of the total population f the world. Addressing the first session of the United ations' General Assembly in January last, Mr. Attlee ad said, "Things that are discussed in conference here re the concern of all and affect the home and life of very man, woman and child." This denial of a place o India in the Security Council affects not only ndians, but by leaving China alone on the Council it eakens the representation of Asia on the Council.

India and the U.N.O.

India's claim to an adequate share in the adminisration of the U.N.O. was ably put forward by Mrs. Pandit in her speech to the Assembly. "As a country, eographically in a strategic position in the Indian Ocean, with significant relations and cultural ties with er neighbours in Asia, the contribution she has made n resistance to aggression and the cause of human reedom and her role in world economy entitle her to a place in important organs of the United Nations."

It is unfortunate that India failed to secure election to the United Nations' Security Council, while small nations like Columbia, Syria, and Belgium were successful in this respect. This is not surprising. The Indian Delegation had acted with a spirit of independence which was sufficient to displease some of the big powers. Indian representatives at the U.N.O. have been fearless champions of human rights and international morality. Speaking at the Political Committee on M. Molotov's resolution seeking census of troops in enemy and non-enemy countries, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared that the Indian Delegation supported the Russian resolution and that "they are glad that the scope of the resolution has been extended to cover former enemy as well as non-enemy territories." "We support the resolution," said Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, "because we feel it would facilitate implementing Article 43 of the Charter and because it will be a step towards the ultimate objective we all have in minds, namely, a scheme of universal and well-regulated reduction of arms." She further asserted in this connection that India was not happy about the employment of certain Indian troops in Indonesia and Iraq and that the new Indian Government had already insisted upon their early withdrawal.

When the question of new entrants to the U.N.O. was being discussed in the Political Committee, the Indian Delegation kept up its dignified spirit of independence in giving expression to its own views. "Among the applicants," said Mrs. Pandit, "there is in our opinion one country and one only, which is definitely not fitted to be a member of the United Nations. I mean Portugal." In her opinion Portugal had distinctly Fascist leanings. It had not only collaborated with Franco's Spain, but had also a thoroughly reactionary colonial policy, especially in relation to the Portuguese possessions in India. Mrs. Pandit regretted that Eire had not been recommended by the Security Council for membership of the U.N.O., though as a peace and freedom-loving country she was eminently fitted for that. Mrs. Pandit also wanted that Trans-Jordan should be a member of the United Nations. "Even if doubts regarding the degree of independence which Trans-Jordan has obtained were justified, we feel one should not stand in the way of Trans-Jordan's membership of the United Nations." In her opinion applications of Albania and Mongolia also deserved serious consideration. She expressed the Indian Delegation's satisfaction that Afghanistan, Iceland and Sweden were going to be admitted to the United Nations. She also expressed her feeling that if the General Assembly thought that the Security Council had refused to recommend a state for membership on inadequate or unfair grounds, then it was open to, and indeed incumbent on, the General Assembly to ask the Security Council to reconsider its attitude.

The Indian Delegation also expressed their opinion on the Veto system of the U.N.O. Addressing the United Nations' Political and Security Committee Mr. K. P. S. Menon said, "The Indian Delegation feels that the veto, however undemocratic it may seem in theory, is in its essence a reflection of the realities of the international situation." "In our opinion," he added, "what is needed is not to restrict the area of the veto but to regulate its use." He hoped that the Big Five would "come to a Gentleman's agreement regarding the use or, what is more important, refraining from the use of the veto."

It seems that the Indian Delegation has compromised on this issue. The Indian Delegation may

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

feel that they have shown a responsive gesture to the Soviet Delegation on account of the latter's valuable assistance on the question of India's dispute with South Africa. It should be remembered that the Veto as it stands does not operate merely against the combination of some big powers against one of themselves, but also protects the aggression of a big power over a small nation. M. Andrei Vyshinsky in a fighting speech in defence of the right of veto declared that "the United Nations cannot be powerful if the great nations cannot agree with each other. No one dares to repeat the mistakes of the League of Nations or the League of Vices and Mistakes." But is there any need of a U.N.O. if the great nations are always in agreement? The League of Nations failed because while it could bully small nations, it was powerless to check the aggression of the great. The Veto system of the U.N.O. is only a reproduction of the weakness which destroyed the League of Nations. With the veto in use and the balance of power doctrine in view, the U.N.O. cannot prevent a third world war.

South African Question at the U. N. O.

In arguing for the case against South Africa, which from the point of view of the Indians is the most important item on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly, the Indian Delegation have achieved commendable success. The Indian Delegation had to fight against a form of the Nazi theory of racialism as practised against the Indians and Africans by the Europeans in South Africa and South-West Africa.

General Smuts, the Head of the South African Delegation, spared no pains to justify his anti-Indian and anti-Asiatic measures. Speaking in the Steering Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly on October 24, General Smuts asked that the item on the provisional agenda, "Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa," should be deleted from the agenda on the ground that Indians in South Africa being South African nationals, the issue raised was a domestic one of the South African Government and as such did not fall within the province of the U.N.O. But this demand of General Smuts was roundly opposed by the Russian and Chinese delegates who fully supported the Indian representatives on the ground that "all members of the United Nations had a right to take part in a debate whenever their proposals were under discussion." M. Andrei Vyshinsky, the Russian representative of the Steering Committee, pointed out that it was the "human rights" which have been violated in this particular problem. "This question," he said, "is not merely an internal problem. It is an international one. Actually it represents a breach of agreements between two States—South Africa and India—concerning the fate of Indian nationals in South Africa."

Justice M. C. Chagla conceded the point made by General Smuts that a large number of Indians have become nationals of South Africa. But "the issue is," he said, "whether the General Committee is competent to rule whether the Indian request should go on the agenda. It should go on the agenda. It is clearly laid down in the rules that the General Committee shall not have the right to decide any political questions."

After some discussions on this point in the Steering Committee ultimately the United States' proposal that a recommendation be made to the Assembly that the question should go both to the Political and Legal committees was approved.

On October 25, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit raised the question of Indians in South Africa in an eloquent manner. She said :

> We have brought before you the treatment of Indians by South Africa, a member-State and a signatory to the Charter. The way this Assembly treats and disposes of this issue is open to the gaze not only of those gathered here but to millions in the world—progressive peoples of all countries, more particularly non-European peoples of the world—who, let it not be forgotten, are an overwhelming section of the human race. The issue we have brought before you is by no means narrow or a local one, nor can we accept any contention that a gross and continuing outrage of this kind against the fundamental principles of the Charter can be claimed by any one, and least of all by a member-State, to be a matter of no concern to this Assembly. Bitter memories of racial doctrines in practice of states and governments are still fresh in the minds of all of us.

She also expressed her concern at the South African proposal that the mandated territory of South-West Africa should be incorporated by South Africa.

On October 30, M. Molotov in his speech to the United Nations' General Assembly strongly supported the Indian cause.

There was a vigorous contest between the Indian Delegation and the South African Delegation in the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O. General Smuts claimed that the peoples of South-West Africa desired incorporation into the Union. He tried to show that it is the international responsibility of the Union Government which "precluded it from taking advantage of the war situation by effecting a changing of the status of South-West Africa without proper consultation of all people in the territory itself or with competent international organs." "In any event," he held, "the United Nations' Charter by the use of the term *may* instead of *shall* in Article 77 excluded any obligation to place mandated territories under trusteeship and made the application of the trusteeship system to such territories a matter of voluntary agreement." He was confident that "implementation of the wishes of the inhabitants of South-West Africa is the course both prescribed by the U.N.O. Charter and dictated by the best interests of the inhabitants themselves." He went so far as to threaten that if the Assembly did not agree to the incorporation of South-West Africa then no other course was left to the South African Government "than to abide by the declaration it made at Geneva that it would continue to administer the territory as heretofore as an integral part of the Union and do so in the spirit of the principles laid down in the mandate."

General Smuts also thought that it was improper for Indians to speak against the racial policy of the South African Government, when they had depressed classes in their own country and had so much communal hatred and riots amongst themselves.

Sir Maharaj Singh, the Indian delegate, opposed the South African incorporation demand mainly on the ground that there was no prospect of non-Europeans being treated fairly by the South African Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

aking from personal knowledge of the treatment of Africans by the Europeans he pointed out how crimination was made against the Africans in every ere of life. "There is nothing," he said, "to show the African population of South-West Africa ever ly understood the great issues involved—that they erstood the trusteeship system . . . The answers en by tribal chiefs indicate that the nature and ectives of the trusteeship system were not clearly ced before them." He further said, "Additionally y natives were not consulted or were opposed to orporation and according to newspaper reports, ests from within and without South-West Africa tinue to be made. He pointed out that the wishes the Africans in South-West Africa could not be ly expressed. Due to the educational policy of the th African Government, the number of natives able appreciate the difference between incorporation and steeship was infinitesimal. Moreover, not a single ican figured in the long list given in one of the ion's own statements of legislative and executive cers in South-West Africa. Only very recently ive representatives in the Council of the Union, in w of their ineffective and advisory status and in gust at the unfulfilled pledges made by the Union vernment adjourned *sine die* as a protest and reatened to resign.

Sir Maharaj Singh was amazed that the Union overnment dared to refer to African representation. The Africans," he said, "have only seven representatives out of 200 in the legislature and even then can ly be represented by Europeans and this for a pulation which is 75 per cent of the whole." He ve the estimate that "Government expenditure on e education of over 7,000,000 Africans in 1940 was 00,000 against £7,000,300 for 2,250,000 Europeans. rovisions in respect of old age pensions, hospitals and uses were also similarly based on a policy of discrimination against the non-Europeans. Indeed, nator Basner, a representative in the South African nate, recently described the social services to the ricans as being inadequate to a point of indecency. et a Committee," proposed Sir Maharaj, "composed of two Europeans, two Americans, two Asiatics d two Africans from outside the Union, visit South rica and report on the conditions of Africans in the rritory to which it is proposed to incorporate South-West Africa and hear their views regarding their treatment."

As regards caste system, Sir Maharaj pointed out at the Field Marshal had "not the remotest idea of nditions prevailing in India." "Every caste," Sir Maharaj said, "has the same legal, political, municipal d civic rights as any other." The Indian delegation, instance, had 20 members in it belonging to three fferent creeds and many castes and yet they enjoyed bsolutely equal rights. Moreover, "at present in every binet of India, including the Central Government ere are one or more members of the so-called Depressed classes working and ruling on absolutely equal rms with the other Ministers and entrusted with portant portfolios. Their franchise qualifications have en deliberately lowered. In public services, quotas ve been fixed for them on a higher percentage than for others." Lastly, Field Marshal Smuts' reference to communal riots in India could not help his cause. For was said in reply that "most nations at the threshold f independence passed through such struggles."

In the opinion of Sir Maharaj, "South-West Africa should be placed forthwith within the trusteeship system of the United Nations." He also asked the Committee to recommend that "in determining the terms of agreements, the administering authority for the trust territories under Chapter 12 of the Charter should as a rule be the organisation itself."

It is pleasing to learn that in arguing against South Africa, India was fully supported by delegates from Russia, U.S.A., China, Egypt, Denmark, Norway, Mexico, Syria, Bolivia, Yugoslavia, Haiti and Czechoslovakia in the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O.

After much discussion the Trusteeship Committee agreed to appoint two sub-committees to examine all the items on the agenda and rejected a proposal of Field Marshal Smuts for the appointment of a single sub-committee. On both these sub-committees India has been represented.

In her speech to the General Assembly on October 26, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit pointed out that it was for the first time that an Indian Delegation had been "briefed and accredited by a National Government" of India to speak to an International Assembly "with a full sense of responsibility and authority vested in that government by the confidence and sanctions of our people." "India," she added, "has not yet played a sufficiently effective part in this Assembly. She desires and intends to do so."

India Wins at the U.N.O.

The South African issue came up for further discussions in the General Assembly and the Joint Legal and Political Committee of the U.N.O.

After a heated discussion for some days the Joint Legal and Political Committee of the U.N.O. adopted, in spite of powerful opposition by South Africa in co-operation with the U.K. and U.S., a resolution jointly sponsored by France and Mexico. This resolution reads :

> The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the matter : first, states that because of that treatment friendly relations between two member states have been impaired and unless satisfactory settlement is reached these relations are likely to be further impaired ; secondly, is of opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two governments and relevant provisions of the Charter ; thirdly, the Committee, therefore requests the two governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect.

The Indian resolution on this point was very much similar to this French-Mexican resolution, the difference being mainly in the fact that while the former definitely stated that "the Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in particular constitutes a denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and is contrary to the Charter," the latter only stated that "the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the two governments and relevant provisions of the Charter."

The Indian resolution was withdrawn and the French-Mexican resolution was allowed to stand.

Field Marshal Smuts tried to persuade the members of the U.N.O. to agree to his suggestion that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice. If he had succeeded it would have turned the Indian issue from a political into a legal one. But as a matter of fact, India's case against South Africa is primarily political and to evade it by a legal dodge is to deny the very purpose of the U.N.O. of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Justice Chagla was perfectly right when he pointed out that the General Assembly was quite competent to deal with the Indian complaint, for, it was a political body. Besides, as he further said, "It would be fatal for this body to allow the Court of International Justice to be dragged into politics."

However, India finally won her case when the French-Mexican resolution came up before the General Assembly. It was carried by 32 votes against 15 with 7 abstentions. The South African amendment referring the Indian dispute to the International Court was defeated by 31 votes to 21 with two abstentions. Delegates from Russia, Phillipines, Panama, Egypt and Poland warmly supported India's case, while U.K., Belgium and Netherlands spoke in favour of South Africa.

Sir Hartley Shawcross, the British delegate, was chief spokesman on behalf of South Africa. In a vehement speech, he supported South Africa's stand for referring the dispute to the International Court. Appealing to the delegates to treat the matter "coldly and dispassionately," Sir Hartley declared, "The question is not what are the merits, but what are the powers which we possess in this matter. This is not a matter to stir up our emotions."

The Russian Vice-Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky said that there had been no denial of the existence of discriminatory legislation in South Africa. He referred to the Laws of 1904 and 1908 limiting residential areas in which Indian could live which he termed as "actual ghettos." He also referred to the immigration legislation of 1913, marriage laws which forbade the marriage of Europeans and Indians, legislation which denied franchise to Indian women at a time when White women were given a vote and also to "Law 18 of 1924 which prohibited any Indian from walking on sideways." He continued, "South Africa—the accused —under the weight of arguments presented now had no way out. The South African delegation was therefore shifting the matter from a political level to a legal level. The British representative Sir Hartley Shawcross had proved to be a good lawyer for South Africa having shown unquestionable ability which might, however, have found a more suitable application. It is quite obvious that the complaint of the Indian delegation is of an international character within principles of the United Nations and most specifically of the General Assembly, which must definitely assent to that particular interpretation of the case. I feel that it is founded on political grounds as well as on social grounds." Referring to the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, M. Vyshinsky went on : "How can we possibly say that this is an internal question ? How can we possibly argue that it is not an international question ?"

M. Vyshinsky declared that he disagreed with F. M. Smuts' interpretation of the Charter in the Article dealing with domestic jurisdiction.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in her reply said that Sir Hartley Shawcross' speech had shattered the Indian hope that the British Commonwealth would at least remain neutral in this controversy which vitally concerns one of its most important members. But he had spoken in a manner which India considered as entirely partisan, however full of dialectical skill it might be. She said, "I shall only deal with two points : Sir Hartley made the suggestion that any resolution passed by this Assembly by a narrow majority is not obligatory and therefore he suggests that we should get a decision of the International Court. What is obligatory about the decision of the International Court ? Is this all the respect that members of this great organisation are going to show to resolutions passed by this Assembly if the decisions happen to go against them ? The second point is a reference by Sir Hartley to the unfortunate but I hope temporary differences which exist in India and which are much in evidence in the American press today. I regret that I must say that Sir Hartley has not shown good taste in referring to these differences which he knows have been brought about largely by the role the British Government has played between various elements in our country in the long history of Indo-British relations. He has referred to these differences with evident and unconcerned glee. I leave this Assembly to form its own view on this. India is struggling for freedom and at the same time grappling with her internal difficulties with every hope of overcoming them."

The resolution was then put to vote declaring that it was an "important question" which meant that a two-thirds majority was required to get it passed. Voting on the South African amendment first took place. The amendment was defeated by 31 votes to 21 with two abstentions, the two abstainers being Afghanistan and Bolivia. The French-Mexican resolution was then put to vote and it received the requisite two-thirds majority with 32 for and 15 against it with seven abstentions. Among those who abstained were Denmark, Sweden and Turkey.

This is India's most signal victory at the U.N.O. U.S.A. and U.K's support for Smuts in his advocacy for racial discrimination against the people of Asia has probably been the most notable feature of the South African debate. The high hopes that Asiatic nations had placed on these "arsenals and champions of democracy" have proved totally false at the first touch of reality. It is hardly a year since Word War II was over and the delegates of U.S.A. have tacitly disowned the "Four Freedoms" declaration which emanated from their own country. As for Britain, it is strange that the representative of a Socialist government, that is apparently doing all it can to forge new ties and to eradicate old evils, should thus give the lie direct to all the claims of his government that the British Empire would henceforward be a Commonwealth of Nations on terms of equality with each other.

Why the Jamiat Opposes the League

The *Tribune* has published an article written by Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi in which he has explained the reasons why the Jamiat is opposing the League. "A good deal of confusion exists," the writer says, "as to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stand *vis-a-vis* the forthcoming Sind Assembly ions. Being Muslims ourselves, why are we opposthe League? Why is it not possible that we should w in our lot with the League? Are we really a ch of the Congress? If so, why? And finally what re propose to do in the event of our success in the ions?" These are the questions that have been ating not only the mind of the writer but the ds of the people as well, and therefore the learned has sought to answer them. Discussing the question n the viewpoint of a prominent Muslim dignitary, ays:

"Why can we not see our way to rejoin the eague? I am convinced that the Muslim League as scuttled itself and that whatever it has been oing of late constitutes but the last kicks of a ying monster. Both in the all-India as well as in he provincial field it has failed at any rate: its ontribution in the cause of freedom or human proress has nowhere been such as should enable any ecent citizen of the modern world to feel proud of. We are after all not living in the stone age; ntellectual evolution of mankind has reached a itch where nature herself is unable to conceal rom the human eye many of her once incomprehensible mysteries. Man can see through everything nd can judge it by certain positive standards. The ge of camouflage is gone. Certainly it is not a religious body of Muslims in the sense that the code of life which is being followed by the high pontiffs of the League is not the code of life laid down by Islam. Things forbidden in Islam are the things most favoured by the League hierarchy. To facilitate comparison, visualize an ideal Muslim conforming to the standards set up by the Holy Quran and then compare him with the highest League leader. The disparity would be simply staggering.

Piety, austerity, simplicity, urge for freedom, love of peace, good and just government, spirit of sacrifice, humility, justice and feelings of good neighbourliness were once the essential attributes of a true Muslim. It is mainly in Bengal and Sind that the League has had its own way in implementing what it stood for. What is our experience there? If what is being done in these two provinces in the name of Islam is really what Islam holds out to humanity, it cannot be regarded a religion but a curse. But far from it Islam envisages everything diametrically and fundamentally opposed to what is being done under its garb by our League friends. Nay, the doings of the League leaders I dare say constitute an organised and open revolt against Islamic values. Such a body by no stretch of imagination can have any pretensions to being a religious body of Muslims."

The Pir next discusses the claim of the League as political body and its ideas and methods of achieving kistan. He writes:

Is it then a political body? What is its politics? Is Pakistan the be-all and end-all of its existence? If so, what is Pakistan? Has it ever been defined? No. Does it envisage the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth? No. On the contrary, that idea has been strongly repudiated by Mr. Jinnah himself in the course of his address to the League Legislators' convention held at Delhi in April last. Does it imply establishment of separate sovereign States of Muslims? Certainly not. Because on June 6 the League by its express resolution had accepted the Cabinet Mission's Plan which, while turning down the League demand for division, had upheld the principle of undivided and united India invested at its centre with all the attributes of sovereignty. The later performance at Bombay was a mere moonshine; it was only an expression of monetary anger over denial of jobs in the Interim Government. Now that these crumbs have been actually thrown at it, the Bombay decision has evaporated into thin air and the nation reverts to the same sorry position created on June 6. That is all about Pakistan.

Besides, it created disruption in India and prevented India's freedom in 1942. In 1946, in spite of its betrayal by the British, it has joined the Interim Government, *not because the British or the Viceroy had granted it Pakistan or any other concession but because, scared by the Congress members of the Interim Government, the Viceroy wanted some refractory and discordant elements within the Cabinet whose presence there would ensure full play of his powers of veto.* Can such an ideal appeal to any Muslim's sense of self-respect? Will such a state of voluntary degradation in any way conduce to the achievement of India's freedom or of even Pakistan? A Muslim's true role is never to submit to slavery in any form or shape. To work for the continuance of a Viceroy's veto is the most humiliating job that can be assigned to a member of a slave nation in the year 1946. And what is the price which this slave has paid: The Cabinet Mission Plan which means massacre of every idea and ambition that he once cherished.

To the sad story of sabre rattling at Bombay followed by an abject capitulation a month later, as also Yusuf Haroon's prowls in Paris to get a glimpse of Molotov have only added insult to injury. It has convinced the world that the modern Muslim of India is merely a bully and deserves only to be treated as such. He lacks self-confidence and strength of character, he is incapable of making sacrifices, he lives merely on his wits.

Viewing with great disapprobation the rampant corruption and oppression in the Governments under the League, the Pir says, "No more glorious has been the League's role in the field of provincial administration. Sind's corruption and oppression and Bengal's Noakhali furnish the most outstanding examples of the conditions it is out to create. It is a slur on Islam to have such governments functioning under its holy banner. Is that what you want to bring about if and when Pakistan is established? Thus in every field the League's failure has been a colossal and complete one. Confusion and capitulation at the Centre and corruption and moral and administrative degeneration in the provinces have been its only contributions. Are we still to hang on to it? Under these circumstances the only alternative left with any sincere Muslim is to hold on to the Muslim Jamiat which stands for free Islam in a free India and for clean and pure conditions in the provinces."

The Rehabilitation Problem in Bengal

It seems to have dawned at last on the stalwarts of the League, that the continuity of communal tension and disturbances is equally bad for the prospects of Pakistan as it is for that of Nationalist India. A new

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

note has, therefore, crept into their utterances of late and exhortations to their followers. Though it is rather late in the day, still we would welcome this change of attitude, if we could but see any signs of their words being translated into deeds. In Bengal, we have not yet seen any vestige of an attempt by the League Ministry, or their masters of the League High Command, to restore confidence or to render aid in the task of rehabilitation to the Hindu section of the population. All the energy, resources and all the sympathy—whatever the extent and quality—at their disposal seem to be reserved for the Muslim refugees from Bihar. The treatment meted out to the Hindu sufferers in Bengal by its League Government can only be termed as miserable, miserly and insincere in the extreme, when it is compared to the efforts of the Congress Government of Bihar in its dealings with the Muslim sufferers of that province.

Here in Calcutta, the home city of this paper, there are large areas, such as Park Circus, Entally, Beniapukur, etc., where the Hindus still remain dispossessed of valuable house property, although months have passed since August 16th. The few that did venture back to their hearth and home have had to retreat hurriedly under continued threats of molestation by the hooligans of the locality who have been left in complete control of those areas. The promises and proposals of the officially sponsored peace committees have proved to be miserable eye-wash only, in the experience of the dispossessed. Therefore, we are forced to conclude, until concrete evidence to the contrary be forthcoming, that there is no change of heart in the League administration of Bengal, the protestations of their mouthpieces notwithstanding.

If matters be such at the very nerve-centre of the Government, it does not take much to imagine how things stand in the outlying Eastern areas of the province. With the press gagged and communications rendered difficult and dangerous through the action of hooligans, there is a virtual news-black-out over those tracts. The little that trickles through the slender channels left is anything but reassuring. Officialdom seems to be reluctant in the extreme to take any action, be the cause pure in capacity or be it from more sinister motives. The only hope of the Hindu of East Bengal lies in Mahatma Gandhi's experiment. If that fails and he is left to the tender mercies of the League administration, with its present constitution and mental calibre, then he is lost indeed !

The following extracts from the *Harijan* of December 1, give the reasons that led to Gandhiji's experiment :

> I find myself in the midst of exaggeration and falsity. I am unable to discover the truth. There is terrible mutual distrust. Oldest friendships have snapped. Truth and *ahimsa* by which I swear, and which have to my knowledge sustained me for sixty years, seem to fail to show the attributes I have ascribed to them.
>
> To test them, or better, to test myself, I am going to a village called Shrirampore, cutting myself away from those who have been with me all these years, and who have made life easy for me.
>
> From all accounts received by me, life is not as yet smooth and safe for the minority community in the villages. They, therefore, prefer to live as exiles from their own homes, crops, plantations and surroundings, and live on inadequate and ill-balanced doles.

How long this suspense will last, is more than I can say. This much, however, I can. I do not propose to leave East Bengal till I am satisfied that mutual trust has been established between the two communities and the two have resumed the even tenor of their life in their villages. Without this there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan—only slavery awaits India, torn asunder by mutual strife and engrossed in barbarity.

It is needless to say that there has not been any marked change in the situation as yet, thanks to the supine indifference of the authorities. The solution to the problem has been rightly given by Mahatma Gandhi in his talk delivered at Chandpur on November 7, to a group of workers, as the following extracts from the same issue of the *Harijan* would show :

> "What goes against the grain in me," Gandhiji told them, "is that a single individual can be forcibly converted or a single woman can be kidnapped or raped. So long as we feel we can be subjected to these indignities, we shall continue to be so subjected. If we say we cannot do without police or military protection, we really confess defeat even before the battle has begun. No police or military in the world can protect people who are cowards. Today you say, thousands of people are terrorizing a mere handful, so what can the latter do ? But even a few individuals are enough to terrorize the whole mass, if the latter feel helpless. Your trouble is not numerical inferiority but the feeling of helplessness that has seized you and the habit of depending on others. The remedy lies with you. That is too why I am opposed to the idea of your evacuating from East Bengal *en masse*. It is no cure for impotence or helplessness."
>
> "East Bengal is opposed to such a move," they replied.
>
> "They should not leave," Gandhiji resumed. "Twenty thousand able-bodied men prepared to die like brave men non-violently might today be regarded as a fairy tale. But it would be no fairy tale for every able-bodied man in a population of 20,000 to die like stalwart soldiers to a man in open fight. They will go down in history like the immortal five hundred of Leonidas who made Thermopylae." And he quoted the proud epitaph which marked the grave of Thermopylae heroes :
>
> *Stranger ! Tell Sparta, here her sons are laid,*
> *Such was her law and we that law obeyed.*
>
> "I will proclaim from the housetops," he continued, "that it is the only condition under which you can live in East Bengal."
>
> "But here we are a mere drop in the Ocean," remarked another friend resuming the discussion.
>
> Gandhiji replied that even if there was one Hindu in East Bengal, he wanted him to have the courage to go and live in the midst of the Mussalmans and die if he must like a hero. He should refuse to live as a serf and a slave. He might not have the non-violent strength to die without fighting. But he could command their admiration if he had the courage not to submit to wrong and died fighting like a man.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ter-Provincial Migration

Sir Walter Gurner, Relief Commissioner for Bengal, ised the question of inter-provincial migration at a ress Conference in Calcutta. He said that there had en an influx of refugees into West Bengal from Bihar d there were 16,000 refugees at Asansol. Some of em were also going to Dinajpur and the movement as continuing. Sir Walter pointed out that under the overnment of India Act, migration within India from into a Governor's or Chief Commissioner's province as a subject for the Central Legislature. No indica- on had yet been received from the Central Govern- ent of any policy which they proposed to adopt in e matter, Sir Walter added. He said that while the engal Relief Department were taking no steps to ttract refugees from Bihar into Bengal, they must ndertake all measures possible to deal with the tuation arising from the migratory trend and would rrange for such measures as appeared necessary to eet any further development. Bengal's League Govern- ent has already earned a notoriety for its dual policy all spheres of administration, the dividing line being at of communal discrimination. Only a few days ago, e refugees from Noakhali were told that any further lief to them would be stopped if they did not return their respective homes within a week. But in the se of Bihar, Sir Walter expressed his eagerness "to rrange for such measures as appeared necessary to eet any further development."

This problem of migration has been still further ggravated by the League's latest demand for exchange populations. Migration of whole groups of people om one administration to another without any rtainty of finding any means of livelihood is most rtainly a problem which has to be tackled by some dministration, Central or Provincial. Any person from ny province of India should undeniably have the right settle in any other province, but that must be done ong recognised channels, that is either by the quisition of property by normal methods or by curing a useful means of livelihood. Where persons large groups leave their homes where they have had abitat for generations, and migrate to a new location ith an unknown and indeterminate future before em, they are likely to become a burden and to cause stress to the inhabitants of the new locality. For this eans an increase of pressure on the soil and enhance- ent of the strain on the finances of the province that ceives the immigrants. This is particularly true for engal where the pressure of population on land is eady exceedingly high and whose public finances are obably the weakest in India at the present moment.

Sir Walter Gurner has thrown the responsibility on e Centre. If the Centre accepts the responsibility, they ust make necessary laws and regulations for the ntrol of such wholesale movement of populations or, the alternative, it should draw the attention of the ovinces concerned to their responsibilities in the atter. In the case of Bihar refugees, the Government Bihar finds no reason for this exodus to Bengal. The astic action against lawlessness and the vigorous tion for rehabilitation has already infused confidence the hearts of many of the refugees who have moved ck to their old homes. This sincere attempt to create nfidence in the minds of the refugees in Bihar stands sharp contrast to what is happening in Noakhali.

In the absence of any statement from the Centre, free scope will be given to the mischievous propaganda that is trying to disrupt still further the already strained inter-communal relationships.

Exchange of Population

Addressing a Press Conference at Karachi on November 25, Mr. Jinnah has suggested exchange of populations as a preventive for communal disturbances. He said, "In view of the horrible slaughter in the various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities."

This idea has been described as fantastic by most of those who lead public opinion in India. Gandhiji said he could not think of it. The most pointed reply was delivered by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a Liberal leader, in the following words :

> The scheme of exchanging populations, advocated by Mr. Jinnah at a Press Conference in Karachi is *hopelessly impracticable*. Mr. Jinnah's scheme of establishing Pakistan in the Punjab with the 48 per cent of non-Muslim population and in Bengal with 42 per cent non-Muslim population and in Assam with the non-Muslim population in a majority was highly fantastic and impracticable. His new plea for exchange of population, if practicable, is a counsel of perfection but unfortunately, it is still more fantastic and impracticable than the original Pakistan scheme.
>
> Are the Sikhs in the Punjab, with their Gurudwaras and religious places like the Golden Temple at Amritsar, to be turned out from their homelands? And where are they to be located? What is to become of their estates and properties and fertile lands in the Punjab? Where are the Muslims in the Bombay presidency to be transferred and what is to become of their business and commercial interests in this presidency? Where are the Mullaji Saheb and his *borah* followers to be transferred? Where are the Aga Khan and his *khoja* followers to be sent away? Will the Chinoys, Habibs, Munjees, Rahimtoolas, the Yusuf and Killedars agree to leave this presidency and go to what are styled as the homelands of the Muslims in the Punjab? Where is the room for establishing in the Hindu majority provinces the 42 per cent non-Muslims of Bengal and 48 per cent of non-Muslims of the Punjab? Is the Muslim minority population of the Hyderabad State to be transferred and where? Is the minority Hindu population in Kashmir to be transferred and where? Is the Hindu minority of Sind to be transferred and if so, where?
>
> The exchange of population now advocated by Mr. Jinnah is a hopelessly impracticable scheme. The real position is that but for the cleavage and antagonism created by politicians there has really been no antagonism or cleavage of interests between the two communities. They have lived in peace together for centuries. Even in the worst phases of recent disturbances in various parts of the country, there have been splendid examples of Muslims at great personal risk protecting their Hindu brothers and, *vice versa*, Hindus protecting Muslims. Instead

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of magnifying differences and representing that members of one community are the enemies of the other community and are out to destroy them, it behoves leaders of both communities to strive to restore harmony and remove misunderstandings. To advocate the exchange of population is certainly not a move calculated to bring about such harmony.

There has been much discussion about the dissimilarity of language, custom and way of life between Muslims of different provinces. The Pathans of the Frontier are much more akin to the Hindus of that place than to their co-religionists in Bengal. Apart from practicability the very idea of huddling a number of motley inter-provincial groups of Hindus and Muslims, uprooted from their ancestral homes and familiar surroundings, in unfamiliar places, is bound to lead to complications of a still further antagonistic nature. World history provides ample evidence to show that religion cannot provide any cement for the unification of different languages, customs and ways of life. If that were possible, Europe, after nearly two milleniums of Christianity, would not have been divided into so many warring states.

League Administration in Bengal

The Muslim League Government of Bengal have amply demonstrated how the resources of a Government can be used in favour of a section of people against the interests of the other. In Bengal, nearly three-fourths of the total revenue of the province is contributed by the Hindus but these resources are being used against them. The best example of the misuse of governmental machinery for communal ends is provided by the Calcutta Police. The Calcutta Police is a force meant to maintain law and order in the city. It has no connection with the Bengal Police. Muslims form only 24 per cent of the population of Calcutta, but under the League Administration they have come to occupy almost all the key-positions in the city's police.

The Calcutta Police force is composed with the Commissioner of Police as the head and Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners, Divisional Detective Inspectors and Officers-in-charge of Police Stations. The Commissioner has the following sections under him, each in charge of one or more Deputy Commissioners: (1) Head Quarters, North District, South District, Port Police, Detective Department, Special Branch, Public Vehicles Enforcement Branch and Security Control. A few additional posts of Deputy Commissioners have been created since the August riots, *viz*, (*i*) Deputy Commissioner, peace, (*ii*) Special Officer for holding inquiries into the riots, and (*iii*) Additional Deputy Commissioner for the North District. The composition of the Deputy Commissioners up till recently was as follows:

1. *Head Quarters* : European
2. *Receivership* : Hindu
3. *Peace* : Muslim
4. *Special Officer* : European
5. *Detective Department* : Hindu
6. *Enforcement Branch* : Hindu
7. *North District Town* : Muslim
8. *North District Suburbs* : European
9. *South District, Town and Suburbs* : Muslim
10. *Port* : European
11. *Public Vehicles* : Hindu
12. *Special Branch* : European
13. *Special Branch, Additional* : Muslim
14. *Security Control* : Two Europeans

The European Additional Deputy Commissioner for North District Suburb has since been transferred and both Town and Suburbs of this District have once again been placed under the charge of the same Muslim officer. A number of public complaints against this officer ventilated in the Press had led to the appointment of the Additional Deputy Commissioner, and after the agitation had died down the latter has been quietly removed. Of these Deputy Commissionerships, four, *viz*, (*i*) Head Quarters, (*ii*) North District, (*iii*) South District and (*iv*) Special Branch Additional are the most important. The first controls the Armed Police, the second and the third control all the 25 Police Stations of the City which maintain law and order and investigate crimes. and the fourth controls the detection machinery. The first is a European and the remaining three Muslims.

There are 17 Assistant Commissioners of whom 8 are Hindus, 6 European and 3 Muslims. Of the Assistant Commissioners only four are concerned with the maintenance of law and order and investigation of crimes. Of these, two are Hindus and two Muslims.

There are seven Divisional Detective Inspectors for the investigation of crimes. They hold jurisdiction for three or four police stations according to the importance of the stations. Of these 7 D.D.I's, 5 are Muslims and only 2 Hindus.

Next come the Officers-in-charge of the police stations. The maintenance of law and order, as well as the investigation of all cognisable offences is vested in the two District Police Staff. Calcutta is divided into two districts consisting of 24 Police Stations and an outpost, which is also treated as a full-fledged Police Station. There are two stations in the Port Police, their jurisdiction being mainly the Hooghly river and its eastern bank. The 25 district police stations are under the two Deputy Commissioners, North and South. There are 12 stations under D.C. North and 13 under D.C. South. Each of them has two Assistant Commissioners under them, one for the Town and the other for Suburbs. Each A.C. has six police stations under him, the seventh being under A.C. South Suburbs. The Deputy Commissioners of the two Districts are the supreme heads of administration, maintenance of law and order, investigation of crimes. They are also justices of peace. They have first class magisterial powers so far as the discharge of an accused in custody is concerned.

The population, under the following stations, is predominantly Hindu: A, B, C, D, F, I, M, N, T, U, V. Of these the Officers-in-charge of five stations, B. C. I. U. V. are Muslims. Under the following stations, the population is predominantly Muslim: J, O, P, Q, R, W and W. Op. All the Officer-in-charge of these seven stations are Muslims. Under the following stations, the population is mixed: E. G. H. K. L. S. X. The Officers-in-charge of three of these seven stations are Muslims. Thus fifteen out of twenty-five police stations have Muslim Officers-in-charge in a city where the Muslim population is only 24 per cent. It will also be noticed that in all the Muslim areas, the Officers-in-charge are Muslims. In areas where Muslims are in minority, many Muslims have been posted as Officers-in-charge, but not a single Hindu officer has been posted in a Muslim area.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Of the Divisional Detective Inspectors' jurisdictions, ee are in predominantly Hindu areas, three Mus- areas and one mixed. The two Hindu D.D.I's are ted in charge of two Hindu areas, the remaining five slim D.D.I's having been posted to hold charge of the three Muslim areas, the third Hindu area and mixed one.

Just before the riots, an experienced Hindu officer been posted as Deputy Commissioner, North. He ceeded in restoring order within a few days and in er to achieve this success he had to be hard on the slim hooligans. This was apparently not liked by the ague Ministry. This officer was removed and a junior inexperienced Muslim was posted there. The oligans probably took this change as a victory and ts broke out again from the very day this new officer ok charge.

Serious allegations were made in the Bengali press partial treatment by the Muslim officers on com- nal lines during and after the riots in the matter of recording of complaints, investigations, arrests and nting of bail to persons taken in custody. There were olesale arrests in Hindu localities on a mere pointing the finger by any Muslim complainant while for rderous assaults in a Muslim locality nobody was rested. Muslim complainants were brought from their mes or Relief Centres in police lorries under armed ards for recording of their complaints and identi- ation of the accused and then escorted back to their spective places of safety. No such help was afforded to e Hindu complainants and the Police stations in the Muslim areas, all under Muslim Officers-in-charge, were us rendered inaccessible. The Deputy Commissioners the two Districts being Muslims, the Hindu officers d to serve the Muslim complainants in this blatant scriminatory fashion. It has been openly alleged that indu complainants had been driven away from the olice stations or had been studiously kept unattended r hours together in such a manner that they had to ave the premises in despair or disgust. When cogni- nce had to be taken under pressing circumstances, no tion was taken to arrest the offenders. There have en public complaints of very serious nature against Muslim police officials, but no action has been taken gainst them.

The efficiency of the entire police force has been crificed in order to achieve communal ends. Most of e Officers-in-charge of police stations were junior and experienced men, mostly drawn from the rank of ssistant Sub-Inspectors officiating as Sub-Inspectors. revious custom was to post senior Inspectors in charge big stations mostly, others not being below the rank of nior Sub-Inspectors. The lowering of the standard had to e made in order to enable Muslim officers to hold key- osts among police stations. Burrabazar and Jorasanko olice Stations are not only the two biggest in Calcutta, ut they are the two biggest and the most important tations in the whole of India. Both of them were anned by officiating Sub-Inspectors or A.S.I's, *i.e.*, men the fourth rank in the police force equivalent to ead-constables. The risk of leaving such big police tations in charge of officers of this description seems to ave been realised during the disturbances. Recently ine Inspectors have been posted to take over charge s Officers-in-charge of nine stations, but the remaining 6 stations have been left as they were.

Both of the two District Deputy Commissioners have been Muslims for about six years past. Since the disturbances, when their communal leanings and their tactics in the matter of postings for the achievement of communal ends were exposed, there was a public demand for the replacement of at least one of them by a senior Hindu officer. The postings at police stations are done by the Police Commissioner as a matter of routine on the recommendation of these two District D.C's. It was only after the disturbances, when the utilisation of the entire police force for communal purposes came to light, that this demand for having a Hindu D.C. began to grow strong. But no attention has been paid to this just and fair demand of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta who form three-fourths of the City's population. This just demand, if conceded, would have removed a good deal of suspicion from Hindu mind and would have greatly helped in restoring general confidence.

The Police Administration of Calcutta is not an isolated phenomenon, it is really a *replica* of Bengal's Administration under the Muslim League Government. Inefficiency, corruption and communal partisanship are at a premium. Efficient and honest officers have been relegated to routine jobs in order to make room for the communal hot favourites. An impartial inquiry into the working of the police stations of Calcutta since August 16 last may reveal that many of them have been virtually converted into offices of the Muslim League.

Jinnah Through Chinese Eyes

The *Bharat Jyoti* publishes a *Free Press* report from Chungking which states that the formation of India's first Interim National Government and the recent elevation of the status of India's and China's diplomatic legations to that of Embassies has stirred China. The *Chinese Press* working at the time of a civil war and reserving more space for war news and domestic political tension, still continues to follow closely developments in India, including the communal riots.

The Chinese press generally sympathises with the Congress, but at the same time it seems to recognise the Muslim League as representing the entire Muslim population of India. But beyond that it condemns unreservedly the terrorist tactics of the unlawful elements of the Muslims and the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah. For instance, a prominent Shanghai daily, *Chinese Press*, wrote editorially on October 26 :

> The appeal made by the Muslim League President Mohammad Ali Jinnah two days ago, shows that he is at last beginning to 'talk sense.' In his appeal, to both Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah says that the communal riots in Bengal and elsewhere have discredited Indians before the eyes of the world. In the same breath, he asks his followers to 'stand by the principles of Islam, to help restore order and redeem the fair name of Islam,' by protecting the weak and showing complete tolerance, which is all well said after the damage is done, but why did not Mr. Jinnah come out with the same before the riots, when lives still could have been saved.

In our previous editorials we have pointed out that Jinnah's bellicose utterances could lead to only one thing—wholesale murder. And they did. Had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jinnah seriously considered the consequences then, many an Indian woman would not now be a widow, and many a Indian child an orphan. But Jinnah refused to think, refused to see reason. Now he is trying to worm his way out of a discreditable situation, trying to cry over blood which was shed, *thanks to his irresponsible leadership.*

Let Jinnah remember that he is an Indian first, a Muslim only after. When all Indians realise that their nationalities are stronger than their religious ties then, and only then, will there be peace. Let Jinnah stop harping about religion and get down to the task of uniting India in body as well as soul. And that means deeds, not empty words, especially words after the damage has been done.

Badshah Khan Through Tory Eyes

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also known as Frontier Gandhi and Badshah Khan, is one of those selfless workers who have dedicated their lives to the cause of Freedom. He is more an organiser and worker than a speaker. On more than one occasion, the President's Chair of the Indian National Congress was offered to him, only to be declined. He prefers the silent worker's life to that of a leader. During the past few weeks, he delivered a few home thrusts to Lord Wavell and through him to the British politicians of open or secret conservative leanings. Since then, the attention of a section of the British has been focussed on him and the British weekly *News Review* has produced a characteristic slanderous life-sketch. Here is an extract from it :

> At one time Gaffar Khan was Britain's biggest headache on the Frontier, with the Fakir of Ipi, merely providing a sideline in good hunting and useful training for inexperienced young British officers. The restless son of a well-to-do landowner from Charsadda, Gaffar was educated at the loyal Edwardes Mission School in Peshawar's well-guarded Cantonment ; never a bright lad, he failed his Matriculation examination and was barred from a Government post.
>
> For a time he did sporadic welfare work in frontier villages, but after serving a prison sentence in 1919 for criticising the Government, he became embittered. A year later he was arrested again and charged with importing Russian stick bombs ; this arrest angered him still more, for it interfered with his riotous marriage ceremonies.
>
> By 1923, he had joined hands with Congress and organised the Red Shirts to fight for India's complete independence. His sizable army had a printed "Red Shirt Infantry Training Manual," two large training camps, a special flag, and plentiful supplies of a collapsible short-barrelled 16-bore shot-gun sighted for lethal bullets.

Outlook in Hyderabad

The second despatch of the special Hyderabad correspondent of the *Independent* has been published. We had dealt with the first one in our last issue. In this one, he has discussed the present political situation. The State Administration have announced a Scheme of Reforms, which has been on the anvil for a number of years and which has not been introduced yet for one reason or other. The aspirations of the people of the State have not been satisfied by the proposed reforms. Two features of the Reforms Scheme deserve most attention, *viz,* that it has provided parity of representation for the Muslims although they form only 12 per cent of the population, 85 per cent being Hindu, and that it has introduced joint electorates but at the same time provided means for nullifying it. Much advertisement of this joint electorate has been made by the authorities. The *Independent* correspondent writes :

> This joint-voting is not an absolutely free voting in which both communities could exercise common franchise in favour of a Hindu or a Moslem candidate. The provision which negatives the principle of joint-voting is that if a candidate secures the majority of votes of his own community, he shall be deemed to have been elected whatever the number of votes polled by him from among the other community.
>
> Let us take an hypothetical illustration. Suppose there are 220 voters in a constituency, of which 200 are Hindus and 20 Muslims. There are two seats—one for a Hindu and one for Muslim. If candidate M (Moslem) secures 11 votes from his own community (presuming that all voters go to the poll) and secures no vote from the other Hindu community he gets elected in preference to another Muslim candidate who may secure 9 votes of his community and say, almost all the 200 votes of the Hindu community.
>
> Why should a Muslim, who can command 11 Muslim votes in his pocket, bother about approaching his Hindu brethren for support, which, in fact, is the quintessence of the joint-electorate ?
>
> And why again, should a Hindu commanding 101 votes in his pocket care to approach his Moslem brethren for co-operation and goodwill when their voting does not affect his election at all ? Why, he can continue to be rabidly anti-Muslim and yet get into the Legislature. And *vice versa* with a Muslim candidate.
>
> This is nothing but separate electorate pure and simple. It is more sinful and sinister because it comes like a lion in the sheep's clothing.
>
> Then there is the strong nominated official block in the Legislature which will have to do the bidding of His Master's Voice.
>
> And further again there is the question of the powers of the Legislature. There is a long list A, of subjects which cannot be discussed. There is another list B which can be discussed, but no decision in the form of resolutions can be taken on them. And there is the list C, in which specified subjects can be discussed and recommendatory resolutions passed which the Government will consider. Nothing can be done if the advice tendered by the Legislature is rejected.
>
> There will be a Member of the Executive Council from among the Legislators, not necessarily enjoying the confidence and support of the House. That he is a member of the Legislature is enough qualification.
>
> This is only a cursory review of the proposed Reforms. They are patently absurd. Both the All-India Congress Committee and the Hyderabad State Congress have registered their emphatic protest against them. Any attempt to push them forward is bound to meet with stiff opposition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We are yet to come across a worse travesty of the principle of joint electorates. Since his assumption of office by Sir Mirza Ismail, he is carrying on negotiations with the leaders of the State Congress. The correspondent reports that nobody in Hyderabad wants the end or destruction of the House of Asaf Jah. On the other hand, all his subjects—Hindus and Muslims alike want it to prosper. The only demand of the State Congress is that the undiluted autocracy must yield place to constitutional monarchy and the Nizam of Hyderabad must remain content in conducting himself like the King of England.

Arab Bloc Wants Full Freedom

Writing in the *New York Times*, Clifton Daniel says that the Arab States in the Middle East want neither British control nor Soviet hegemony. They want to steer a middle course which will bring them full freedom. Profiting by the rivalry of the big two, they are playing their cards so nicely that even Arab Palestine is expected to have its independence very soon. Members of the Arab League for the conference on Palestine do not look to the meeting as an occasion for compromise. They are charting their way along a well-defined path towards a fixed goal—independence for Arab Palestine.

Clifton Daniel writes :

> Policy for Palestine is part of the diplomatic strategy of the newest and weakest of the world's regional blocs, seven independent states around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. That strategy eventually may be a deciding factor in the struggle between East and West for control of the Mediterranean basin, which at the moment is centred in Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Their geographic position athwart the Suez Canal and atop the world's largest oil reserves is the strongest card the Arab States have and they are playing it for all it is worth.
>
> The aims of the Arab bloc are simple, clear and direct—full independence and an opportunity to restore their ancient greatness ; their tactics are more complicated and less sure.
>
> First of all, the Arab States are playing the familiar game of all small nations, perhaps the only game possible for countries that have not the strength to impose their will upon others ; to grab off whatever the Great Powers may let fall in the excitement of their own competition and to trade their strategic position and resources for concessions from their big brothers.
>
> Whatever concessions the Arab States have so far won have been gained by such tactics. World War I gave them their freedom from the Turks. The threat of World War II helped to produce the British White Paper of 1939 stopping Jewish immigration into Palestine. Intervention of the British against the French turned the trick of independence for Syria and Lebanon in 1945.
>
> They are currently playing upon the fears of Russia in their efforts to persuade the British that it would be better in the long run to evacuate Egypt on Egypt's own terms and to reject Zionism's bid for the Palestine State rather than incur the hostility of the whole Arab world.
>
> The second Arab device is to confront the Great Powers constantly with their past promises, the promises of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Pact and to demand that those pledges be fulfilled in favour of them. The threat of an appeal to the United Nations Security Council is being held over the heads of the British in the negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty. The principles or machinery of the United Nations pact have been and are being continuously invoked in support of the Arab nationalist aim. They have expressed much more faith in the Security Council than any one else in the world and thus have placed the onus on the Security Council itself of proving its *bona fides* for the maintenance of world security.

Mass Awakening in Kathiawar States

The seventh Session of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad has concluded its sitting. Darbar Gopaldas Desai presided. Thousands of men and women of all parts of Kathiawar participated. The last session of the Parishad was held nine years ago. The proceedings of the session commenced with the opening of the Constructive Works Exhibition by Sj. J. C. Kumarappa who made a plea for an entire reorganisation of Indian economic life on the lines of the Gandhian economic programme. Next came the Harijan Sammelan under the chairmanship of Sm. Sarala Devi Sarabhai. In this meeting veteran Harijan workers discussed the various problems connected with the eradication of untouchability in Kathiawar.

Inaugurating the session of the Parishad, Sj. Morarji Desai made a strong plea for the union of 200 Kathiawar States with the ultimate view of merging into a greater Gujarat Province, consisting of Gujarat, Baroda, Kathiawar and Cutch.

In his presidential address Darbar Gopaldas Desai attacked the Attachment Scheme launched in India by the Churchill Government and as an alternative put forward a strong case for a Union of Kathiawar. He explained how it was impossible for Kathiawar to progress when it was disrupted into 200 small independent administrations. He said :

> The thirty lakhs of Kathiawar people must be under a democratic Union Government, the constitution of which must either be framed by the people or with their consent. That constitution must be based on democratic principles and should recognise the sovereignty of the people. It will be necessary to transfer law and order, provincial finance, provincial communication including railways and ports, planning, trade and commerce, development of agriculture, water courses, irrigation, central marketing, co-operation, higher education and provincial health and sanitation to the Centre if we desire to bring Kathiawar in line with British India.

This Kathiawar Conference is yet another proof that even in a choking atmosphere of suppressed civil liberties, the democratic freedom-loving elements are rapidly gaining in strength. Unless an amicable settlement is quickly reached by the Rulers with their people, a grim struggle and a bold bid for freedom in the Indian States in the foreseeable future can easily be visualised. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the All-India State Peoples Conference, stated in the plenary session of the Meerut Congress that he had seen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a confidential document indicating a move to form a confederation of 562 Indian States in order to negotiate with the future Central Government. Dr. Pattabhi referred to the other schemes for a merger of a number of these States and said that this attempt was in no way in the interests of the people. It was not being made with their consent but merely in consultation among the Princes themselves. He warned the Princes that this kind of merger would lead us nowhere but would make the problem more intractable. He declared that the people of the States would never recognise the Negotiating Committee, going to be set up under the May 16 plan of the Cabinet Mission, unless their representatives were included on it. The Congress is now fully alive to the problem of the Indian States. Freedom cannot come only for a part of the country, the whole of India should get it.

British Indians in French India

The position of Indians in the Portuguese possessions of India is now widely known. The treatment of Indians in the French possessions of India is also not always happy. British Indians are subjected to various discriminatory laws in French India. Although the laws are not against British Indians specifically as such, it defines *foreigners* so as to include Indians from British India although for generations they might have been in the French possessions, paying taxes and owning properties. This has been revealed by Mr. S. Vijay Raghavan, former Joint Secretary of the British Indian Association, in a statement to the press.

British Indians in the French possessions form one-third of the population which is estimated at more than three lakhs. This one lakh of British Indians are without franchise even in municipal elections ; they cannot be employed in government or quasi-government departments. They cannot become office-bearers in any government recognised association. They cannot attest any document as witnesses in the office of the Registrar of Assurance or Notary Public. They cannot sue a French subject without depositing a sum towards the cost of the suit beforehand, etc.

The British Indian *forcigners* were subjected to a poll tax in 1938. To protest against this tax the British Indian residents formed an association and requested the Government of French India to accord the necessary sanction for the same, as the French law prohibits the formation of association by British Indians without government permission where the members of the association exceed 20 in number. The then Governor, M. Bonvin, refused permission on the plea that *foreigners* should not form an association. Such is the condition of one lakh British Indians resident in French India. It has also been mentioned by Mr. Vijaya Raghavan, the publication of a prominent journal of French India was twice stopped by successive Governors during 1944 and 1945 for the only reason that its owner and editor was a British Indian.

M. Baron, the present Governor of French India, has recently left for France. On the eve of his departure he told Press representatives at Karachi that his mission in going now to France was to develop friendship between French India and the rest of India. The outcome of his mission will be watched with keen interest in this country. Republican France's imperialist intrigues in Morocco, Syria and Indo-China have greatly lowered the prestige of France, the pioneer in the revolution for the attainment of equality, fraternity and freedom.

Planning of World Crop Census

Experts from six countries met with agricultural statisticians of the Food and Agriculture Organization in an informal conference at Washington to discuss the preliminary steps towards co-ordination of the agricultural census work of the various nations. The conferees will work out suggested tables and schedules of agricultural information to be submitted to the governments of the world for their criticism and suggestions.

The conference was called by H. R. Tolley, director of FAO's Economics and Statistics Division, who pointed out that the objective is co-ordination of agricultural census work rather than an attempt by FAO to conduct an independent world census. Citing the need for a greater body of comparable information on the world's crop acreage, production of principal commodities and other basic facts. Tolley said, the aim is to get as many nations as possible to take agricultural censuses in 1950 and to get agreement on the provision of certain fundamental data on a uniform basis in an effort to clarify the statistical picture of world agriculture.

FAO's function, Tolley explained, would be to work with governments to put the census data on a comparable basis, and to compile and publish statistics based on figures from the individual nations. The International Institute of Agriculture, whose functions are being taken over by FAO, played a similar liaison role in connection with the agricultural censuses in 1930 and 1940. It published world figures based on the 1930 studies, but the war intervened before it could publish the 1940 figures.

Conferring with FAO statisticians today were experts from Canada, China, France, Peru, Poland and the United States, who were invited to participate as individuals rather than as government representatives. For a successful crop census, India and the U.S.S.R. representatives ought to have been included.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture announced that estimates for world food production in 1946-47 indicate that production will be about seven per cent larger than the previous year's low output and may slightly exceed the pre-war average. The Department's Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, in a report based on information from throughout the world, warned, however, that careful utilization of food supplies will be necessary to prevent another acute food shortage next spring.

The Department also announced tonight that the world's 1946-47 cotton crop is now estimated at 22,050,000 bales of 500 pounds gross, which is the smallest crop since 1923-24, with the exception of last year's.

In a breakdown of world food production, the report estimated wheat and rye production at 12 per cent larger than in 1945-46 and about 96 per cent of the pre-war average. It was pointed out, however, that depletion of stocks partly offsets the gain and that bread-grain supplies probably will continue to be short in relation to need.

Corn crop for 1946-47 was estimated at about 5,500 million bushels, which would be the largest world crop on record, about eight per cent above last year's crop. The bulk of the increase was attributed to the large

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

U.S. crop. The quality of the U.S. crop, the report ated, is good and larger quantities should be avail- ble for export this year than last.

In other areas, drought damage was cited as respon- ble for smaller-than-average corn crops in Europe nd Russia, and smaller acreage for the below-average rop in South America.

Livestock products are expected to show little crease in 1946-47, but larger supplies of fish are artially relieving meat shortages in many areas.

The rice harvest in major producing countries, it as reported, may be somewhat larger than the pre- ious year, but below average mainly because of smaller creage. Unfavourable weather in some of the export- g countries, where the greatest acreage reductions ave occurred, will restrict exportable rice supplies in he coming year to about last year's level or about ne-fourth the pre-war average.

The Middle East will have adequate food sup- lies for its needs and exportable quantities of cereals, ruits and nuts. Although larger crops than last year re expected in the major Far Eastern countries, large mports of cereals and some sugar will be needed in the rea to avoid distress in deficit countries.

Further recovery in food production is indicated in he Soviet Union, but output still is below pre-war, ccording to the report. Food production in the United Kingdom and Eire is likely to be significantly below last year's because of crop damage caused by excessive wetness at harvest time.

The report said that the most pronounced increases in food production for 1946-47 have occurred in areas devastated by the war as well as in those stricken by drought last year. However, production level in such areas is still far below average, necessitating continuing urgent food imports.

Among the factors stimulating the demand for food imports are the desire to increase stocks sufficiently to meet day-to-day distribution problems, the desire to increase rations to the level at which physical strength can be maintained, and world population increase of seven per cent.

Sagotra Marriage Bill

The Central Assembly spent the entire sitting on November 7 discussing Dr. Desmukh's Bill on Hindu Marriage Law as approved by the Select Committee. The Bill permits marriage between persons of the same *gotra* or *pravara* or different subdivisions of the same caste.

The debate on the Bill was lively. There was apparently freedom of speech for the Congress mem- bers. Mr. Gole opposed the Bill, whereas Mr. Balkrishna Sharma and Mr. Gadgil supported it. Mr. Rajagopal- achari supported the Bill and explained his reason for doing so. He, however, did not indicate whether he was speaking for the Government as a whole. He spoke convincingly on the need for a liberal outlook as the best way of preserving religion and culture.

Mr. Gadgil clinched the issue by remarking that the significance of *gotras* had gone and only symbols had remained. Mr. A. Ayangar tried to steer a middle course. He said that the law was probably needed in some parts of the country and not in others. He, therefore, suggested that its applicability to provinces should be left to the discretion of the provincial governments. Reformers won and the House passed the Bill without amendment.

It is to be hoped that the measure will go through the Council of State and become law in a short time. Orthodox Hindus regard any change in Hindu Law as a blow to the root of the Hindu Society. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear with the fast moving events that Hindu Law is no longer a mere object of antiquity and reverence. It must keep pace with the changing times. The taboos and restrictions which might be justified when they were introduced are now no better than fetters on the Hindu Society. Enlightened reformers are, therefore, trying to bring Hindu Law up-to-date so as to keep the Hindu Society intact under modern conditions. The Hindu Law Committee has produced a code which would also be taken up by the Central Legislature at no distant date.

Women's Right to Inherit Land

An indication that the Government of Madras were contemplating the amendment of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act so as to enable a Hindu woman to claim a share in her husband's agricultural lands, was given by Mr. K. Bashyam, Minister for Law, speaking at a meeting of the History Association of the Queen Mary's College, Madras. The subject of Mr. Bashyam's address was *Hindu Law and Women's Rights.*

The speaker referred to the leading role the women of India had played in the political, economic and social sphere of the country, from the Vedic times down to the present day and added that the dictum of Manu in respect of women's place in society was wrongly interpreted by some latter day commentators and subsequently led to the enactment of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act. Legal experts had attempted to limit the operation of the law to income from property other than agricultural, as in their opinion, the Act was passed by the Centre and that the latter had, therefore, no jurisdiction over a provincial subject like agriculture. The Madras Government were trying to remove this defect by enacting necessary amendment to the Act shortly.

Proceeding Mr. Bashyam dwelt at length on the rights of the Hindu woman in regard to her husband's and father's property and made a detailed reference to the *Woman's Estate* by which a widow (if her husband died without leaving a male issue) was entitled to enjoy the fruits of her husband's property (barring agricultural land), but not allowed to sell or dispose of the property under ordinary circumstances. She possessed such proprietary right over her *stridhana* and this could be disposed of in any manner she pleased.

It is a pity that the passage of the draft Hindu Code in the Central Legislature is being delayed. Instead of passing such piecemeal legislations affecting property rights independently by the Provincial Assemblies it would have been far better if the Hindu law were made uniform all over the country. This was the very purpose of the Hindu Code and its object would be defeated if the Provincial Legislatures moved in a different way.

Secondary Education in C. P.

The High School Education Board, Central Provinces and Berar, had recently appointed a small

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Committee with Dr. U. S. Jha as convener and Dr. H. C. Seth and Mr. V. R. Rajwade, as members to formulate the principles on which secondary education should be reorganised. The draft report of the committee has been adopted by the Board and has been published for eliciting public opinion on it. The scheme presupposes an entire change in outlook towards high school education on the part of the pupil, the guardian, the teacher and others concerned. The Committee thinks that this change of attitude demands shifting of attention from subjects and examinations to the harmonious development of the pupil with reference to himself and his society. The Committee believes that the men who can effectively carry out this new responsibility are the teachers, but in order to share this responsibility properly, he must have two kinds of training :

(*i*) He should re-study his subject with a view to have up-to-date information in it and also to appreciate its fullest significance in the light of the new purposes.

(*ii*) He should be acquainted with the more scientific idea of the technique of teaching which shall ensure learning and building of character on the part of the pupils, to go together.

Such a teacher shall have : (*a*) decent wages, (*b*) leisure to study and think and contact his pupils, (*c*) freedom to try experiments relating to his profession and (*d*) some 'say' in matters relating to his school.

These should be 'multilateral' schools to suit the wide range of courses which the scheme provides.

The new scheme will require (*a*) a new set of text-books, (*b*) good supplementary literature, (*c*) books especially designed for the use of teachers, (*d*) reference books for teachers and pupils, (*e*) books on wide range of topics to suit pupils of different stages and (*f*) books on technical courses.

In the Committee's opinion, the present high school education is defective, because, (*i*) it has no definite aim or purpose except that of preparing the pupils for the University education or Government service ; (*ii*) the student's needs, capacities and attitudes find insufficient emphasis and he is taught and trained merely for success in examinations with the result that the quality of successful candidates is deteriorating day by day ; and (*iii*) the schools do not adjust themselves to the needs of changing life and thus falling behind modern times have failed to train the pupil for the society in which he must live.

The following principles of reorganisation have been recommended by the Committee :

The present high school course should continue to be of seven years' duration. In the first three classes of the high school a wide field of interests and activities both practical and academic may be provided to enable pupils to discover their own special aptitudes and talents and given them a broad basis for further training. The high school work proper should commence in the fourth year and in the last three years of the course, greater specialisation in a limited number of activities should be attempted. The high school courses should centre round some central activity which would reflect the major interests of large groups of pupils on the one hand and nation's vital needs on the other. This principle suggests three broad categories of activities, *viz,* the academic, the scientific and the technical. It is suggested that the academic may be subdivided into two subordinate centres of emphasis, *viz,* (*a*) The academic or the purely literary, and (*b*) the social studies. These give the following main courses :

I. Academic Course (literary curriculum)—(*a*) literary course, (*b*) social studies course.
II. Scientific course.
III. Technical course.

It is necessary that each of these courses must include in it some elements of the other two. The medium of instruction in all high schools shall be the mother-tongue of the pupils, English being a compulsory second language. Physical education should be compulsory and some form of literary and artistic appreciation and music should form part of the scheme of education. The most important factor is, however, willing co-operation of the pupil in his work without which all educational effort is a waste. It is also necessary to provide for passage of pupils from one type of course to another at a reasonable stage.

It has been recommended that the curriculum should be well-adjusted and well-balanced in respect of time and the field to be covered. The pupil shall study the courses laid down in the subjects mentioned against each stage and course. The period of time assigned for each subject is only a rough guidance which is adjustable in accordance with the special needs of the school.

The Committee has sought to overhaul the system of examination. It is of the opinion that the Board should hold only one examination and that at the completion of the high school education, other examinations being held by the school itself. The Committee divides the examinations into three parts : (*i*) Examination of the school record of the candidate, (*ii*) Practical and oral examination by the Board, and (*iii*) Written examination. A systematic record of the pupil's work for the entire period of his stay in the school may be maintained containing statements of his studies, his social qualities and his health.

The Committee's report, as published in the *Hitavada* and from which the above summary has been prepared, indicates that the educationists of the Central Province have approached the problem from the widest national standpoint. Instead of waiting indefinitely for the introduction of the Sergeant scheme on an all-India basis, the provinces would do well in forging ahead.

Redrawing of Provincial Boundaries

The question of redrawing of provincial boundaries has begun to attract notice but has not yet received the attention that it deserves. The modern provincial border lines of India are not sacrosanct, they were drawn by the British according to their convenience. There are a number of distinct cultures and languages in this country and each one of them had found the amplest opportunity to develop its own cultural and literary wealth within the framework of a common geographical and national unity. Unity amidst diversity

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the keynote of India's millennium-old social and ural history. Creation of provinces by the British lers in India generally followed these lines but not ays. Time is fast coming when a thorough redrawing all provincial boundaries along cultural and linguistic s will be needed.

With this fundamental point in view, the provinces uld be so created that they may become self-porting economic units not dependent on subven-s from the Centre. At present there are eleven rernor's provinces, four Chief Commissioner's pro-ces and 650 Native States. They will all have be grouped and arranged in such a manner that nomic groups and units can be created as far as ssible on the basis of cultural and linguistic unity. nited Karnatak, united Kathiawar and similar new ovincial units may be the natural outcome.

Bengal's case deserves special attention in this nection. Bengal is the biggest province of India and size and topography is such that administration of is province has become a very complicated problem. e districts of this province can be geographically ided into two broad regions, the wet districts of stern Bengal and the dry districts on the west. The rthern districts occupy an intermediate position. en modern means of communication makes it difficult times to maintain full and constant touch with the tricts. As a result, the district officers have to be en powers wide enough to lead to gross abuse, if se standards are set up in the selection of personnel. ant of drive and vision and lack of quick action by e district authorities may prove extremely disastrous has actually happened in Noakhali. The in-mpetency of the District Magistrates and the mmunal-mindedness of the Superintendent of Police, th of whom took no preventive action, when there ere sufficient warnings of what was coming very soon, s one of the prime causes of the Noakhali disaster.

Apart from administrative reasons, political causes e sufficient to warrant a division of Bengal and eation of two provinces out of it. Since 1943, when eague assumed power, the League Government of engal have demonstrated a totalitarian tendency and has not concealed its intention to squeeze out the indu population from the province. The League press s already served quit notices on Bengali Hindus and s asked them to look for home in Madras, Bihar or y other province. Eastern Bengal districts have a clear uslim majority, the northern districts have slight jority in their favour and in the six western districts, e Hindus are in a majority. Attempts are being made w to convert these districts into Muslim majority eas by settling Muslims in those places. The entire sources of Bengal, three-fourths of which is contri-ted by the Hindus are being used against the Hindus. The fate of a Hindu minority in the Muslim majority eas of Bengal—oral assurances of Mr. Jinnah twithstanding—has been made quite clear in Noakhali. If the Bengali Hindus do not stand now to maintain their own homeland against the onslaught that has already begun in full force, they run the risk of becoming a race of homeless wanderers in no distant future.

A national from Orissa or Assam has today better security in Bengal than a Bengali Hindu today. The Western Bengal Hindu, under the present system of Administration cannot save the East Bengal Hindu from gradual extermination while in his desire to remain within a united Bengal he is himself going down. Division of Bengal into two provinces will provide the East Bengal Hindu with a sure refuge and at the same time a fountain head of strength. Western Bengal under the Congress can become the most effective check against oppression on Eastern Bengal Hindus. Under Provincial Autonomy, the Centre is already powerless to intervene and with the new Constitution, the Centre will be still more weak.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

The venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has passed away on November 12 at Benares. Pandit Malaviya embodied in him the traditions of India in a remarkable manner. He represented, as few others have done, the true type of integrated personality. In the Benares Hindu University, he has a monument which will last for generations to come. He realised at an early date that those who want to take to politics and uplift of the country must devote the whole of their time and energy for that. This was realised and acted upon by another leader of India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Before the time of these two great sons of India, politics was regarded as a recreation after the day's arduous work at the bar or at the counter or a "three days' picnic during the Christmas recess" as Acharjya Prafulla Chandra Roy described it. Malaviyaji gave up his lucrative practice and courted poverty so that he might devote his whole attention to the country's cause in its multifarious aspects. His has been a life of selfless dedication to the services of his motherland.

Pandit Madan Moham Malaviya was born at Allahabad, in his ancestral house, on the 25th December, 1861. He came of a family of orthodox Brahmins, that was marked for its erudition and scholarship in Sanskrit, who had migrated from Malwa in the sixteenth century. His education rested on a Sanskrit classics foundation acquired in two Sanskrit Pathsalas. Later he entered an English school and after passing the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1879, he entered the Muir Central College at Allahabad from which he graduated in 1884. Seven years later he obtained the law degree of LL.B. while acting as a school-teacher and a journalist.

Pandit Malaviya spent many years of his early life to journalism. He joined the *Hindusthan* in 1887 and after ably conducting it for nearly three years, he became the editor of the *Indian Union* followed later on by the Hindi weekly *Abhyudaya*. He gave up active journalism after he joined the Allahabad High Court as an advocate in 1893, but one part of his life remained tied up with this first love. The *Leader* of Allahabad came into being mainly through his efforts and until a few years back he was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Hindusthan Times* of Delhi.

Malaviyaji's connection with the Indian National Congress started with its second session, which was held at Calcutta in 1886 under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. This connection with the Congress remained active for sixty years, being terminated only with his death. On several occasions he was constrained to go against the accepted policy of the Congress, since he was a person who could not subordinate his conscience and reason to the dictates of popular emotion, and later events have proved that Pandit Malaviya's judgment was right on most of these. One such occasion came in 1929 when Congress members of the Legis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

latures of India were called upon to resign their seats. This vital mistake, on the part of the majority leaders of the Congress, that left the field open and clear for the reactionaries under the patronage and tutelage of the British Raj, was opposed by him. Again he vehemently opposed the knock-kneed and extremely futile attitude of the Congress to the Communal Award at the Patna Session in 1934. But withal he was always a stalwart upholder of the Congress cause, as he proved more than once by open defiance of the Government's orders. He was elected President of the Congress in 1909, 1918, 1932 and 1933, the last two sessions being initiated by him as a challenge to the Government.

In his political life, Malaviyaji had thus been an adherent of the Congress and with a wonderful steadfastness he always kept himself on the side of the Congress in matters of general principles affecting the welfare of the country. His regard for the Congress surpassed his regard for any individual leader of it, probably with the sole exception of Mahatma Gandhi. Even a few days before his death, when he had lost consciousness, he muttered the name of Gandhi. On the background of popular mind, however, Malaviyaji figured and loomed large as the last Elder Statesman of Hindu India. Standing fast in the deluge of foreign cultures, both European and Islamic, Malaviyaji never allowed the sands to shift from under his feet. He had proved to be almost an aggressive champion of Hindu faith and culture but at the same time he extended toleration to all those that differed from him or followed other religions.

The Benares Hindu University will remain as an everlasting monument of his devotion to the cause of his motherland. He planned for the establishment of a real University with "real professors, real lecturers, a living curriculum and a definite aim." The same idea had struck others too but it was left to Malaviyaji to carry it into perfection at Benares.

The end of an extremely fruitful life, full of endeavour and strenuous all-out devotion to the cause of the uplift of the masses of India, came at Benares on November 12, almost on the threshhold of his 86th year. He had been ailing for some time, and the news of the Noakhali outrages gave a mortal shock to him, from which he could not recover. Thus ended a gifted life, truly noble in its absolute self-devotion, transparent sincerity, ascetic simplicity, and austere and Brahminic disregard for personal gain.

A Distinguished Educationist Passes Away

Principal Bhuban Mohon Sen passed away on the 29th October, 1946, at the age of 61 at his Khulna residence. Principal Sen was a bright scholar, an inspiring teacher and a keen sportsman. Having taken his Master's degree in History in 1910 from the Calcutta University, he joined City College, Calcutta, and served there for eight months, after which he joined Assam Educational Service and became Professor of History, Cotton College, Gauhati, and afterwards the Head of the Department. As student and later as professor, he was fortunate to have come in intimate contact with eminent educationists like Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and the late Dr. J. N. Dasgupta and Dr. Heramba Maitra. He was born in Assam and later had been in service there for long thirty-one years. He filled a large space in the intellectual life of the college he served and was associated with many of its beneficial reforms and extra-curricular innovations. He left an indelible impression on two generations of Assamese youth by his work and worth and was the most impressive personality within and outside class-rooms. He was a pioneer in the field of Asamese history. He is rightly called a maker of modern Assam.

Vae Victis ?

In the ancient and mediaeval times, War meant slaughter, plunder and rapine, followed by territorial domination or enslavement at the hands of the victor. Modern civilization has attempted to do away with as much of "barbarous" practices as possible. But human nature being what it is, not much had been achieved hitherto beyond encasing all the horrors attendant on war and conquest within abstruse phrases and complex legal terminology. Even after the end of this latest of "wars to end warfare," we are constrained to remark, the interests of the vanquished seem to receive little consideration, if any at all. Mass transference of technical works equipment has been reported before in the press, and the subjoined extract from the U.S.I.S. will show that technical brains are being taken away as well from the vanquished. We hope humane considerations will prevail at least in the most democratic of all nations, when the passions generated by war have subsided.

> Some 280 German and Austrian scientists have been in the United States for the past year working with Americans in research and experimental fields, the War Department has announced. The announcement pointed out that the knowledge brought by these scientists has been of inestimable value to American industry and science and may save two to ten years in American research. Because of the contribution these scientists have made to military research, the Department said, it is now planned to increase their number to 1,000 as soon as arrangements can be completed to transport them.
>
> All of the scientists came to the United States voluntarily and are in the custody of the War Department. Although still working on Government research only, some may be released for employment in private industry and educational institutions. All the Germans were carefully screened for reliability before being brought to the United States. Many of the scientists have displayed interest in becoming U.S. citizens and are studying English.
>
> The work of the foreign technicians covers electronics, supersonics, guided missiles, jet propulsion, fuels, lubricants, optics, synthetics and similar important phases of applied physics and chemistry.

The above concerns the brains of the vanquished. As regards the brawn, the following is illustrative. The prisoners concerned were captured prior to July 1945.

"The United States has asked France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to repatriate a total of 674,000 German prisoners of war captured by U.S. forces.

Belgium and Luxembourg have advised the Secretary they can complete repatriation by July 1947. The Netherlands has expressed accord with the program. No formal reply has yet been received from France. Of the total remaining prisoners, France has 620,000, of whom about 280,000 are on farms, 40,000 in coal mines and the remainder employed in various occupations. Belgium has 40,000, the Netherlands, 10,000 and Luxembourg 4,000 such prisoners."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

76413

THE LION THAT WAS TAKEN FOR A LAMB

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

Some weeks previous to the outbreak of the war I was spending a few days in a peaceful spot. Along the northern bounds of the tea estate flowed Jumna—to us of the Motherland the Sun-God's radiant-bodied daughter. Just behind the further river bank, the earth arose in a step—a giant's step.

My host was a young man from an eastern district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Poetry was his passion. Poetry pulsing with life though pinioned on the printed page. He and I gave much of the day to beseeching Surya Bhagwan to imprint on the photographically sensitive film in our cameras images of the exquisite beauty that stretched out in all directions round about us.

On a Sunday or (was it?) some other day marked red in the calendar, he drove me out in his car near to a point from which we could board a flat-bottomed boat and be carried across Jumna's breast. The river was none too wide at that time of the year. But beyond the ribbon of bluey water there lay a waste of sand.

So I had taken it to be. Foolishly. The moment I began to walk over it I became conscious of the fact that I had been the victim of my own faulty observation. The way lay over stones—not sand.

Had the soles of my feet not been paining me almost intolerably I would have detected beauty in those stones. Not one upon which my eye lighted was misshaped or even ill-shaped. All angularity had been chiselled away by Surya's daughter. She, it must be remembered, is, on her mother's side, the granddaughter of the divine architect of the gods—Visvakarman. She had, moreover, painstakingly polished each stone.

At the moment, however, I was conscious only of my feet. They became more and more tortured—and torturing—the farther I ploughed my way across that stone-strewn waste. Illimitable, it seemed to me. Would it ever end?

II

As if to provide me with distraction from that torture, a young man heaved in my direction. He proceeded with the deliberateness that we try to hide under the cloak of accident but somehow do not manage wholly to cover it up.

He was tall and willowy. His almost tubular body was clad in clothes that had been fashioned by a skilled hand in the European style. Round his head was wound, with considerable care, a small, white, muslin turban. From the middle of the forehead a tiny triangle of red showed beneath the snowy folds.

The length and the litheness of his body had impressed me as he had jumped off the bus which had brought him to Jumna's bank and boarded the ferry-boat. He looked to be a head taller than his companions—perhaps 15 in number.

After a little manoeuvring he made sure that he had identified me. He then told me that his fellows and he were taking advantage of the holiday to make a pilgrimage to Paunta Sahib.

"You will find the Sikh shrine situated in a lovely setting," I said. "Particularly the place where Shri Guru Govind Singh used to sit with the poets ranged in front of him. High above the breast of the river, it commands a wide, wide view. The countless crests of the low mountain range in the near distance look as if they were the sharp-pointed teeth of some giant's saw."

"So you have been there before?" he remarked, rather than asked.

"More than once," I added.

He and his companions were going there for the first time. It would be "too bad," they felt, that they should be so near the sacred spot and not perform the pilgrimage to it.

We talked, for a time, of the Indian Military Academy, where they would soon be finishing their training. Then the conversation turned to politics, as it does in every slave country and many a country that is not slave.

Forgotten now were the feet that had been torturing me. Also the stones that were torturing them. My interest was concentrated upon noting the views that were being expressed by the young men. Upon them and their compeers, the responsibility for the Motherland's defence would soon fall. What they thought, therefore, mattered. It made me oblivious of all save that which was being said.

As we were nearing Paunta Sahib, the discussion was developing into an argument. The cadet with the tall, lank figure was saying, in a voice that had become strident and would soon be shrieky:

"The worst thing about you politicians is . . ."

III

I had heard those words before. Heard them many times. They had, however, fallen from white men's lips.

How was it, I asked myself, that this denunciation should be emanating—explosively emanating—from a brown man's mouth.

How was it, moreover, that this brown man should set himself apart from my companion and me—likewise brown men? In a caste by himself. A military caste. What had made this man—and, to a hardly less extent, his fellows—echo Kipling and his crowd?

I made it my business to find out. I did find out.

I had noticed that the way some of these young men spoke English was somewhat peculiar. So I asked if they had gone from the University to the Academy. No. They had not. They were "Army Cadets."

Then I remembered that the system of selecting young men for training as military leaders was not quite the same in India as it was elsewhere. In Britain, Canada, the United States of America and other countries, where the people are sovereign, such training is given generally to boys in their late teens or to young men just out of their teens, more or less fresh from high school or college. They enter an academy specially designed for this purpose.

There their academic education is, if necessary, strengthened, and in essential respects. There it is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

supplemented with instruction in all branches of military art and science. In itself of a highly objective nature, the instruction is reinforced by practical training in tactics and strategy.

While the mind is thus quickened and developed, the body is energized and disciplined. In movement, it must be equal to any situation that may arise in the field of action. The fibre must be capable not only of severe exertion under extreme stress, but also of endurance through a period of privation that may prove to be protracted, as well as trying.

When, in 1932, it was decided by men astride India —astride Indian destiny—but not one of them an Indian, to set up in Dehra Dun an Academy for a similar purpose, admission to it was regulated by a system not entirely identical with this. Only a portion of the entrants were to be of the type that entrants are in other countries. Another portion was to be recruited from the "Indian" Army—from the low strata of that Army.

Neither in respect of age nor of education could there, in consequence, be certainty of anything like homogeneity. But then, the military system in India—especially since the "Sepoy" Mutiny of 1857—had been built upon castes and clans. The "big guns" of the G. H. Q. knew something of these castes and clans—or rather, the unlettered sections of them. They knew little, however, of the University-bred Indian. He was suspected of being an agitator. A poisonous agitator. Kipling's "Babu," in fact.

Those fellows from the Army were, however, safe. Ever so safe.

IV

Among the "hand-picked" young Indians (to use a Canadianism) included in the batch with which the Academy at Dehra Dun was started, one bore the name of Mohan Singh. He had been bred, born and reared in God's open country—not in a sink of (political) inequity that towns in India are, in Kiplingized eyes. Orphaned early in life, poverty had kept him from college. He had thus been insulated against being charged with sedition.

With the modicum of education that his guardian —an uncle—could provide with great but loving sacrifice, he entered the "Indian" Army. Even that N. C. O.-dom that is glorified as the Viceroy's Commission was not his. He had to content himself with the sepoy's (*sipahi's*) status. Also the private's—an Indian private's—pay,—not much in those days—and with quarters that not even an apologist for the military authorities could call spacious or beautiful.

He was, however, intelligent. Ambitious. Industrious, too. Bound to get on anywhere—in any condition.

But he was not bumptious, as those pestiferous, town-bred, college men were deemed to be. While determined to rise, he knew his place—particularly the place of the private *vis a vis* his officers—the King's Commissioned officers, Britons, with hardly an exception, in those days. Just the man to be given the opportunity to acquire education and to get into the Indian Military Academy.

When he got into that Academy, he felt as if he had been translated to the seventh heaven. In a book* in which he has poured out his heart, he tells of the joy—and the pride—with which his admission there filled his whole being. "How proud, glorified and dignified I felt," he writes, "when I joined the Indian Military Academy as one of the pioneers in 1932." (P. 61).

This exaltation was to be expected because of his "struggle to rise from a private soldier to the rank of a commissioned officer." (P. 61). There was a deeper cause. The conditions in which our people had been kept for nearly nine decades had given a false value to the lowest rung of the commissioned rank.

A second lieutenance, to which graduation from "that great military Institution of India" would lead, was esteemed as a great achievement. It was, in itself, not much in the military hierarchy (as it really is in India). Above it is rank and rank and then rank—ending with the Commanding-in-Chief of all the defence forces.

I do not blame Mohan Singh for attaching, at that time, an unduly exaggerated value to his incorporation in the company of cadets. Situated as he was, he could do no other. Nor could any of his fellows.

I must hasten to absolve him from any culpability for what happened soon afterwards—his joining in "fun and frolic." He had discovered that with the exception of "some very decent officers," whose "number was very small," the men who were to be to him the prototypes were "arrogant, conceited, snobbish." They swanked and swaggered. Most of the officers indulged in "debauchery"—indulged in it "freely and proudly." He found that "women and wine" were regarded as "the most important part of their profession." (P. 61).

However natural may be the mode of day to day life prescribed at the Military Academy to Britons who have created it—created it by themselves, wholly unaided by Indians, or at least by Indians of equal status—it is highly artificial so far as their Indian charges are concerned. Now that we are promised a new system. I counsel the authorities—especially the Defence Member of the Government, for the first time an Indian—to ponder Mohan Singh's revelations. If, upon enquiry, he finds them of substance, he must act.

It is, in any case, necessary to ordain a regime more in consonance with Indian ideals, habits and customs—more within Indian financial and economic capacity. There never was any call for stream-lining Indians into Englishmen. None now, at any rate.

V

I was vouchsafed the opportunity of seeing Mohan Singh, along with his fellows, at the "Passing-out Parade." He was, in truth, a lamb. An exceedingly neat, well-behaved lamb. A frisky one, too. Not, however, on the parade ground. Only in secret. Of his frisking about I came to know only after I read this book.

What turned this lamb into a lion—a lion whose roar has been heard by us all—whose roar has been heard outside India, too?

The *Leaves From My Diary* do not answer that question directly, much less conclusively. They are concerned almost wholly with the lion in a cage. The Lal Q'illa at Delhi was "the cage" for a goodly part of the time. Few men and women from Britain in search of romance in this Empire see, or at least see with a seeing eye, the dungeons recently used as "cages."

* *Leaves From My Diary* by General Mohan Singh. Free World Publications, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is little in the book of the scene in Malaya. is Malaya was dark and dismal. Here Britons, and the people in their train, including Indians and stralasians, met, in December, 1941, a disaster icker than any in British naval or military annals. ose who had not died or who had made good their ape, were captives in the hands of the aggressor, o, only a few decades earlier, was regarded as in- ior, but who now was triumphant—for the time ing.

It is quite clear that, upon arrival in Malaya, ohan Singh was intoxicated with a sense of his own portance. He was a Major. He had a Major's pay. so the overseas allowances. And only a few years lier he had been a private . . . !

A jolly, roystering Major was he. Turbaned, arded and brown was he : but with the notions and bits and mannerisms of behaviour and speech that associated with British officers. How far he had velled away from the ideas and ideals that his uncle d instilled in him in his boyhood can be deduced m this episode :

Sad news came to him shortly after he had reached ngapore. A child borne to him by Shrimati Jaswant our—his wife, likewise village-bred and brought up and, rangely enough, also reared by an uncle—had died. hat was the effect the news of that bereavement had on him ? To this question propounded by himself, answers, on page 49 : "It mattered nothing and I lebrated the loss with wine."

VI

Here is a ray of light that broke upon Mohan ngh after he found himself a prisoner in Japanese nds :

"In the absence of the Britishers in Malaya, I did not hear of any racial conflicts amongst the Chinese, Malays and Indians. There was complete unity amongst Indians. Today I hear different reports. This is because external exploitation breeds inner disunity. Wherever an alien people rule, the rulers do their utmost to keep the sons of the soil divided." (P. 47).

Thoughts of this description occur again and again the *Leaves From My Diary*. In one place Mohan ngh illumines this situation as only a man with ilitary training and experience can :

". . . The main principle of fighting lies in dividing the strength of the enemy and striking first one and then the other, eventually crushing both. In India, the British have mainly relied on this principle and have achieved amazing success. In other words they have hoodwinked us and have succeeded in dividing us into two water-tight compartments. By remaining divided both the compartments are at the mercy of the common enemy (Britain) but by uniting they can easily defeat him. It is up to our leaders to choose between the two—unity or disintegration ; the former good for both, the latter injurious to both." (Pp. 55-56).

The transition through which his mind passed hile he was out there in Malaya makes him denounce paratists of all creeds—his own as much as the kistanists. "I am a soldier," he says. "I see things through Congress, Akali or League glasses but nly from the point of view of a soldier and of an dian soldier at that." (P. 52).

In his view :

"No religion is in danger. It is the portion of its self-styled custodians that may be in danger. Religion should unite and not divide us. Unity means freedom. Disunity prolongs slavery. And the creators of disunity are the agents and instruments of slavery." (P. 46).

When he writes thus, he has, in mind, the Sikhs who think of themselves as a community instead of a section of the community, as well as the other Indian dividers of Indians. He states in so many words that the "political ideologies of the Sikhs," as explained to him, ". . . do not suit" his temperament. (P. 30). So far as he himself is concerned, he would like to associate himself with something higher—something that affects not just a community but a "wider sphere of mankind." He fears that some Sikhs may consider his "attitude visionary and devoid of reality but" he is determined to "follow the road" marked out by his "conscience." (Pp. 30-31).

VII

Another ray of light that burst upon Mohan Singh while he was in Malaya fell athwart our social conditions. We "suffer at the hands of Europeans" who treat us as "dirty niggers," he says, "because of our sins." He thus explains these sins :

". . . If we treat our own kith and kin as if they were 'dirty dogs,' why should not the Europeans mete out to us the same treatment ? Today we Indians are all 'Harijans' in our own country ; only the English and their satellites, the Rajas and Nawabs, are the Brahmans. If we had given a square deal to our brothers, victims of a most unreasonable and shameless social system, we could have faced the world as befit the greatest criticisers the world has ever known, and General Smuts and his like would not have dared insult our national honour. But we pay little or no heed to those Ghetto Acts of our social structure which condemn millions of our brothers to the status of slaves for ever !" (Pp. 52-53).

He counsels us all to "become one and" to "do all that in us lies towards that end." He feels that "it is still not too late." (P. 53).

VIII

Clear-cut and cogent are Mohan Singh's ideas as to what we have to do in India to re-order life here. "We all suffer," he says, "at the hands of vested interests, whether they be British, Hindu or Muslim." He is quite sure that "there is very little to choose between a Hindu Raja and a Muslim Nawab." In his view, "both flourish on the exploitation of the masses." Nor is there anything to differentiate "a Hindu bania" from a Muslim landlord. Both remorselessly "suck the blood of the poor."

He would have us realize that the "fight today is between Hindu and Muslim vested interests," but "it has unfortunately been given the colour of a struggle between Hindus and Muslims." This not without design : for, in his opinion, it "suits the vested interests in both the camps, who are exploiting our religious sentiments in order to achieve their own selfish ends." (Pp. 83-84). It is his ". . . earnest desire and hope to see a united India built with the willing co-operation of all who live in it." (P. 54).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Free India would be "a great source of inspiration for all subjugated peoples who are struggling to attain freedom," he declares (p. 55). It must not, however, be content to be merely a source of inspiration. On the contrary, "once free ourselves, we must work for the freedom of the mankind."

Our freedom, once it is won, has to be safeguarded. This he points out, would be backing "moral force" with "physical force." (Pp. 55-56). With the soldier's bluntness he writes :

". . . The happy combination of both of these will ensure us our rightful place in world politics. By rightful position I do not mean what the Germans and other big powers meant by it. We should not make the mistakes which our forefathers made, we should be peaceful but not weak and we should never remain a helpless prey for aggression. We have learnt what it means to be slaves." (P. 56).

IX

No work this for a frisking, frolicsome lambkin !

The *Leaves From My Diary* make it plain that "fun and frolic" lost their fascination for Mohan Singh as soon as dire necessity shut out from his view all save freedom. This is what he himself says of his aims :

". . . I have committed no crime against any individual or any people. What I wanted and worked for was the complete eradication of slavery from India. It was indeed an attempt to restore to nearly one-fifth of the (entire) human race, the status of *free* men and women." (P. 19).

Through "an irony of fate," he adds, "that sincere desire" of his was considered quite a big crime by those who posed as "the great standard-bearers of the freedom of India." Despite all the suffering that was apportioned to him—and terrible suffering it was, as will be evident to any reader of this book—he has not become soured against humanity—not even against Britons. To quote him :

". . . I bear no enmity or ill-will against any one of them. But the hatred and bitterness against the (imperialist) system has not diminished an iota." (Pp. 19-20).

As he wrote on 17th April of this year, to his comrade Rajuji (Colonel D. S. Raju).

". . . Any people fit to be free cannot be kept in bondage for long. We, normally, get what we deserve.

"To yield silently to injustice and slavery is, in a way, to assist injustice and slavery in the world. A follower of Truth must learn to revolt against evil and sin. . . .

"Nature has given to Indians all that a man requires. We are inferior to *none*. Why, then, are we slaves today ? Our slavery is not the cause but effect of certain ills and evils rooted within us. Our outer plight is due to inner decay.

"I am certain we are going to be free soon. But to retain freedom for ever we must eradicate those causes which brought us our present slavery.

"We must purify ourselves." (P. 82).

I have no doubt that in the freedom that, I hope, will soon dawn, the author of these words will be assigned a part worthy of his sacrifices and strivings in liberty's cause. In the meantime, I am happy that he has given us these *Leaves* to read and to ponder. We owe deep gratitude to the Giani Gurmukh Singh Mussafar for persuading "Mohanji" (as he is called by his comrades) to publish them. This "Wayfarer" (Mussafar) is, himself, a man of sterling worth, who has striven mightily in the cause of freedom and in striving has undergone much suffering.

———:O:———

A LESSON FROM MR. CHURCHILL'S ZURICH SPEECH

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.,

Watumull Foundation, Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, New York University

I

Every Indian patriot and statesman, who claims himself to be an Indian and feels proud of his Indian heritage, should carefully read Mr. Churchill's great speech* delivered at Zurich on September 19, 1946. In this, Mr. Churchill advocated that Europe must stop her civil wars and European States—specially France and Germany—should take the leadership in forming a Federated United States of Europe. This is the only way left to bring about peace and security in Europe and resurrection of European culture.

Mr. Churchill, during the course of his speech, praised the late M. Briand's vision for a United States of Europe and the work done by my colleague Professor Count Cudenhove-Kalergie. He suggested that such a federation of Europe will be a regional organization which will strengthen the concept and organization of the United Nations. He felt that without further delay there should be a Council of Europe organized to further this objective.

II

In the past the British Government was opposed to the formation of any United Europe which was once the objective of Napoleon, and recently of Hitler. In the past, it was the attitude of the British Government that such an organization would become powerful enough to check British predominance in European continent. A United Europe was opposed to British policy of "Balance of Power" in Europe. But with the change of circumstances, Balance of Power in Europe has been virtually destroyed, because today Soviet Russia has become the most and only dominant Power in Europe. It has absorbed most of Eastern Europe including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern part of Germany, part of Austria, Hungary and the whole of the Balkan Penin-

* Reproduced in our Foreign Periodicals Section.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This mighty Soviet system has been trying to bulwark against any further Soviet expansion in Europe. He wants a United Europe co-operating with the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States. A statesman adopts different tactics under different circumstances, to gain his one objective—*preservation of the interest of the State.*

There is another interesting lesson in Mr. Churchill's new proposition—warring nations can and should unite for self-defence and self-preservation. To every student of history, it is clear that Europe in every century has had more wars than any part of Asia or other parts of the world. India is as large as all of Europe except Russia and it has a population of 400,000 000. Although India has been invaded by various peoples from time to time, the people of India did have fewer wars than European peoples have had amongst themselves. India has been united on various periods and there is no reason, whatsoever, in spite of the insane demands of a selfish minority for partition of India, against the consolidation of the Federated Republic of the United States with which component parts—ancient States and provinces—will have autonomy and *every citizen will enjoy equal rights.*

This United States of India is the heart and the centre of the vast region from the Suez Canal to extreme regions of the South-East Asia. This United States of India must not only develop her immense power to protect herself from any evil force of disruption inside and forces of aggression from outside, but she should be the defender of Asian Independence and World Peace with Justice and Liberty for all peoples.

Mr. Churchill pleads for the rise of a resurrected and rejuvenated Europe which will offer peace, prosperity and joy to 400.000.000 millions. In this we find a lesson for a rejuvenated free Greater India which will be a factor for Peace and Freedom in the world of tomorrow. "*Arise, Awake, struggle and wait not till this goal is attained.*"

New York University

———:O:———

BRITAIN'S DUAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

II

Opium and Revenue in British Far East

Coming back to the first of the two explanations offered by the Temperance Movement for the opium policy of Great Britain in its colonies and dependencies, *viz.*, utilising opium addiction for revenue producing purposes, it is proposed to say something about the situation in two well-known and prosperous Crown colonies before dealing with the case of India.

In the Straits Settlements at the tip of the Malay Peninsula having Singapore as its capital, the manufacture and distribution of smoking opium became a Government monopoly from the beginning of 1910. The representative of its British administration to the Opium Committee of the League of Nations according to *Minutes : Fifth Session*, p. 139, said that, from that time, the monopoly had been utilised to discourage opium smoking by gradually reducing the number of licensed opium smoking-rooms and, in that connection, mentioned that these had numbered 503 on the 31st December, 1909 and 211 in 1922. It was also stated by him that, with the same end in view, successive increases in the wholesale and retail prices of smoking opium had been introduced.

Stimulated by this two-fold "discouragement," the consumption of smoking opium showed an upward tendency as is evident from what appears on page 140 of the above mentioned *Minutes*. This went hand in hand with an increase in the revenue from this source.

Year	*Opium consumed in pounds*	*Opium revenue*
1918	131,255	$15,706,741
1919	141,728	$17,511,229
1920	151,322	$19,983,054

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is unwillingness to inflict dry and uninteresting statistics on the reader which stands in the way of giving similar information for the whole period starting from 1910 but it is an undeniable fact that, during all these years, the revenue from all sources was much above the total expenditure and therefore there was no deficit which had to be made up by facilitating opium smoking.

Rev. Dr. Connolly of Singapore writing in the *Bulletin of the London Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade* observed in April, 1923, that

> "The British-Malay Government are committed to a policy of gradual suppression of the opium traffic. Official pronouncements are on record of its disapproval, but conscience has been too easily satisfied by public expression of contrition. The administration and the country benefit by an opium tax, which now exceeds in the Straits Settlements 48 per cent of the total revenue. Like an epicurean ascetic, the administration derives pleasure from its profession of a virtue, and profitable revenue from the toleration of a vice. Approximately 14 million dollars is to be collected this year from the Government sales of opium. This represents net profit to the state."

Towards the end, certainly because as a conscientious Christian he must have felt humiliated by the doings of his countrymen, Dr. Connolly said that

> "Great numbers of Chinese artisans used no opium when they entered Malay from China, but contracted the habit under the British flag."

The British Colony of Hongkong had been importing opium in large quantities from the time when India commenced exporting it. At one time, the monopoly for the sale of opium was leased out from year to year. This was replaced by Government monopoly in 1914. Under the Hague Convention of 1912, it had been agreed that to put down opium smoking, the nations which had signed, and ratified it would not ship or export prepared opium used for smoking. The British administration of Hongkong organised its own factory and got round the Hague agreement by importing raw opium and preparing it for smoking.

A glance at pages 138 and 166 of the *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Opium Committee* of the League of Nations will show that between 1916 and 1922, the amount of prepared opium was never less than 300 chests of 140 pounds each and that in 1918 it amounted to 539 chests. Part of this prepared opium was consumed in the colony itself and the rest smuggled, principally into China, where its consumption was illegal.

As to the reason for this monopoly, a reference to pages 47, 50 and 51 of the *Hongkong Blue Book* for 1921 will show that in 1920, opium revenue constituted 29 per cent and in 1921, 22 per cent of the total revenues. The following extract from page 227 of the *Colonial Office List* for 1923 is also interesting :

> "*Revenue* : About one quarter of the revenue is derived from the Opium Monopoly."

One wonders whether the administrators in charge of such a flourishing centre of British commerce, so favourably situated for ever-expanding industry and trade could not, if they had so desired, have devised some tax or other which would have yielded the amount received from the opium monopoly. But the will was not there and so the administration continued to "control," to "regulate" and to tax opium till it was put out of action by the Japanese. Let us hope that it has learnt wisdom and that it will not feel any hesitation in changing its opium policy.

Royal Commission on Opium

The efforts of the British Temperance Movement which had public support so far as its opposition to the India Government's monopoly in opium was concerned, and the agitation conducted by educated Indians had, at last, their effect in the form of a resolution passed in the House of Commons calling for the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1893. In addition to a consideration of the export trade to China, a matter which does not concern us here, it was asked to

> "enquire into the extent and effects of opium consumption in India, and to consider whether the production and sale of the drug otherwise than for medicinal purposes should be prohibited."

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Opium were definitely accepted by the British Government and have been given effect to all along by the British administration in India. In regard to the question of the prohibition of the use of opium for purposes other than medical and scientific, it said :

> "We do not feel called upon to express any opinion on the course adopted by the Government of India (in the matter of supplying opium for purely intoxication purposes), or the motives by which they appear to have been actuated. . . . Taking the view of the question that we do, we are content to leave it to the administrative experience of the Government of India to decide . . . the desirability in the case of a drug specially liable to abuse, of raising revenue by a high restrictive price, rather than by a larger and cheap supply."

In effect, this amounted to giving unstinted support to the British administration's adherence to its old policy. Lest the reader should be misled to believe that there was a change in this attitude when the British administraiion in beahlf of India signed the Hague Convention and ratified it, it is necessary to add that such steps for the reduction of the export of raw opium as were taken by it were very largely, if not exclusively, the result of the pressure of non-Indian public opinion which had found expression in the recommendations of the League of Nations of which India was a member.

The British administration could not fail to realise that it would occupy an awkward position if it refused to accept the Hague Convention and the other suggestions of the League for here an international question of policy was involved and it had no desire to court harsh criticism as an uncivilised and selfish government ready to increase its revenues by selling this drug to nationals of other countries. At the same time, we have to make allowance for the change in the outlook natural to those belonging to the twentieth century with its more progressive ideas in regard to our duty towards other nations.

But when Indians asked for the total prohibition of poppy cultivation, the response made by the British administration was quite unsympathetic. In fact, when

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

feeler to this effect was put forward at the League Nations by a member the reply given was that

"The internal consumption of opium is a matter which entirely concerned the British and Indian Government and that it is not an international question."

In other words, its spokesman said, in so many ords, that while the British administration would directly support all steps against the non-medical and bitual use of opium in countries outside India because admitted, of course in a roundabout way, that it is trimental to public and private interests, it would t allow any interference with its opium policy inside dia.

Opium and Revenue in India

The British administration has always insisted that is "uniformed and impatient idealism" to attempt e prohibition of opium because

"Even if it was possible to suppress the cultivation of opium in India, geographical and political limitations would place it beyond our power to prevent illicit import (from the Indian States, etc.) and consumption on a serious scale."

The inference is that as the smuggling of opium d its non-medical use cannot be prevented, it might well be used as a means of adding to the revenues India. The world at large is informed that various eps have been taken to discourage the use of opium excessive quantities. In that connection, attention drawn to the fact that the cultivation, manufacture d sale of opium are conducted as a monopoly under e direct supervision of responsible officers of the itish administration and that every step relating to e control and output is scrupulously and systematilly regulated till it has attained the highest pitch efficiency.

It has been shown elsewhere how the British ecutive in Burma in explaining its adherence to the overnment monopoly stated that it was its duty to provide for" what it was pleased to characterise as he legitimate requirements" of the opium addicts of at country, implying that theirs was a practical lution of a difficult problem of administration. The itish administration in India too has claimed that its proach to the opium problem in our motherland has en realistic and it has sought to base this claim on e highly efficient and successful methods it has opted for controlling the manufacture and distriion of opium.

That this is not the whole truth is clear from a tter which appeared in British Temperance journals out the middle of 1893 and to which the attention of e Royal Commission on Opium was drawn by Sir seph Pease, M.P., in his evidence tendered on the h September, 1893. The following extract from the tter in question supports the view advanced here :

"In travelling by the mail train on the State railway between Bombay and Ahmedabad, for the whole distance of 300 miles, a curious advertisement confronts the passenger. It is in three languages, English, Marathi, and Gujarathi, and informs him that at Ahmedabad he can obtain ten tolas of opium (at a time) at the licensed shop just outside the station."

This is clearly high pressure propaganda conducted by the British administration for promoting the sale of opium. Further, the location of the shop and the availability of the drug in such large quantities, it may be argued, constitute encouragements to the consumption of large amounts of opium and the creation of new addicts, all for the sake of the revenue.

The disastrous consequences of the approach of the British administration to our opium problem were pointed out by the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the Baptist Mission in India and of the Calcutta Temperance Association who, on page 9 of his *Excise Administration in Bengal*, said in 1921, that

> "The Government shelters itself under the delusion of doing a legitimate trade, but by that very policy it has fastened the shackles of a habit condemned by Hindu and Moslem authorities alike on the community at large, and the chain gets longer and stronger every year."

The very fact that no attempt from any official quarter has even been made to refute the contention that there is a continuous increase in the number of addicts is sufficient proof that there is substance in the views of Rev. Mr. Anderson quoted above. In that connection, the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following extract from a statement made by the official nominated to represent India at the Opium Conference at Geneva :

> "It is, and always has been, the desire of Government to suppress excessive indulgence (in opium)."

This may be construed into an explanation, though indirect, of the extension of the opium habit among a constantly increasing number of people though, at the same time, it is only fair to add that successive increases in the retail price have been responsible for the consumption of smaller doses.

The worthlessness of this argument in support of the British opium policy may be easily realised if we remember that, in the view of experts who have made a special study of narcotics and whose opinions have been either mentioned or quoted elsewhere, the consumption of even small amounts of this drug is responsible for physical, intellectual and moral damage added to which is the fact that, once the habit is acquired, no matter how small the dose, it is almost impossible to give it up.

"Legitimate Trade" of the British Administration

The British administration, in the view of the Rev. Mr. Anderson, adheres to its opium policy because of its desire to engage in "legitimate trade." This "legitimate trade" is the opium monopoly of the Central Government which exports part of the opium manufactured and, after keeping in stock what is not immediately needed, sells the rest to the Provincial Governments thus engaging itself in what has been rightly called wholesale transactions. The different Provincial Governments, in their turn, sell their opium to licensed vendors at rates fixed by them thus avoiding direct contact with the consumers. The amounts sold to them though not very large, are still large enough to be regarded as wholesale transactions, their excise revenue, in other words, their profits, consisting in the difference

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between the price paid by them to the Central Government and the price at which the opium is purchased by the licensed vendors. A second part of their excise revenue is derived from the fees paid by the licensees which are determined in auctions held among vendors every year.

There is present the feeling, not always given expression to publicly by officialdom, that here it is merely meeting a genuine need and as there is no direct touch between it and the opium addict, it cannot be held responsible for the injuries due to the habitual use of this narcotic.

Dr. H. F. MacNair, Ph.D., Professor of History and Government, St. John's University, Shanghai, China, is the author of *Modern Chinese History : Selected Readings* in which appears a letter originally published in the *Chinese Repository* for January, 1837. Signed by one who concealed his identity under the *nom-de-plume* "A British Merchant of Canton," it is a devastating criticism of the fallacy underlying the assumption that wholesale transactions in deleterious articles like opium and the like have the effect of transferring the responsibility for such damage as may be caused by their habitual use either to the retail vendor or the consumer or to both. In driving home his contention that the wholesale dealer in drugs is as guilty as the retail vendor, the writer of the letter said :

> "The saving clause . . . is that it (opium trade) is not a *vulgar* one. It is a wholesale trade. Sales are made in thousands of dollars' worth. The amount is gentlemanly. Single balls (of opium) would be low. Sales by retail would be indefensible. . . . That which, sold in chests, is commerce, and to be applauded, becomes vulgar and mean when doled out in smaller lots. Admirable logic ! with which one may hug one's self, satisfied that it is nothing more than 'supplying an important branch of the Indian revenue safely and peaceably.' . . . The trade may be a profitable one—it may be of importance to the Indian Government, but to attempt a defense (sic) on the ground of its not having a dangerous and pernicious influence on health and morals, is to say what cannot be borne out, by fact or argument ; and what all who reason on the subject, cannot but feel to be an impotent attempt to defend what is, in itself, manifestly indefensible."

British and French Attitudes

The major colonial possessions and dependencies of France lie in Africa and Asia. Opium is consumed in some of them, one of these being Indo-China which has a large Chinese population and where the French Government has established an opium monopoly on lines familiar to us in India. It started an anti-opium campaign in 1907 when the consumption was 111,000 kilos. The last measure known to the present writer was taken in 1919 as the result of which the average for the years 1919 and 1920 was reduced to 60,000 kilos. It is admitted that, up to that time, the aim of the French Government had been not to prohibit opium but to reduce its consumption within certain limits and, at the same time, to draw a revenue from this source on the ground that successive increases in the price of the narcotic would reduce the amount consumed.

The French Government, however, adopted a stronger, and in the view of prohibitionists, a more praiseworthy attitude when, in the language of the French delegate at the Opium Committee of the League of Nations, Madagascar, the Reunion Islands, Tahiti and Caledonia were "threatened with an outbreak of the opium scourge." Starting with the gradual reduction in the quantities made available to its subject peoples, it prohibited the consumption of opium from 1922.

So complete was the success of the Prohibition campaign that by 1923, only 40 addicts were left in these areas, the rest having either broken off their habit or left for places where they could indulge in their vice without any interference. According to the *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Opium Committee*:

> "The Colonial Ministry had recently received a request from the doctors in Tahiti for permission to import, as an exceptional measure, a certain quantity of opium for the use of 40 addicts whose state of health was said to be suffering gravely by reason of its complete suppression. The French Government had categorically refused to grant this permission."

Lack of space has prevented any quotations from the statements issued by the French administration of Indo-China on the opium situation. But in all of them as well as in those concerned with the steps taken for the prohibition of opium in Tahiti, Caledonia, etc., it invariably refers to its policy as comprising successive stages of a "struggle," a struggle against old and well-established custom, a struggle against well-organised and clever smugglers, a struggle against an injurious habit.

The very significant language used by the French delegate "opium scourge" in reference to the re-appearance of opium consumption in its four island possessions very clearly proves that the French administration realised the misery and degradation which follow drug taking and was ready to safeguard its ignorant charges from them. Whatever else may be said of the French administration, it cannot be charged with hypocrisy for, unlike its British counterpart in India, it has never attempted to defend its opium monopoly on the plea that it is good for the people consuming it or that it has been in use for hundreds of years.

The Indian Conclusion

It would be quite incorrect to assume that the attention of the agents of the Crown was never drawn to the necessity of having anti-narcotic legislation for India on the same lines as those in Great Britain.

It may not be known to many that, as early as 1868, the House of Commons had passed a Pharmacy Act under which, among other things, narcotics could be sold only by duly qualified druggists and with a label showing them to be poisons and that the preparations of Indian hemp, classed under dangerous poisons, could be sold only to persons known to the seller or introduced to him by some such person, entry being made in a register of the particulars of each sale, etc.

The provisions relating to opium in this Act were generally considered by British medical men as more or less unsatisfactory and their laxity had been referred to by coroners' juries again and again. This explains the passing of the Dangerous Drugs Act referred to previously.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All this has been said by way of placing before the reader the fact that, in the memorial presented by the Anti-Opium Society of England in November, 1892, to the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for India and Burma, the following suggestion was made :

"We would urge upon your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the requirements of British India the fnndamental principles that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medical and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully-selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be called to account for any improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sale."

There might be difference of opinion in regard to details but it cannot be denied that the above suggestion, in its broad lines, with necessary additions and alterations if accepted and given effect to in 1892, would have practically solved our problem of drug addiction. No attention was paid to this request and what, from the Indian point of view, is still more regrettable is that Great Britain to safeguard its own people later on passed the Dangerous Drugs Act leaving the colonial races living under its flag unprotected.

A consideration of the facts set forth previously leads to the conclusion that the British administration is one of those that, for the sake of avoiding difficulties in devising new taxes likely to yield as much revenue as that obtainable from narcotics and which, at the same time, would not cause discontent, has made the non-medical use of opium and its derivatives comparatively easy in its oriental possessions and thus far appears to have been uninfluenced by the wastage of human life involved in the policy. At the same time, it has overlooked the fact that the British nation, whose agent it is, has sought security for itself through legislation prohibiting any except their medical use under the supervision of properly qualified and responsible physicians. In effect, the British nation, ultimately responsible for this policy, has been persuaded not only to approve of, but also to adhere persistently to, the very illogical and, therefore, untenable position that while opium is harmful to itself, it is harmless to its oriental subjects.

The inconsistency just referred to has sometimes been explained by the uncharitable as being due to insensitiveness to Indian misery and degradation natural enough in an alien administration. This impression was strengthened during the Second World War when the Congress vacated office and the Provincial Governors, under various pretexts, suspended the operation of the Prohibition laws enacted by popularly elected and representative ministries.

The Demand for Equality

What, from the point of view of the British administration, is most undesirable is the strengthening of an Indian public opinion opposed on principle to a traffic, which, according to the London *Times*, is always accompanied by physical ruin and moral degradation, a public opinion which resents keenly still another instance of discrimination, a Dangerous Drugs Act to protect Britons and none to protect Indians and with the British administration ready to oppose or water down such a measure if it is sought to be introduced unofficially. And yet the peoples of both the countries are subjects of the same empire and, at least theoretically, are entitled to the same consideration.

It may be that the Indian resentment at this differential treatment is due to many factors one of which certainly is the feeling that the happiness, prosperity and even the life of the Indian addict are not regarded as sufficiently valuable to outweigh the loss in revenue inevitable if legislation of the English type is introduced in our motherland. But back of this is the firm conviction that this indifference to his welfare is really due to the British feeling that the Indian is an inferior and so he does not count—a belief for which the attitude of at least some Britons is responsible. This resentment expressed more than once, but not very clearly from the point of view of the present discussion, amounts practically to a demand for equality of status, something recognised more than a decade and a half ago when, in the last para but one of the first volume of its very valuable report, the Simon Commission observed :

> "With all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment."

It is contended that the laws against drink and drugs passed by the Congress ministries during the period 1937-39, while undoubtedly due to their concern for the welfare of the masses, a sentiment injected into them by Mahatma Gandhi, were also motivated by the urge, may be unconscious, of giving the same protection against stimulants and narcotics to their own flesh and blood which the British people enjoy in their own homeland so far as narcotics are concerned and which their agents in India have so far and so consistently denied to their fellow-subjects.

Our Next Step

The one fact that Indian nationalism has realised is that even if the policy of control of the Government traffic in opium succeeds in eliminating addiction, India would, in the absence of full-blooded Prohibition, still have to face and solve the problem again for such is its fascination for a certain type of individuals that if this narcotic is procurable, it is bound to be used for non-medical purposes. It is therefore that as soon as the Congress has come into power, it is again proclaiming a war without quarter against drink and drugs. And, in doing so, our largest and most influential political organisation, the first to prove unmistakably its love for the masses of India, relies on the heartening words of Condorcet, "Nature has set no limits to the hopes of mankind" which, if it only toils and suffers, must ultimately attain the goal, however high, it has set before itself.

(*Concluded*)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CHITARAL ROCK TEMPLE

A Jain Vestige of the Ninth Century in Travancore

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

Of great antiquity and historical importance is the Chitaral Rock Shrine situated five miles to the north of Kuzhithura, a tiny and unpretentious village on the Trivandrum-Nagercoil Road, in South Travancore. Chitaral was in days of yore a place of pilgrimage most sacred to the Jains. Jain groups had their habitat in Travancore in early times, but disappeared consequent on certain historical circumstances which had their origin outside the State. Jainism which made its appearance in Malabar during the days of Asoka has left its stamp on the temple architecture of Kerala. The temple at Chitaral which was originally a Jain Shrine was, later on, converted into a Hindu Temple and an



Some of the images sculptured on the face of the Chitaral rock

image of Goddess Sree Bhagavati was installed there. Today the Jain tradition associated with Chitaral has been entirely forgotten by the people who regard the Shrine as a genuine Hindu temple. A number of old epigraphs in the Tinnevelly District go to show that Jainism was once prevalent in South Travancore and the adjoining districts and that some of the well-known Jain teachers and devotees hailed from Chitaral, a place which was then famous as Tirucharanam and the seat of a thriving Jain Monastery.

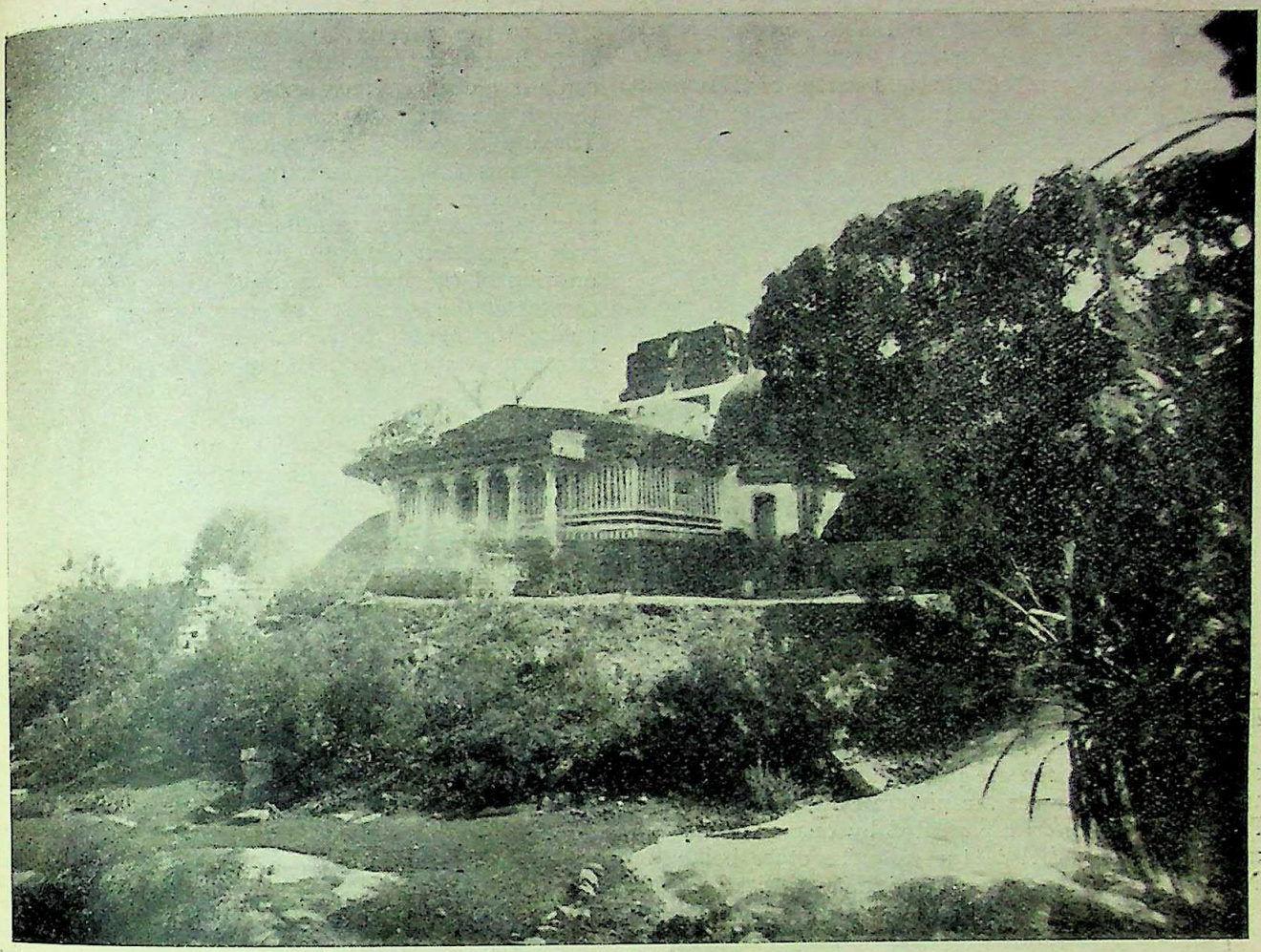
The Sree Bhagavati Temple at Chitaral is built at the foot of a huge rock. The rock itself comprises the rear side of the shrine, the other three sides being enclosed by massive walls. The ruins of the original Jain temple perched on the summit of the Chitaral rock attract both pilgrims and tourists. The ruins which are most imposing evoke sacred and austere memories. The Jain Shrine at Chitaral which has been ascribed to the 9th century, illustrates that the creative genius of the Jains asserted itself in architecture.

The Chitaral rock is a sacred relic of the past. On the face of this huge rock have been sculptured many exquisite images which are avowedly Jainistic in origin, demeanour and deportment. The distinguishing features of these granite images are bald heads, clean shaven faces, a tier of three umbrellas over the head and the absence of holy thread and garments. These characteristic indications prove that the images are of Jain *Teerthankaras* or deified heroes. The images are masterpieces of the sculptor's art. Beneath some of the images are found valuable inscriptions in *Vattezethu*, an old script which was once popular in Kerala. Some of the finest images of Jain Saints are noticed on the upper half of the rock facing the west. E. B. Havell considers that though the Jain sculpture is "very noble as art," "Jain figure sculpture seems to lack the feeling and imagination of the best Buddhist and Hindu art." This criticism is applicable to Jain images at Chitaral, which are distinguished by a certain formalism and rigidity. Only the "fixed, immutable pose of the ascetic absorbed in contemplation" has been made the subject of sculpture in stone in the Jain Shrine at Chitaral. The figures are treated conventionally, the shoulders being broad, arms hanging straight down to the lap and the waists small. The images symbolise the complete spiritual abstractness of *Yatis* absorbed and motionless during penance. The full contemplative expression on the face of the images proclaim, the genius of the sculptors. Here and there are seen well executed and lovely images of Goddess Sree Bhagavati and attendants which must have been of a later origin and carved at the time of the construction of the shrine dedicated to the Goddess. There are over thirty Jain images sculptured on the face of the huge Chitaral rock. All these images which are in a sitting posture appear to be replicas in different sizes of the principal images of Jain *Teerthankaras* inside the central and southern compartments of the rock-cut hall of the Shrine. The two large images in the rock-cut hall are seated on elevated stone plinths. The Hindus, however, regard these images as those of Maha Vishnu.

Chitaral is famous for its inscriptions on huge rocks. A number of lengthy inscriptions of great historical and cultural importance are witnessed here. They throw much light on the religious and cultural history of the State. Some relics of exquisite mural paintings are also noticed in the Chitaral Shrine which is nearly eleven centuries old. The murals are conceived and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A general view of Chitaral

executed in a highly conventional style and are delicate in treatment. Their nobility of expression and perfection of line recall to the mind of the connoisseur of art some of the finest frescoes of Ajanta.

A beautiful rock spring, the waters of which form a pretty pool, shoots up in front of the Sree Bhagavati Shrine. A magnificent panorama stretches before the sightseer who ascends the Chitaral rock and surveys the charming landscape around. At a distance he sees the jagged outline of the mountains enveloped in mist. Gleaming pale green lakes and fields, winding rivers and irrigation canals, clusters of pretty villages nestling amidst dense cocoanut and palmyrah plantations, and the tall spires of Churches and lofty Gopurams of temples rising up here and there amidst a landscape of arcadian jollity and exuberance, greet the tourists' vision at this delightful spot. A beauty spot where historic, religious and picturesque elements combine to afford many charms to the pilgrim and tourist, Chitaral is an ideal place for enjoying a quiet holiday, for the most greatly prized amenity granted exclusively by Nature here is peacefulness.

——:O:——

THE ART OF GANJIFA CARDS

By S. I. CLERK

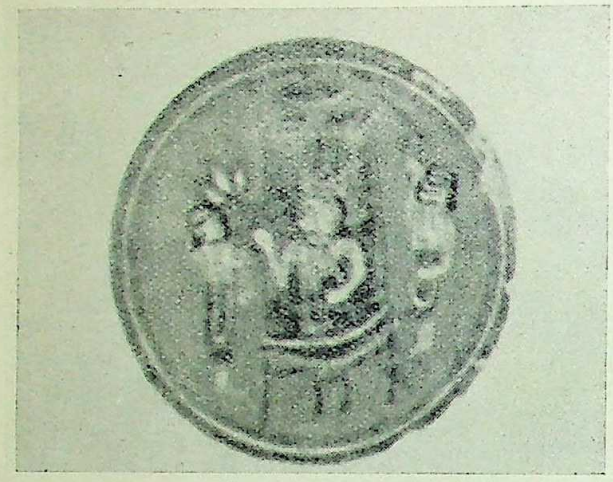
The game of Ganjifa seems to have been invented in about seventh century A.D., or even earlier. Today too, it is being played in various parts of India under different names with different cards and rules. A great centre of manufacture of the Ganjifa cards today is Savantwadi near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency. Other centres are Jaipur, Lucknow, Amritsar and Bengal. In Savantwadi, the artisans these days manufacture the French cards in Indian style i.e. round cards bearing the signs of diamonds, clubs, hearts, spades, with kings, queens, knaves and aces all painted and lacquered by hand.

Ganjifa is as complete a system as that of our present-day popular French cards is. It is based on the ten *avatars* or incarnations of Lord Vishnu (*Vishnapur* or *Dasavatar*). Thus there are ten suits each named after one *avatar* and bears his name, *e.g.*, *Matsya* (symbol fish, colour red); *Kurma* (symbol tortoise,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

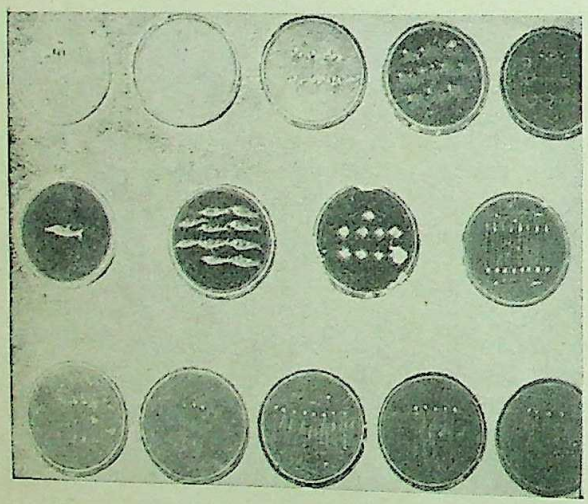
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

colour red); *Varaha* (symbol boar, colour yellow); *Narasinha* or man-lion (symbol lion, colour green); *Parshurama* or Rama with axe (symbol axe, colour brown); *Rama* (symbol bow and arrow or Hanuman, colour yellow); *Krishna* (symbol *chakra*—disc or cows,



A big size card depicting human figures

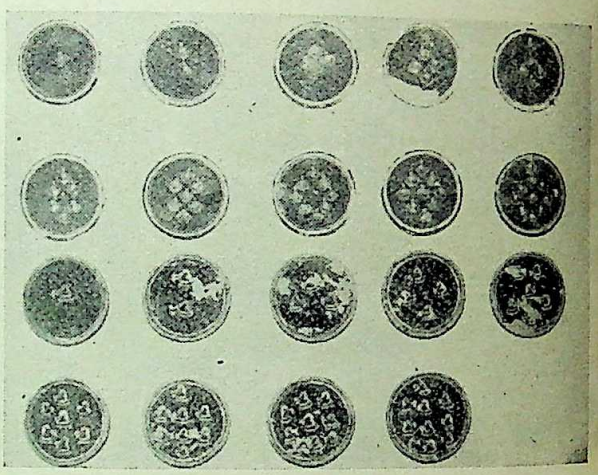
colour brown); *Buddha* (symbol conch, colour black); *Kalki,* the future avatar (symbol swords or white horses, colour black). Each suit consists of twelve cards of which the first ten are plain and in numerical order, and the last two cards are picture cards, one being the Pradhan or minister, represented by one or two horsemen and the symbol of the suit, the other being the avatar himself. The entire pack thus consists of 120



The big size cards (size 2″)

cards. Of the numerical cards in the first five suits, the highest value is given to the ten and so on in descending order, the one being the lowest. In the other five suits this order is reversed, the one (ace) being the highest. Of the picture cards, Rama is the highest.

The painting on the Ganjifa pieces has preserved right to the present day the fragmentary style of the early Rajput drawing. The colour used in painting these cards is glowing, almost comparable with enamel, even though the surface is dead matte. All colours are pure. The use of gold colour, which is probably foreign to indigenous tradition, occurs only during the later period. The composition is architectural, not calligraphic as in Jaina painting. The paintings have vigorous expression akin to that of primitive art. The drawing of the figures on these cards is peculiar; the corners of the eyes are extended to meet the ears, but unlike the figures in Jaina paintings, the further eye in *profil perdu* does not project beyond the facial outline. The animal drawings on these cards are also very interesting. They remind us of the wooden toy animals of gay colours which only a few decades ago were very popular in our country.



The small size cards (size 1·5″)

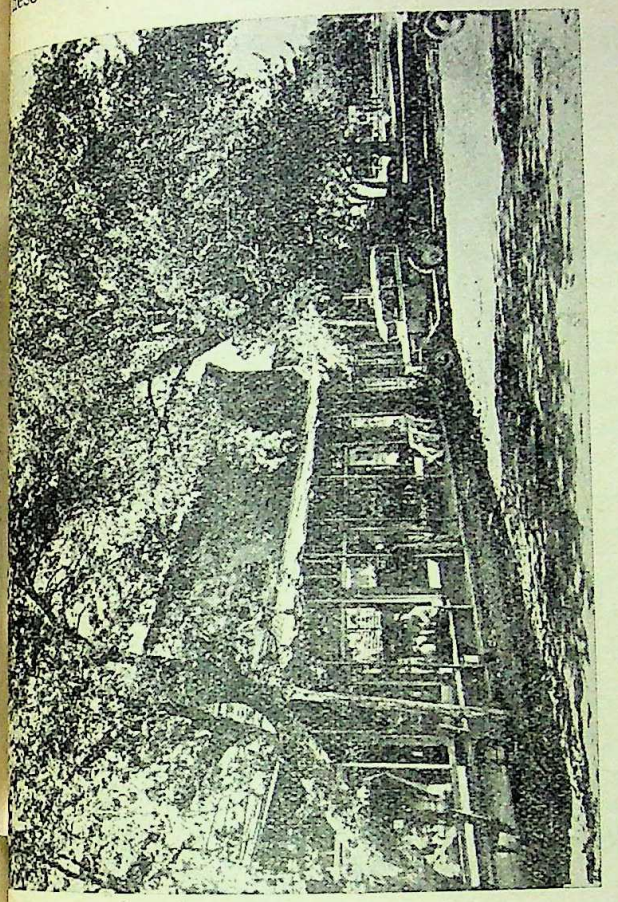
Ganjifa cards are circular varying in sizes. Mostly they are made of lacquer, leather, ivory or even gold and silver with enamel inlay. In our collection there are two kinds of cards, one with a diameter of two inches, the other with 1·5 inches. On one side of the card is the picture or the numerical, and the other side is painted Indian red with a yellow circular border line. These cards are probably about a hundred years old. They are made from the pages of old discarded books of accounts. About five circular discs are used to make one card. The final lacquered card is stiff and durable. This use of old books of accounts as well as the fact that the drawings on these cards are crude, show that these cards are made in home, probably by the womenfolk in their leisure hours. Thus what we see in the paintings on these Ganjifa cards is not the touch of an accomplished craftsman but a genuine folk-art. Even then, in spite of the apparent crudity, these paintings are vigorous reminders of the exquisite charm of the early Rajput school of painting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

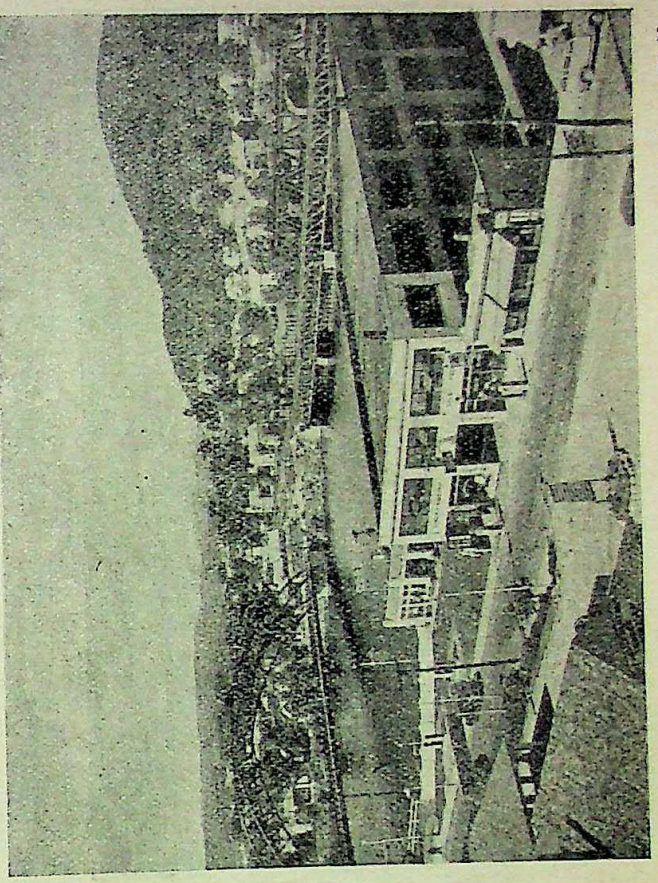
SMALL CITIES AND TOWNS OF THE UNITED STATES

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

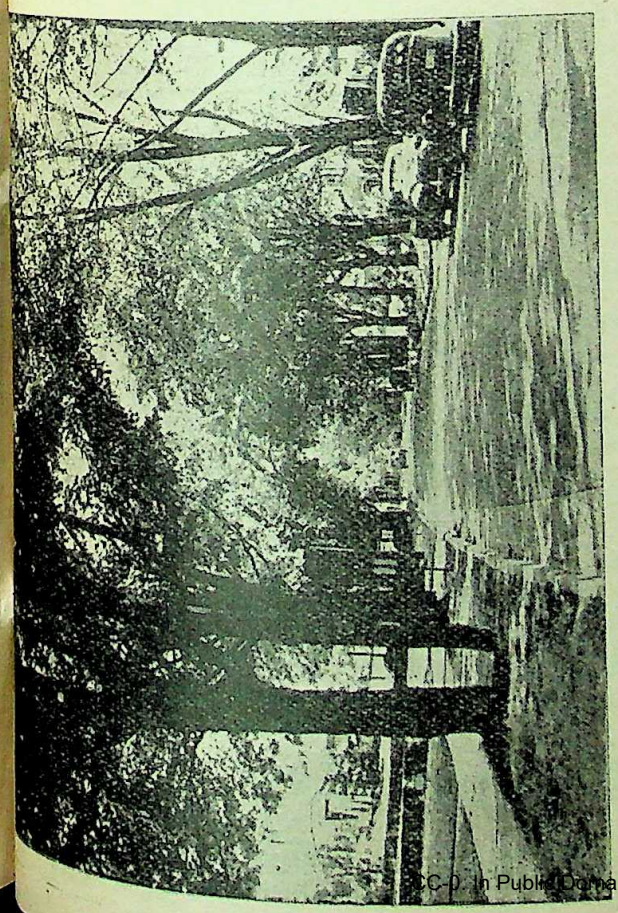
Four one quarter of the total population of the United States lives in small cities, towns or villages. These communities include villages so small that they contain only a single highway intersection with a store, a fishing station and possibly ten or fifteen homes. They include towns with populations of a few



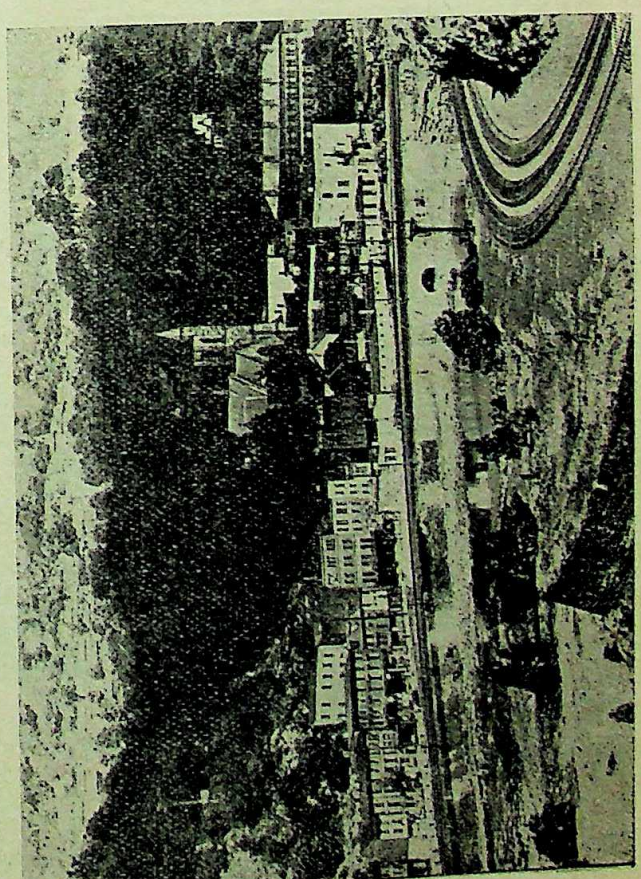
Tree-shaded main street in Mason City, Nebraska (population 396)



North Walpole, New Hampshire (population 1,000) and Bellows Falls (population 4,326) are on opposite sides of the Connecticut River



Prosperous Marysville, Ohio (population 4,039) is a representative small city of the Middle West



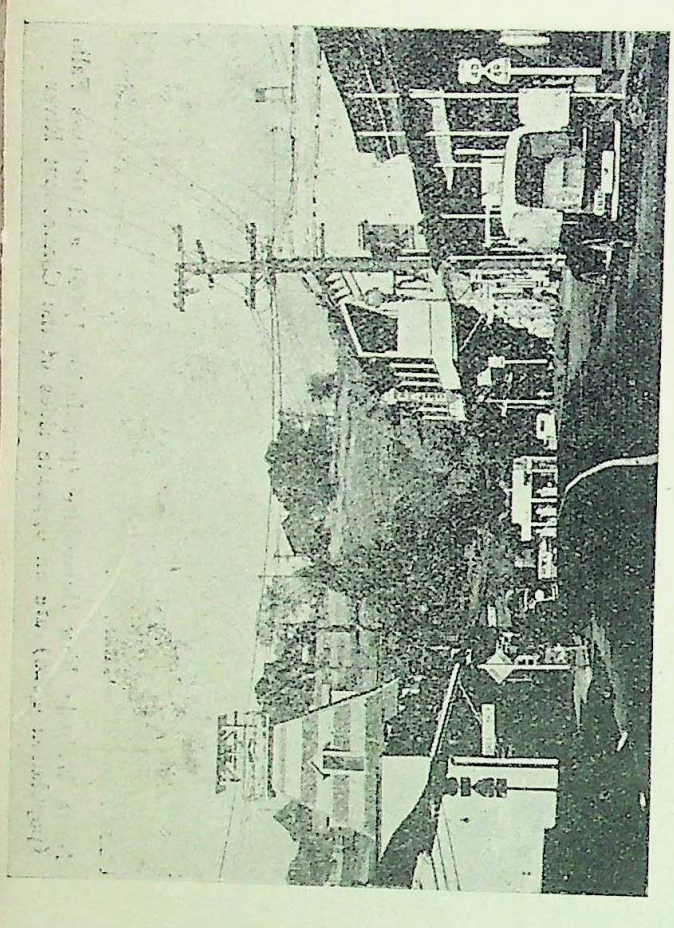
Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania (population 3,009) is located on a scenic gorge in the mountains of Carbon County

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

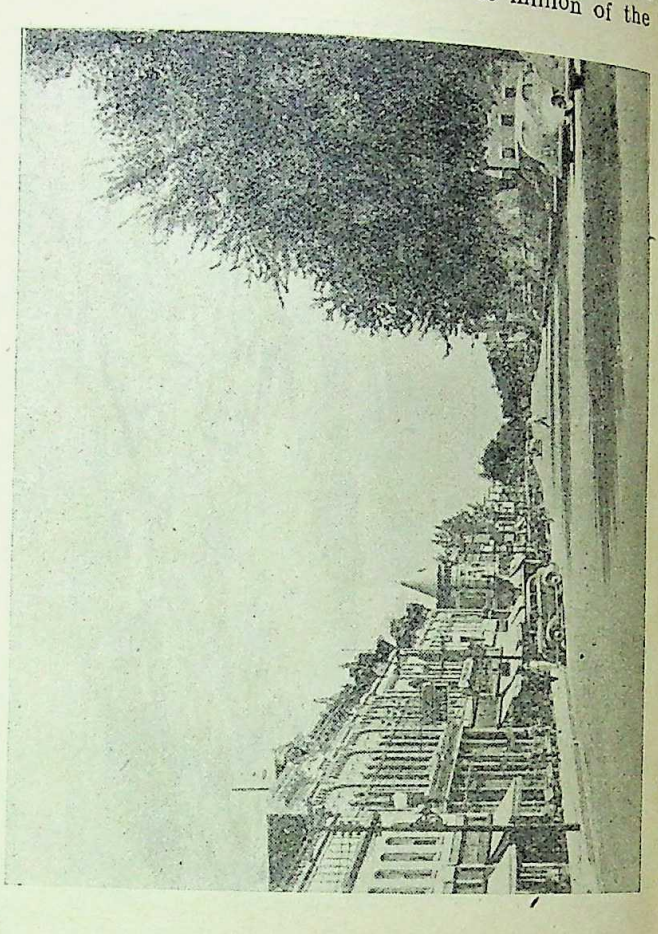
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thousands, and they also include thriving little cities with industrial plants, schools, libraries, newspapers, parks, motion picture theatres and railroad and bus connections with other cities.

The American scene is probably best typified by the small-town picture. Certainly these communities are more truly representative of the nation than the large cosmopolitan cities. With some 40 million of the



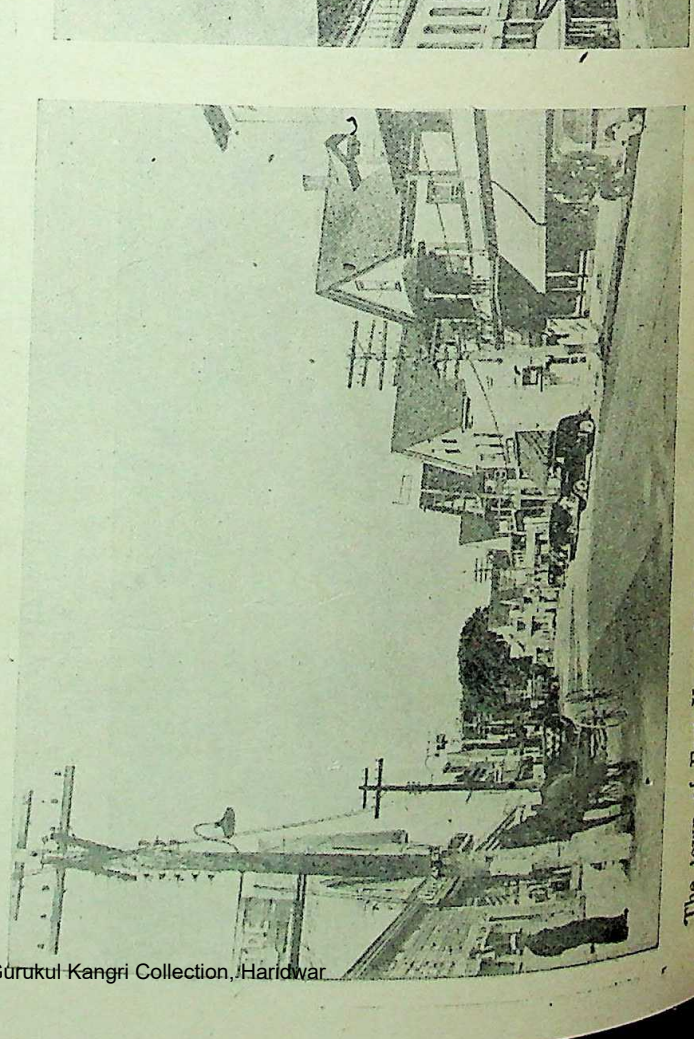
Auburn, California (population 4,013) nestling among orchard-covered hills



A view of the business section of Grundy Center Iowa (population 2,012)



Mystic, Connecticut (population 2,069) is a relic of New England's great sea-faring past



The town of Fort Kent, Maine (population 2,801) is located on the St. John River, a boundary between the United States and Canada

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ntry's population included in these villages and e cities they naturally exert a vital influence on the of the nation. Through these settlements the es of farms and grazing lands pass on their way to kets. The produces of mines, of forests, and of oil ls all affect these communities as they travel from r sources to their ultimate consumers, the com- nities. They exist to serve the localities at which y are the centers, aiding in the distribution of local ducts to the vast of the country and absorbing part the production of other parts of the nation.

Small towns and cities vary in appearance and toms. Climate, terrain, age and the character of the settlers of the villages combine to bestow on each mmunity its own peculiar flavor. In such settlements, ne of which appear on only the most detailed road ps, descendants of English pioneers have cherished traditions their ancestors brought to the New orld and those traditions have become part of the ntry's cultural wealth.

These several national cultural patterns are respon- le for marked variation in the surface pattern of villages of America. The German settlement in Eastern Pennsylvania have perpetuated the tradition of painting lucky symbols on their homes, their barns and their outbuildings. In Western Michigan, the Dutch villages still maintain their tradition of celebrating tulip time in the spring, while in California, the Italian settlers in their planning of vineyard and living space have transferred part of the culture of the old world to the new locality.

But while American towns differ widely in many physical aspects, people are much alike throughout the land, possessing a common character which is distinctly American. Except for manners of speech, there is little to distinguish people living in the nation's coastal states from fellow citizens living in states far inland. Contributing to this homogeneity is their universal education, their desire to travel, adequate transportation and the ease with which they may pass from state to state without regard to boundaries. Newspapers, magazines, and the radio and motion pictures in more recent years, have also contributed in great measure to the promotion of a common way of life for all Americans.—*USIS.*

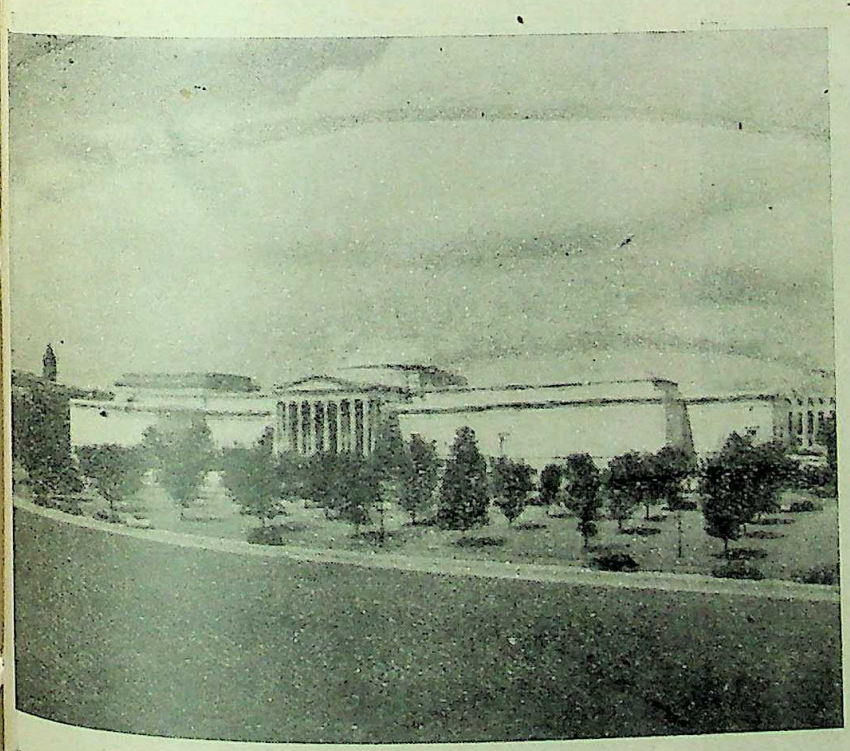
——:0:——

A view of the business section of Grundy Center Iowa (population 2,012)

The town of Fort Kent, Maine (population 2,801) is located on the St. John River, a boundary between the United States and Canada

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART IN WASHINGTON

NCE March 17, 1941, when the National Gallery of t in Washington, D.C., was opened to the public, ore than nine million visitors have viewed the insti- tion's distinguished collections, which number about



The National Gallery of Art in Washington is one of the largest marble structures in the world

00 paintings and other works of art. It has gained nternational renown as one of the leading repositories of art in the United States, ranking with older and arger American galleries and approaching some of the reat museums of Europe.

The National Gallery houses more than 500 internationally famous sculptures and paintings. The paintings cover the various European schools from the 13th to the 18th century. There are nine Rembrandts, three Vermeers, Raphael's *Alba Madonna*, the Niccolini-Cowper *Madonna*, and *Saint George and the Dragon*, Van Eyck's *Annunciation* and Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*. Twenty-one paintings in the Mellon collection, which is prominent in the gallery, came from the famous Hermitage Gallery in Leningrad.

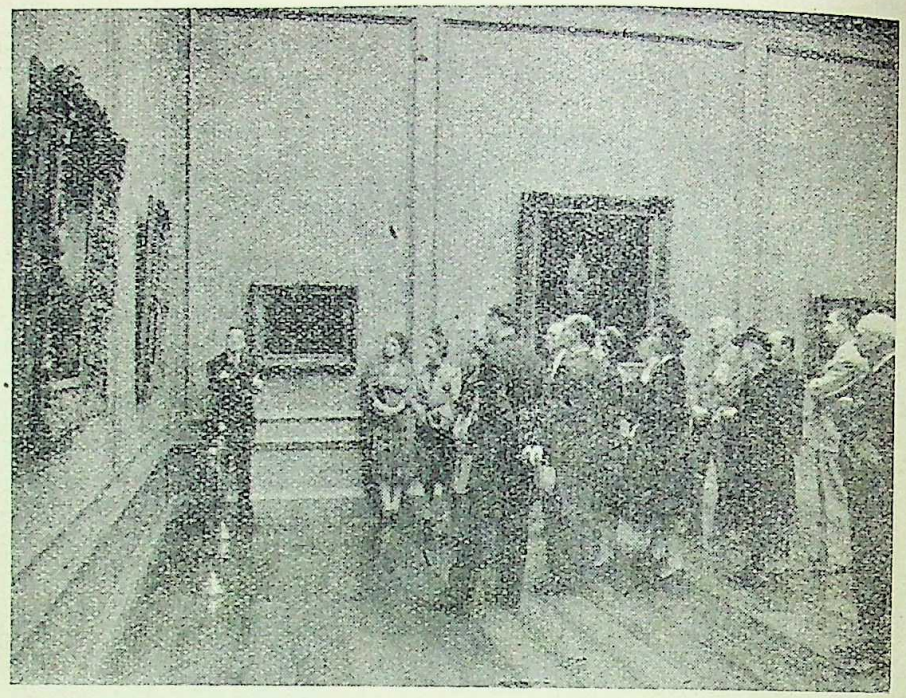
The Gallery is supported by public appropriation and belongs to the people of the nation. Italian, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, French, American and British paintings and sculptures are grouped in the various galleries.

The Gallery building, 785 feet long, is one of the largest marble structures in the world. It cost 15,000,000 dollars to erect. It is air-conditioned to maintain proper atmospheric conditions to preserve its collections. The Gallery has a smoking room, lecture hall, library, cafeteria and an information service for visitors. Wheel chairs and baby carriages are available to visitors without charge. Concerts are held in one of the courts on Sunday evenings.

The National Gallery owes its fine collections to a few citizen patrons who have endowed the Gallery with choice representations of the accepted schools of painting and sculpture, culled from famous private collections. Its two chief benefactors are the late

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

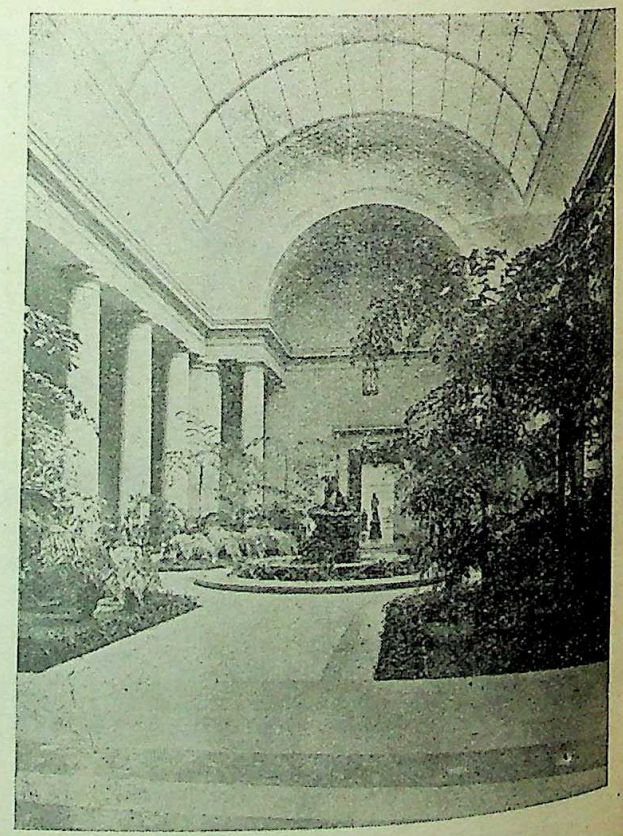
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A staff member discusses Rembrandt's "Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-feather Fan" from the Widener collection, as he conducts visitors through the National Gallery



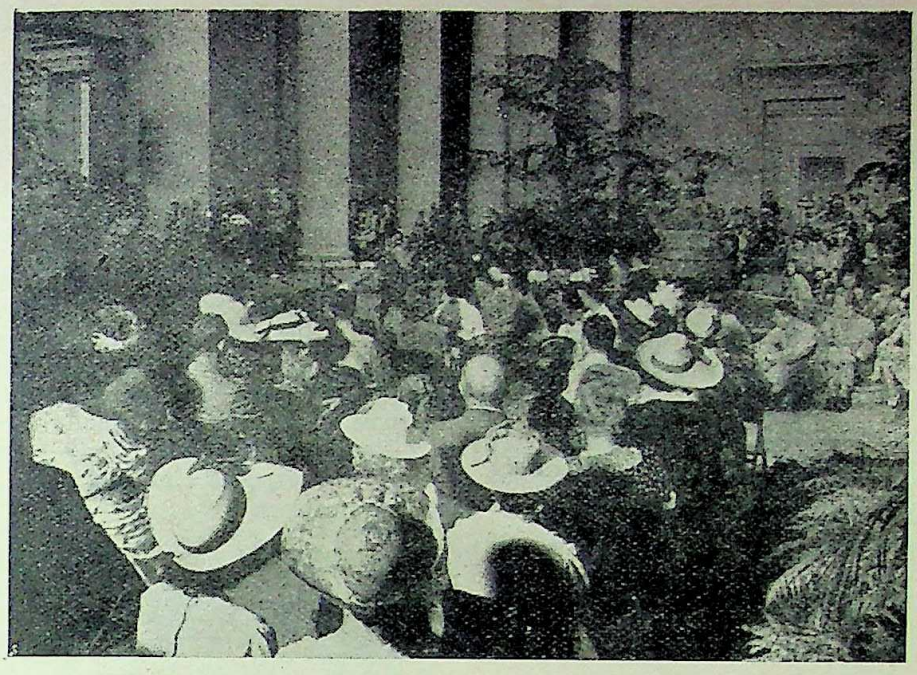
The Rotunda which divides the main floor of the National Gallery into two wings. The marble columns are dark green and the floor is of green and grey marble



A view of the West Court in the National Gallery showing Jean Baptiste Tubi's "Cherub Playing with a Swan"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Visitors to the National Gallery of Art attend a Sunday evening concert in the East Garden Court



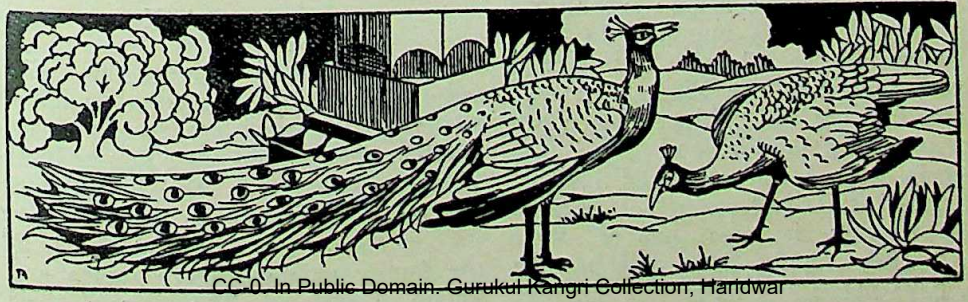
A close-up view of the "Cherub Playing with a Swan"

Andrew W. Mellon, former United States Secretary of the Treasury and afterwards United States Ambassador to Britain, and Mr. Samuel H. Kress, a "self-made" merchant and owner of chain stores.

Mr. Mellon's gift included works by many of the great masters from the 13th to the 19th centuries. Kress gifted the Gallery paintings and sculptures of Italian schools from the 14th to the 18th centuries. A third benefactor is Joseph E. Widener, who presented his collection of paintings, sculptures and decorative arts.

John Walker, chief curator of the National Gallery, declared recently that in his opinion Mr. Kress has assembled the most complete and systematic collection of Italian paintings and sculptures ever brought by one man. It ranges through the 13th to the 18th centuries.

"It is a collection devoted both to the unexpected geniuses of art and to their followers, the lesser-known painters and sculptors, whose work explains and gives scale to the greater artists," Mr. Walker said.—*USIS.*



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE KAMAR

A Primitive Tribe of Chhattisgarh

By Prof. S. C. DUBE, M.A.

The Kamars of Chhattisgarh are a small aboriginal tribe, dwelling and working out their tribal destinies, mainly in the forests and hills of Bindranawagarh, Fingeshwar, and Komakhan Zamindaries in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces, and in the Khariar Zamindari of Orissa. According to the Census of 1931 they numbered only 9,244. Racially, they belong to the Proto-Australoid stock and their social organization is similar in broad essentials to that of the Gonds. Like the Baiga, the Kamars are also regarded to be the true autochthenes of the country. Notwithstanding the universal operation of the forces of disintegration, the Kamars have succeeded in maintaining their tribal solidarity and have preserved their own distinctive pattern of culture.

Domestic Life and Economy

From the point of view of their tribal economy, the Kamars are a tribe in transition. Having crossed the hunting and food-gathering stage long before, they have perfected their own elaborate techniques of shifting cultivation. Even from this stage they are progressing fast. A small section of the tribe has taken to settled plough-cultivation, and even the more backward ones among them are beginning to keep cattle and poultry.

The livelihood of the Kamars comes mostly from shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, gathering of forest fruits, tubers and roots, and basket-making. Because of the stress of modern conditions, and government restrictions on their shifting cultivation and hunting, they have also to take recourse to manual labour for their subsistence. In agriculture, they still follow the primitive methods of 'dahi' and 'beora.' They fell the trees in the forest, burn them and after some time sow the seeds in the ashes. Although such practices have been stopped by law, in the remoter forests of the Kamar-tract people widely employ them by stealth, and so far the authorities have not succeeded in stopping them. Hunting is the second major source of their livelihood. Annually there is an organized tribal hunting expedition which is preceded by important magico-religious rites. Afterwards they go for hunting in small or large groups, according to the nature of the game. They are well-versed in the use of bow and arrow, and have a well-deserved reputation for accurate marksmanship. For fishing they do not use any nets, but organise periodic fishing expeditions in which they participate in large numbers. In large water areas, they intoxicate the fish with 'manj' and then shoot them with special arrows. While men take charge of agriculture, hunting and fishing, women are engaged in the pursuits of gathering food from the forest. They collect in large quantities wild 'mahua' flowers, 'tendu' and 'char' fruits and various other roots and tubers. Basket-making is also one of their principal vocations. They supply their neighbouring village-folks with a large number of baskets of different patterns. In Chhattisgarh, their skill for forest labour is universally recognized. Their services are always secured by the government forest department, contractors and the Court of Wards authorities when they take in hand any forest project for operation. The transport of heavy timber and bamboos from forests to distant markets and railway stations by floating them in the rivers, is almost a monopoly of the Kamars in their tract.



A Kamar

The Kamars have very few villages in the real sense of the term. Instead, they have their own tribal settlements in which groups of four to ten families live together. They build their houses in the forests, always at a distance from the neighbouring Chhattisgarhi villages. Each family, in the beginning, chalks out for itself a square piece of land and builds its house. As the family enlarges more rooms are added till the square is enclosed. The sites of their settlements are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shifted very often. If they feel that gods or any of the ancestor-spirits are not favourably disposed towards their village site or if they feel that it is haunted by malignant ghosts and hostile spirits, they will immediately shift to some other site. In the construction of their houses they use only cheap forest material which they can always procure free of cost, and this further facilitates their constant and frequent shifting of sites.

Social Organisation

In the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Russel and Hiralal have recorded that the tribe has two endogamous divisions—the Bundrajia and the Makadia, the latter are so called because they eat monkeys. Extensive sociological field investigation among the Kamars in the Raipur district and in the neighbouring hills of Khariar in Orissa have failed to give any traces of any existing monkey-eating section among the Kamars. As such, at least in the Central Provinces there are no endogamous divisions within the tribe, and people freely inter-marry within the tribe, subject only to the laws of exogamy. The whole tribe is divided into a number of exogamous clans which are totemic in their names. However, only a few totemic complexes are observed in the tribe, in the form of certain food taboos and prescribed mournings at the death of the totem-animal. No totemic worship can be traced out among them.

In broad essentials, their social organisation is similar to that of the Gonds. The Kamar family is in general, patriarchal and patrilocal. The sons set up their independent households some time after their marriage. Their kinship system is of the primitive classificatory type, modified slightly by the descriptive system of the Hindus. As a tribe the Kamars have a bad memory for remembering pedigrees, and they can at their best, remember only up to the generation of their grandfathers. Among them relationship is reckoned between groups rather than between individuals; and the same relationship term is used for many relatives of the same generation and sex. In their kinship usages collateral lines many times merge into the lineal. Institutions, such as 'cross-cousin marriage' and 'grand-parent and grand-child marriage' have further influenced their kinship system and consequently we find a certain degree of identity in many relationship terms. Marriage is governed by the rules of exogamy. Marriages between two persons of the same clan are strictly prohibited. Further, a man cannot marry his wife's elder sister, his mother-in-law or her co-widow or any of her sisters in the extended sense of the term, or any of his own aunts and nieces. Marriages between some grand-parents and grand-children are possible and are also permitted by tribal custom. An analysis of their joking relationships shows that a man may joke with his daughter's children and a woman may joke with her son's children; and at least in theory a man may marry his daughter's daughter and a woman may marry her son's son. In practice, such marriages are rare, because of two factors. Firstly, there is a great disparity between the ages of grand-parents and grand-children, and secondly, such marriages may possibly bring the ridicule of the neighbouring people to the tribe.

Marriage

Cross-cousin marriages are very popular and are widely practised in the tribe. Marriages are generally between adults, although pre-puberty marriages are not unknown. In the matter of choice the boy and girl concerned are consulted, and their wishes are generally respected. At the time of betrothal, the bride-price and the date of marriage is fixed. A day previous to the date fixed for marriage the bridegroom's party goes to fetch the bride, and the ceremonies and rites that follow are distributed nearly equally between both the parties to be celebrated at their respective places. When a bride-price can not be paid, the boy may



A Kamar woman

serve his prospective father-in-law, for a period as a 'lamsena,' in lieu of the bride-price. After the expiry of the period which is previously fixed, the girl's father marries her to the boy, and himself bears all the expenses of marriage. Other forms of marriage, such as, marriage by capture, marriage by exchange, and marriage by intrusion are also known, but are not very common. Runaway marriages of boys and girls in love, form the theme of many popular Kamar folk-songs, and such marriages are also recognised by the society, although they are regarded to be irregular. Widows may remarry simply by pouring some water mixed with turmeric over the person she wishes to marry. Such marriages will get social recognition when the man puts new bangles on her hands, and gives a feast to the tribe. Tribal custom has prescribed that the younger brothers of the deceased person will have first claims to marry his widow, and as such a widow is under an obligation to marry one of the younger brothers of her deceased husband. Both cross-cousin

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

marriages and the junior-levirate are enforced by the tribal authority, and parties infringing on the custom are forced to pay compensation. Kamars are in general monogamous, only about four in hundred have more than one wife. Divorce is permitted but not encouraged. A person can have three divorces in life, and they too entail progressively increasing penalties. A fourth divorce is considered to be a disgrace to the person demanding it, and the tribal opinion is generally condemnatory of such persons.



Kamar children

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Although they understand the causal relationship between sexual intercourse and conception, they regard that god and ancestor-spirits must be favourably disposed in order to cause pregnancy. There are no special rules for the confinement of pregnant women, and many are known to have given birth to their children in fields and forests. At the time of childbirth a woman has the comfort of the presence of an experienced old woman and also of one or two of her own friends. After the birth of a male child a woman remains impure for two months and after the birth of a daughter she is impure for three months. In this period of impurity, she is to observe all the rules prescribed for menstruating women. Three days after the birth of the child, on a suitable day people gather for the name-giving ceremony of the child. At first an attempt is made to trace out some similarities between the child and anyone of the dead relatives. If they succeed in discovering any identical marks, the child gets the name of that dead relative whose identity it bears. If no similarities are found out, the child is named after some special feature of the time of his birth or of his own physique. After the name-giving ceremony there is no age ceremony of any kind. Children are not sent to schools. All the education they have in their vocations and tribal lore and custom, is through imitation and constant company of their elders, and through their folk-songs and folk-tales.

Death

Death, according to Kamar theory, is always attributed to the wrath of gods, hostile spirits, witchcraft and black-magic. The corpse is carried to the graveyard on a bier only by two men. The general practice is to bury the dead, but very old persons and such others who have attained some unique distinction are cremated. Articles in the personal use of the deceased are left near his grave, and are never brought back. Above the grave, towards the head of the corpse a long stone is erected. They afterwards pile small stones over the whole grave. Special attention is given to abnormal deaths, and in such cases they need the services of a really skilled *Baiga* who will keep the spirits of the dead tied to their own graves. If this is not done, the harmony and equilibrium of tribal life stands the danger of being seriously disturbed.

Magic and Witchcraft

The Kamars know little magic and almost no witchcraft. Although every village has its own *Dih-baiga*, they have very few real Baigas, and therefore in critical moments they are called upon to utilize the services of more skilled Baigas of the Gonds and other tribes. No Kamars are known to practise black-magic, nor have the Kamar women any reputation for witchcraft.

Language etc.

Like the Baiga, the Kamars have lost their original Austro-Asiatic tongue, and have acquired a mixed dialect. Their dialect has been very greatly influenced by the dialects of their neighbours. Vocational necessities of life have made them bi-lingual, and many of them have now acquired a working knowledge of the Chhattisgarhi dialect.

The Future

In the battle of culture-contact, the Kamars have so far admirably adjusted themselves to the changes in their social environment. Culture contact has, up till now, not affected their tribal life and economy considerably. No loss of nerve is noticed in the tribe. The general drabness which is so obviously noticeable in their life and living is equally to be found in the life of their neighbouring caste Hindu village-folks. The Kamars have so far been spared the attention of the over-zealous reformers. Improved systems of communication and the many new plans for economic development will further break the age-old isolation of their tribal life and bring them in closer contact with the other and more developed cultures. As to how they will react to the new changes, no one can predict today.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME MEN I MET AS A COLLEGE STUDENT

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

We had other agencies of education beyond the college: these were the divine services and lectures and written discourses arranged by the East Bengal Brahmo Samaj which was in Patuatoli, very near the college : also the Baptist (or Oxford?) Mission agency where reverend members of the Christian Brotherhood taught the Bible and gave pioneering examples of social service work in a limited sphere. The Dacca Brahmo Samaj offered for us two special centres of interest : the learned discourses in faultless and elegant English by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra (who was then Head of the only non-official college at Dacca, the Jagannath College), which we listened to, spell-bound and with reverence, for Principal Maitra's high seriousness and intellectual virility were the talk of the City. If he lacked in anything, it was a saving sense of humour : he was a fighting zealot of the Reformist Brahmo Samaj, a great apostle of Emersonian Ethics and a finished scholar of Burke and Carlyle and he was a great power for good amongst young people at Dacca. He might be a little bit puritanic and un-bending (he possibly did not have the art of 'relaxing') in his enthusiasms and interests, but there was never any question of his sincerity and courage of conviction. He never accepted a Government job and embraced comparative poverty and was a 'nationalist' till the end of his career as Principal of the City College, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, a Senior Lecturer at the English Post-Graduate section of the University. I had occasion to be treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy by him, but of this later on. He is now no more but his sixty years of work as educator and admonisher of Bengal students and as social reformer and one of the first band of zealots in the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and after, have left their ineffaceable impress on the soul of Bengal. The other attraction at the Brahmo Samaj was the devotional songs sung by Sj. Chandranath Roy. He charmed everybody's soul by his elevating music and even those who came to scoff, remained to pray with the Brahmo Congregation and went away edified.

But far and away the most momentous event which made a deep impression on me and probably on my subconscious mind was the visit of the great Swami Vivekananda to Dacca in March or April of 1901 and his lecture delivered in English in the Jagannath School Hall before a packed audience of, maybe about a thousand people (this was, for those times, a really big congregation). The Swamiji had before this earned continental reputation and raised Indian culture and philosophy and the Hindu religion (specially the Vedantic *Adwaita-bad*) in the world's esteem by his now famous address at the Chicago Parliament of Religions and his subsequent lectures in America and England : he had gone out to the west, a yellow-robed, unknown, unbefriended monk without money and resources, on a spiritual venture, had bearded the lion in his own den and became as if by the touch of a magical wand, the cynosure of all eyes at the Parliament of Religions in America, made friends by hundreds, made disciples, and after planting the flag of the Vedanta on American and European soil, returned to the land of his birth and was lionised and feted in South India and Northern India. He had not yet visited East Bengal. His advent was the signal for a big rally of serious-minded enquirers and zealous upholders of the Hindu faith in the city of Dacca. I was a lad barely turned fifteen then and I could hardly follow his lightning address delivered with a strength and a resonance which was almost super-human and I cannot remember a single sentence or recollect a single idea of the address now. I have read printed summaries of his Dacca address in the volumes published by the Ramakrishna Mission (in those days the press-reporting was very perfunctory and I believe no competent press-note was made) and re-read them and yet cannot recall if he really said the things or developed the line of argument as given in these prints—and yet one thing has persisted throughout my life—the impression of a volcanic personality, of an eagle-like poise of body and soul, of something smacking of terrific and tremendous energy of spirit ! Vivekananda must have lighted up with his magnetic, flaming torch of spirit a subconscious nook of the deepest deeps of my budding soul—so that in later life, his lectures, his sermons, his addresses, his expositions have moved me as few others could ever move. I was touched by the prairie-fire of a flaming God-intoxicated and lighted soul which has burnt and seared through the jagged jungle-growths of my untutored mind and beaconed on to "a city of the Eternal Spires," to be reached by arduous, up-hill love-trysts and adventures in human brotherhood and fellowship of mind with mind untramelled by barriers of race, religion and language ! And possibly it was this lighting of a spark in boyhood which made my admiration of Swamiji's best biographer and most ardent disciple—Sister Nivedita, absolute, when I had the privilege of listening to her angel-tones and looking awe-struck at her spiritual features as an M.A. student in the beginnings of the Swadeshi movement of 1905, which admiration was all the more deepened by the reading of her books. *The Web of Indian Life* and of *The Master as I saw Him*, later on.

Added to this must be put on the debit side of my Dacca life of only two years, my deeper knowledge of rural life, its good and weak points and my love of the common folk generated by visits to my ancestral home in the village and other rural areas, also the fine lessons in straight and upright conduct and social decency implanted in me by the influence of my uncle (father's elder brother), a gentleman of the old school, unlearned in the English language and untutored in the crooked ways of English transplantation, who often went to the Dacca Hostel to see me and whom I accompanied to market-places and relations' houses when I was at home during vacations ! He died at the age of forty-eight only, but the legacy of love and the largesse of decency he left to me can never be forgotten. Also cannot be forgotten the tender love and unselfish ministrations of a college chum, a room-mate and a close village neighbour who read with me and was my best friend and constant companion for four years (during the F.A. stage at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dacca and the B.A. and part of the M.A. courses at the Calcutta Presidency College)—Tarani Kanta Banerji, who was snatched away in the beginnings of youth, when he was just in for the M.A. course, two or three days after his luckless marriage in a far away city of U.P. ! His memory I shall cherish till I join him in the world beyond : such friendships are rare in these days of unscrupulous competition and 'get-rich-quick'! May his soul rest in peace !

The proximity to the Brahmo Samaj of our Mission Hostel was a distinct gain for many of us. We went to the Sunday morning services and sometimes the evening services also, joining the prayers, listening with profit to the devotional songs and specially benefiting by some of the sermons delivered by learned and saintly leaders of the Samaj like Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nagendranath Chatterji, Sitanath Tattabhusan. We attended the Services of the Nava-Bidhan Samaj also occasionally. What was coming to many of us was a sudden and silent revolution of our unthinking attitude towards the fundamental problems of the moral and religious life. We were being initiated into western philosophy and Biblical Evangelism and our placid acceptance of the ways and forms of the orthodox Hindu Samaj came in for a rude shaking. Thus the sanctity of image-worship, the subtle explanation given of the apparent contradictions between the *Vedantic* and a *Upanishadic* concept of one Divine Principle permeating the universe and the individual consciousness and the various gods and goddesses of the later-day Hindu pantheon, the propriety of animal sacrifice in order to propitiate these latter, the reasons behind the caste system and its closed rings leading to rather worrying discrimination between men and women on the same levels of culture and cleanliness and godliness, the reasonableness or otherwise of rigid rules about dining and entertaining, the question of the seclusion of women and *purdah*, of the enforced system of widowhood, of neglect of education of women, of the glaring inequalities between the sexes—the evils of intoxicating drugs and liquors and of prostitution, began to be questioned and each of us in his own way and according to the depths and heights of his spiritual and intellectual capacity and home environments had to face these questions for himself.

Coupled with these, bit by bit, swam into our ken political disabilities, the racial exclusiveness and arrogance of the European community in general and other allied problems. Forty-four years ago, though the old, unreasoning and sentimental excesses of the first batch of English-educated youth of an earlier generation and rebellious exhibitions against the time-honoured customs and prejudices of orthodox Hinduism had faded away, the leaven of the new western impact and its subtle propaganda was working and we were touched by the currents of these ideas and also the counter-movement in the orthodox Samaj's barricades of defence against their incursion. The Brahmo Samaj movement was a two-faced movement—one with eyes fixed on Western rationalism or British Churchianity or Unitarianism and another seeking to rationalise and re-orient the old ideologies in ethics and religion and social and religious practices by deeper study of the fountains of the old living orthodoxy impeded by the hard pebbles of stratified thought, codified practice and hardened theory of centuries. The basic Brahmo Samaj founded by that builder of modern Indian rationalism in religion, society, education and politics—Ram Mohun Roy—was being rudely shaken and altered. There were hardenings of his elastic organisation and schisms had already been formed. The Adi Brahmo Samaj of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and his coterie kept to the old moorings of the Vedas and Upanishads, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which counted the largest following and was very bitter against rigid orthodoxy and old customs, often to the point of unreason and which was more radically inclined towards Western ideas and forms largely and consciously borrowed from Christian and Unitarian teaching, was moving too hurriedly towards equalisation of the sexes, an absolute break with the past in matters of moment like marriage forms and customs and questions of food and drink, the usual time-honoured rites observed during periods of mourning and about purificatory rites of *Sraddha*, caste-rules and *purdah*, etc ; this led to the revolt of a section led by Keshub Chunder Sen and his new dispensation under the unacknowledged and yet none the less real influence of Ramakrishna Paramahansa Dev under whose spell Keshub had come and under various other influences, tried to harmonise the ancient Hindu, Christian, Vaishnava and mystical cults. In opposition to these west-inspired revolutionary movements, arose movements of rationalisation inside the body of the Sanatan Samaj whose adherents were counted by millions and who pinned their faith absolutely in the Vedas and their off-shoots, believed to have been infallible and sacrosanct and eternally true divine enunciations and therefore incapable of being subjected to ordinary human reasoning and its fallibilities. In addition there were various mystical sects, Neo-Vaishnavites, Saktas of the revivalist Tantric Schools, Theosophy and its adherents or admirers. There was a churning of ideas, a rational and intensive study of the ancient philosophies and 'inspired' religious books alongside of the cultivation of occidental philosophies and religious theories.

We, of fifty years ago, were born into an age when the yeast had begun to work, the citadels of unreasoning and rigid orthodoxy were already crumbling, when at least in the bigger cities Europe-returned Hindus were ostracised but received in society albeit with certain reservations, when emancipated women learned in western lore and not strangers to the indigenous culture were busy creating groups of like-minded women and the Congress movement had also passed through the first stages of leading-strings, of English inspiration, of mere prayers and petitionings and had created the atmosphere for a real freedom movement based on self-help and self-trust and gradually veering towards Indian methods and forms that might appeal to the already conscious intelligentsia, the backbone of which were the middle-class products of the English education, and the brains were a few leaders who had almost without exception, learnt their lessons in politics and propaganda first-hand on European soil. Of course, mid-Victorian ideas still predominated, but in two or three years' time, thanks to the first reverses suffered in the Boer war by the British, and the phenomenal victories of pigmy Japan over giant Russia, the stage was laid for a new political upsurge and method. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal conceived and carried out by Lord Curzon, with the obvious objective of creating a predominantly Muslim bloc of favoured parasites of the Britisher in Eastern and Northern

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gal to offset the growing, organised and aggressive itical consciousness and activity of the more anced and more intelligent and imaginative Hindu throughout Bengal, in which we as post-graduate dent-leaders joined, came soon after, in 1905. And I, one, had my first lessons in political agitation then. e year 1905 is a memorable year in the life-story myself and my contemporaries : many of us were ught up in the eddies of the nation-wide revolution, me resiled, some kept aloof but all the finer spirits ongst my contemporaneous youth had their souls uched to fine issues then and this year of apprentice-ip influenced and shaped their future lives and pre-ections and interests as nothing else had done.

I was talking about the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj. had a large influence in shaping our concepts of private d social morality, of decencies of social behaviour, r attitude of respect for and chivalry towards the ir sex : it brought us in touch with some of the est sacrificing reformers and preachers of the age : it eated in us a taste for serious devotional music and was instrumental in gradually shattering our boyhood kes and dislikes—specially in the matters of caste and ter-dining and it put us on the road towards tem-erance and truth and honesty in public and private fe.

Meanwhile, other influences gradually crept into the bit of our otherwise uneventful lives and the most resting and enduring of these was the personality of abindranath Tagore. My first sight of the great man as sometime in the year 1902 : the Nava Bidhan amaj used to run a Sunday School, where a junior ousin of mine was a pupil. This school was celebrating s annual day to which I had an invitation. Some time ter we had taken our seats, there was a suppressed xcitement amongst the select audience and Rabindra-ath, a youngish man of the finest presence and refine-ent, near about forty certainly and looking even ounger, walked in. After the usual programme of rayers, songs and recitations had been gone through abindranath was requested to address us. He d'd so, ith apparent shyness and reserve but the address, the ist of which I have clean forgotten, was delivered in ones of such entrancing sweetness, crystal clear and resonant and was couched in such a refined and poetic style that I felt I had come into the presence of something ethereal and divine, of somebody who lived in the 'upper air' of rarefied mystical realisation and rapture ! The next opportunity came in the shape of a public address by Rabindranath at the Hall of what was then the City College (now the City Collegiate School) off College Square. The theme was Religious Propaganda (*Dharma-Prachar*) : the messianic force of the address, the daring exposure of sham preachifiers of religion, who made of it a trade, the poet's exposition of the real substance of religion as opposed to the froth and foam of blatant verbosity created a wide impression. I do not know how the official preachers and *pracharaks* of the Brahmo Samaj and other religious societies took the address, but it made a strong appeal to our youthful minds, tuned then to high idealism and aspiration. A third occasion was probably when the poet read out his profoundly interesting and original essay on Sakuntala, which as a piece of creative criticism has hardly been surpassed by any critic in any language.

I must not forget to mention here that in 1904 Rabindranath's reputation, though high, was limited to a not very big circle of appreciative students and scholars of repute, men of the old school hardly understanding his novel metrical modes or his subtle and refined ideas culled from the fountains of hoary Indian philosophy and poetry and religion and moulded in original technique of language and verse-patterns; and 'Study-Circles' like the one we formed at the Eden Hindu Hostel were the pioneer in later-day achievements on a much grander scale and with much larger memberships. The more our group read of Tagore's poetry, the more enwrapped and enthralled they became, till even the charms of English poetry of the romantic school were cast into the shade by this poet-wizard and the fact that he was ours, racy of the Bengal soil, a Bengali one hundred per cent and yet an internationalist, was a matter to us, his young admirers, of the greatest pride. Our patriotism, our cultured intellect, our romantic yearnings, our spiritual longings, all found spreading-room in Tagore's poetry.

——:O:——

THE BENGAL FAMINE OF 1943 AND PROBLEMS OF DESTITUTE REHABILITATION

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A.

One of the worst legacies of the Bengal Famine of 1943 has been the large number of 'destitutes' it threw up, who now seem to have become a permanent and distinct element of the social framework of this Province. The term 'destitutes' was used in 1943 to mean such poor persons as had been wandering about, away from their homes, in quest of food. Apart, however, from such a migratory population, quite a large number of persons remained in their respective native villages. These were, in 1943 and in 1944, primarily dependent on charity for their livelihood. Then, again, in both these years, there was another section of the rural folk who lost the whole or the greater part of their means of livelihood in consequence of the famine, but who were able to pull on somehow temporarily. These latter two classes of people ought properly to be described as 'destitutes' and 'semi-destitutes' respectively. Government's Plan of Destitute Rehabilitation, however, concerns the floating or wandering destitutes alone. The destitutes or semi-destitutes of our definition here are, in a manner, treated as 'distressed' persons in the official plan of rehabilitation. But it should be noted that it is these 'distressed' persons that are the prospective 'destitutes' of the official definition. During the last three years as 'distress' has increased, they have invariably swelled the ranks of wandering 'destitutes.' Unless, therefore, Government can successfully tackle the problem of 'distress,' it will ultimately fail to wipe off 'destitution' of its own conception.

In this paper Bengal Government's Plan of Rehabilitation will be described with an exclusive reference to the district of Faridpur where the author

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of this note spent nearly two years to study first-hand allied problems of Famine and Rehabilitation. The Government Plan includes the following items described under four separate heads :

(*a*) The establishment of—(1) Central Destitute Homes, (2) Isolated Work Houses or Work Centres, (3) State Orphanage.

(*b*) The provision for—Gratuitous House Building Grants.

(*c*) The construction of—Famine Relief Emergency (F.R.E.) or Auxiliary Government (A.G.) Hospitals.

(*d*) The sanction of—(1) Gratuitous Relief, (2) Test Relief, (3) Agricultural Loans, (4) Revolving Fund Scheme, meant for rehabilitating Artisans including Fishermen, (5) Small Irrigation and Drainage Projects, (6) Union Board Relief under "The Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Act."

The above grouping has been adopted to indicate the nature of relief given severally to 'destitutes' and 'distressed' people as defined above. Items under (*a*) are primarily meant for the relief and rehabilitation of 'destitutes.' Items under group (*d*) are designed to help more or less exclusively the 'distressed' people, although it may so happen that items (2) and (5) of this group provide relief for 'destitutes' as well. Medical aid under group (*c*) is given to the sick, both among 'destitutes' and 'distressed' families. But the hospitals were started with sick 'destitutes' and, only, later on, some beds were provided for 'distressed' people as they rushed for indoor treatment. House-building grants under group (*b*) may be extended to both these classes of people. It may be noted here that Rs. 1 lakh was allotted to the district during 1944-45 for free grants being made to the 'distressed' people for the purpose of house-building. As a matter of fact, not a pie was disbursed during the year.

In order to gauge the extent of relief received by 'destitutes,' it is necessary to review the kind of assistance extended to people other than 'destitutes,' that is, to 'distressed' people mainly. As a result of his investigations, the author has been able to ascertain provisionally that at the beginning of 1944, the number of 'distressed' persons that remained in the villages of the district was of the order of 3 lakhs. For the sake of convenience of calculation let us assume that relief under items (2) and (5) of group (*d*) above was spent all for 'destitute' rehabilitation alone. The net amount of relief in cash and kind under other items of group (*d*), which was rendered to 'distressed' persons by Government during 1944-45, may, thus be listed as follows :

(1) Gratuitous Relief (including cash, grain, rice and standard cloth)	Rs. 2,21,651
(2) Agricultural Loans	Rs. 2,02,746
(3) Revolving Fund Scheme	Rs. 1,88,733
(4) Union Board Relief	Rs. 30,179
(5) Relief through Cheap Grain Shops	Rs. 89,887
(6) Cattle Loan	Rs. 7,57,745
(7) Loan to tornado-affected areas	Rs. 5,000
(8) 64 bales of cloth, 800 blankets, 5400 chaddars and 400 garments	
Total	Rs. 14,95,941

The Cattle Loan as shown above should not have been included in the list, for the loan on this head was largely utilised by richer peasants and resourceful people of *Jotedar* class who alone could pull the wires. Even, however, assuming that the 'distressed' agriculturists succeeded in taking advantage of the Cattle Loan Scheme, the total sum devoted to the relief of 3 lakhs 'distressed' persons was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 15 lakhs. This means a net relief worth Rs. 5 per head during the whole of the year. The relief was thus quite insufficient, and, with such an insignificant grant not even the beginning of Rehabilitation can be said to have been made.

The purpose of this article is not, however, to examine the nature of, or the manner of the execution of, the entire Plan of Rehabilitation. In the following paragraphs, we shall confine our remarks mainly to Rehabilitation of 'destitutes' as such.

The Central Destitute (C.D.) Homes and Isolated Work (I.W.) Houses, which are, in the main, centres of destitute rehabilitation, were started from about the month of September, 1944, by splitting up the then existing Work Houses which so long had sheltered the destitutes. Both C. D. Homes and I. W. Houses were purely residential at the start. Each of these C. D. Homes consisted of 4 sections :

(1) The section for Unattached Young Women, *i.e.*, young women who had neither relatives nor dependent children.

(2) The Work Section for able-bodied 'destitutes.'

(3) The 'Poor' section for Old and Invalids, and

(4) The section for Orphans, who, when confirmed as such, were transferred to the State Orphanage which was formally opened at Faridpur town on 10th August, 1944.

Some reshufflings were made from time to time and newer plans adopted ; as for instance, it was decided later in the year, 1944-45, to allow outsiders to work in the I.W. Houses and in the Work Section of C.D. Homes.

The idea behind the whole plan of Destitute Rehabilitation was (1) to nurse and feed the 'Old and Invalid' inmates to make them fit for work again ; (2) to protect the unattached young women and train them up as self-supporting individuals ; (3) to provide free Food and Shelter to able-bodied persons and gradually to teach them a useful craft such as weaving, carpentry and so on ; (4) to rear up the Orphans temporarily and then hand them over to their relatives or under care of any other responsible person, or if this was not feasible, to transfer them to State Orphanage which planned to feed, nurse and educate them on a long-term basis.

Problem of Repatriation

The natural culmination of such a plan was the repatriation of 'destitutes' as and when they were fit to start life over again. The problem, however, of repatriating Unattached Young Women who were bereft of relatives and home, proved rather difficult. They wanted, it is said, to get out of the Home, but they themselves could not suggest how they proposed to live. The concensus of opinion, official and non-official, in regard to their resettlement was to give them in marriage to suitable young men with some initial cash subvention as dowry. Prospective grooms were not, however, easily available due to social barriers. Again, there was no knowing if these women would not be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



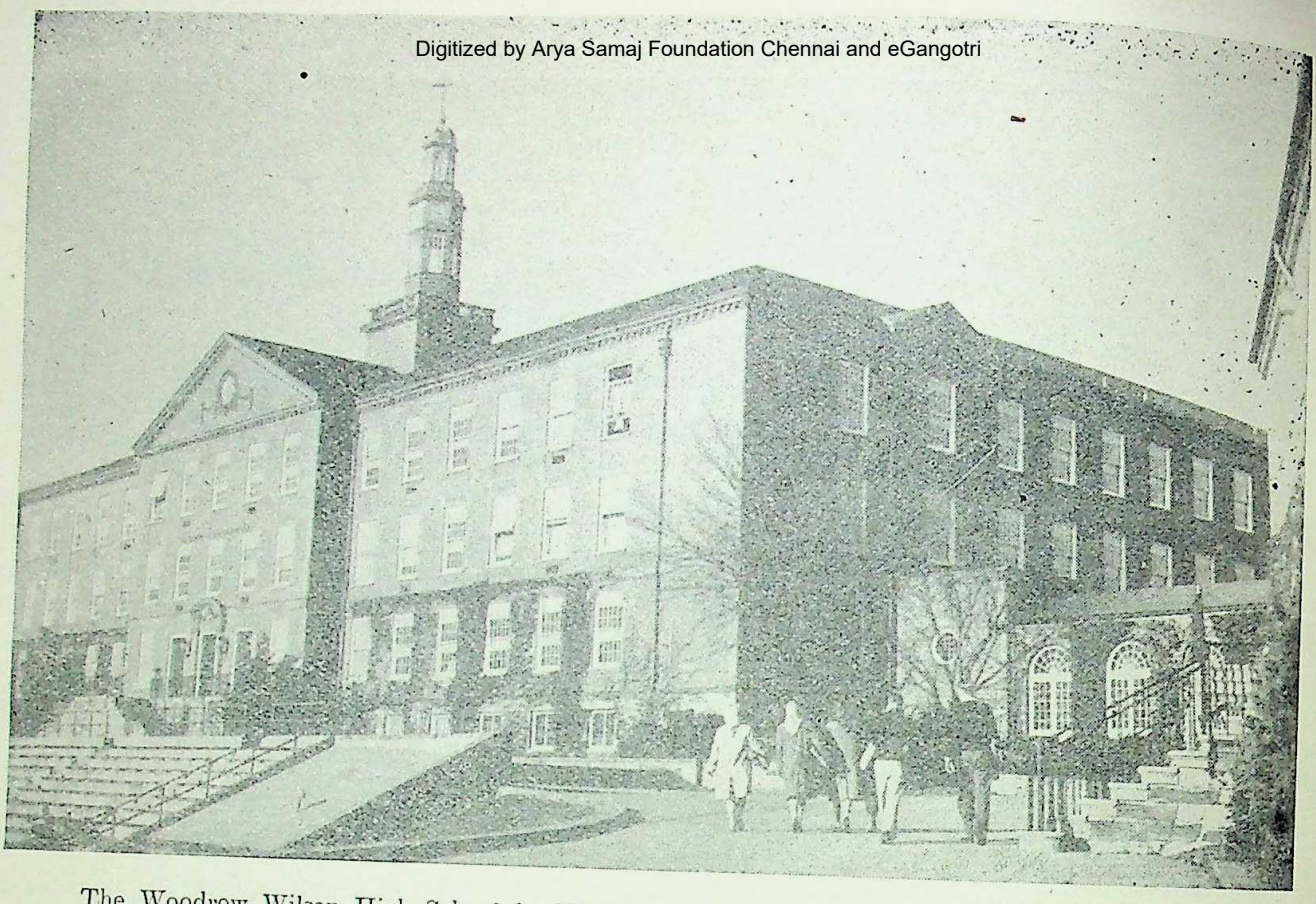
Mahatma Gandhi going to the village of Gopairbag on foot across the paddy fields



Mahatma Gandhi addresses a Hindu-Muslim gathering at the Laksam Station

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington is a representative high school building in the United States



In many U.S. rural areas new school buildings, such as this one, have been designed to meet the specialised need of country communities

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

orced the next day after marriage. So, the problem their repatriation remains. In the second place, the blem arose with a certain section of male inmates , when repatriated to their homes, stayed there for hile but very soon invariably returned to the Home. ey formed a floating element and were not quite ne to shaking off their wandering habits or dis- ding a growing taste for a parasitical existence.

These problems should not, however, have arisen. they have at all arisen, they serve to afford an irect proof of a partial failure of Governmental Plan Destitute Rehabilitation. Had the Unattached ung Women been really given a thorough training some vocation, such as, midwifery, weaving, basket- king, etc., they, at the time of repatriation, could rtainly have definitely told the authorities what next ey proposed to do, and, even, could, perhaps, have ked for some monetary grant to form the nucleus capital of the trade they would ply. Secondly, had e male destitutes, who alternately left and re- tered Homes, been actually initiated into the tech- que of some home-craft, they could probably have learnt the habits of a parasitical existence. Indeed e main object of a Destitute Home is not just some- w to feed some 'destitutes' for the time being and en to ask them to quit. It is true that some among em are quite given to indisciplined habits and are erse to work. But if they are handled properly, with ct and sympathy, their waywardness or reluctance to ork can certainly be converted into spontaneous quiescence and unbounded enthusiasm.

The fact is that there was considerable mal- eatment, neglect and the lack of a plan. The authorities lanned only on paper but all the while they lacked e means to carry out their plans : there was lack of xpert trainers, and an efficient personnel proof against orruption'; and, also, an all-round insufficiency of ash and material needed. At the beginning of 1944-45, he only 'work' that the inmate destitutes of Work Houses were called upon to perform was paddy-husk- g,—quite an unremunerative job in regard to which, oreover, there was nothing to 'learn'; net or coir- aking, cane and bamboo work were subsidiary works. The scheme of *biri*-making failed owing to the abun- ance of aqueous vapour during the rains, as, also, to ack of necessary technical arrangements. Preparation *sathi* was abandoned for shortage of raw material. asket-making was extremely disliked especially by he Muslim inmates who point-blank told it was the ob of the 'Dome' community—a depressed class people. et-making became quite a flop as yarn could not be rocured. Weaving was stopped for a similar reason. n his Annual Administrative Report of 1944-45, the adar S.D.O. on 5.5.45 complains :

"We have been writing to Government for sanctioning yarn for the Work Houses for the last four or five months. We have, however, got no quota up-to-date."

Another aspect of 'destitute' rehabilitation may lso be noted. It has been provisionally estimated by he writer on the basis of a sample survey of the district as a whole, that in 1943 nearly 168,538 persons had permanently emigrated from their respective native villages of the district. This number is quite distinct from 3 lakhs "distressed" persons who remained in the villages. Out of 1,68,538 emigrants about 34,441 persons died after eating at Relief Kitchens, 25,000 were shel- tered in Government Work Houses within the district, 2,800 were admitted into F.R.E. Hospitals, about 132 were provided in Children's Homes. The fate of 16,165 persons is not known. Probably, some of them were given shelter in the homes of large-hearted persons within the district itself ; the rest might have gone out of the district in search of food and job. And, yet, there remained at the beginning of 1944, about 90 thousand floating 'destitutes' within the district that roamed about from place to place or crowded Government Relief Centres and, later, may have, only partially, been admitted into, or given work at, C. D. Homes and I.W. Houses. During the aftermath of the famine and right through 1944-45, as the economic condition of the people showed no sign of improvement, the number of these floating 'destitutes' may be taken to have re- mained as high as in the early months of 1944. This is proved by the fact that even as late as the end of the year 1944-45, destitutes were continuously rushing to, and then dropping out of, C.D. Homes and I.W. Houses. This is shown in the following table*:

Total Destitute Inmates

Date	C. D. Homes	I. W. Houses	Total
31.12.44.	2299	4343	6642
15.1.45.	526	1658	2184
31.1.45.	1882	3924	5806
15.2.45.	1899	3096	4995
28.2.45.	1786	3416	5202
15.3.45.	1967	4003	5970
31.3.45.	1763	3983	5746

It is to be noted that the daily accommodation for 'destitutes' in Government Work Houses during April-June, 1944, was only 24,305 on the average, while the total probable daily average number of 'destitutes' seeking accommodation was nearly 90 thousand. Thus, in the first three months of 1944-45, there was yet the need for expanding, at least three-fold, the scope of relief through Work Houses or some other useful centres of constructive help. The daily average accom- modation in successive periods was as follows :

Average daily accommodation for 'destitutes' in C.D. Homes & I.W. Houses

April to June, 1944	24305
July 1944	8220
August to middle of December, 1944	7271
Middle of December, 1944 to 31st March, 1945	6866
April, 1944 to March, 1945	13497·4

As appears from the above table, throughout 1944-45, only 13497 'destitutes' were, on the average, daily catered for by C. D. Homes and I. W. Houses, which means as many as 76503 destitutes were left out. A portion of the latter was presumably absorbed in Test Relief Work and excavation work under Small Irrigation and Drainage Projects which cost Government Rs. 1,98,237 in all within the district during 1944-45. Assuming, as we have done above, that only the 'destitutes' and none else, were engaged in such works, the per capita total relief for 76503 'desti- tutes' amounts to a paltry sum of Rs. 2-9-7 1/5 pies over a period of 365 days. Thus, the over-all picture of Government's Destitute Rehabilitation is a picture of neglect and utter insufficiency. The Plan is over- shadowed by the lack of plan.

* The figures of the table have been collected from official sources in Faridpur district.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GITA AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

By K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.

The authoritative scriptures that are held in high esteem by all classes of Hindus are what go by the name of the *Prasthanatraya* consisting of the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Brahma Sutras*. Of these the most widely read and relied on as a guide in all phases of human life is the Bhagavad-Gita, which is the most popular book in Hindu religious literature, usually referred to in its shortened form as the Gita or the Gospel of India. It is believed to contain within itself the quintessence of Hindu religion and ethics, typifying as it does the struggle of the individual soul from human imperfection to divine perfection. It is spoken of as "a treasure-house of Dharma, not only for the Hindus but for all mankind" and as such acclaimed as a world-scripture. That being so, the Gita must be looked upon as affording not only spiritual shelter to persons of all classes and creeds, whatever might be their intellectual or spiritual development, but also as pointing out the way to their further progress and evolution into a higher spiritual state than the one in which they find themselves.

Human beings are not born identical, differing as they do in their temperaments and constitutions and as Aldous Huxley puts it "within each psycho-physical class one can find people at very different stages of spiritual development" and "forms of worship and spiritual discipline which may be valuable for one individual may be useless or even positively harmful for another belonging to a different class and standing, within that class, at a lower or higher level of development. Such being the actualities of human life, it is perfectly natural that different men should follow different methods in their endeavours towards reaching the goal of perfection. With the advance of time and the spread of education there is a visible progress in human intelligence and knowledge of things, both secular and spiritual. And people are able, by the right use of their understanding and reasoning, to sift the true from the false, the passing from the permanent and the unreal from the real, so that what had satisfied their forefathers or their caste or community and which has traditionally come to them by efflux of time in a petrified and hide-bound form no longer satisfies them and much less has it the compelling capacity of forcing submission to it. With the free exercise of one's faculties, one is able to see for himself where he stands spiritually and what would conduce to his progress in that line. So, without binding himself to outmoded religious usages and the spiritual restrictions of the caste or religion into which he was born and wherein he was bred up, he tries to break through them and translate himself into that spiritual atmosphere in which he sincerely feels, he would be able more successfully to progress towards his goal.

Leaving aside migrations that are effected from one religion to another out of purely secular or worldly motives and leaving aside forced conversions as well, it must be said that there are always persons who out of sincere conviction and earnest hope that their spiritual progress would be advanced, have become converts to religions other than their own and have led, as a result thereof, holy and devout lives, without doing violence to their cherished convictions or their reason.

It may be asked as to what is the teaching of the Gita with regard to the evolution of the souls of such men and women. Regarding the Gita as a whole with an unbiassed mind, it must be said that it does not deprecate such conversions or view them with disfavour in any way teaching, as it does, that the goal to be attained is the same in whatever way one tries to reach it. Nor can it be taken to make any difference when persons, realising that man requires the help of all the truths revealed in the various religions in his path towards perfection and feeling that in every religion there is only a partial manifestation of God's truth, inasmuch as God's infinite truth cannot be exhausted through any particular scripture or prophet, determine to follow what may be called a universal religion, by living up to the highest truths that are revealed in all religions, without allying themselves to any of the known historic or other religions. Otherwise there can be no meaning in what the Gita says :

> "Howsoever men approach me, even so, do I accept them ; for on all sides whatever path they may choose is mine, O Arjuna."

Unless this broad interpretation is put on the above words of Sri Krishna, Gita would cease to be a universal scripture, for, any restricted meaning or qualification that may be sought to be imposed on these words would take away whole bodies of men and women out of the pale of his all-embracing grace. And nothing could be a greater blasphemy to the All-merciful God of the Gita.

But yet there are expounders of the Gita, like Prof. D. S. Sarma, who would attempt to graft a qualification on the broad interpretation of the verse of the Gita referred to above. They say, as does Prof. Sarma, "But those who quote this verse should not forget its counterpart, repeated with slight alterations twice in the Gita," which says :

> "Better is one's own Dharma though imperfect than the Dharma of another perfectly carried out. Better death in one's own Dharma : the Dharma of another is fraught with fear."—(Chap. III, V. 35.)

The word used in the original text was *Swadharma* and it has been translated in different ways by different translators of the Gita.

Edwin Arnold's translation of the above runs thus :

> ". . . this is better, that one do
> His own task as he may, even though he fail,
> Than take tasks not his own, though they seem good.
>
> To die performing duty is no ill ;
> But who seeks other roads shall wander still."
>
> —*The Song Celestial*, Kitabistan Edn. Pp. 20-21.

The Gorakhpur Gita Press edition of the Gita translates thus (p. 98) :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"One's own duty though devoid of merit, is preferable to the duty of another well performed. Even death in the performance of one's own duty brings blessedness ; another's duty is fraught with fear."

Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood in their *Bhagabad-Gita* or *The Song of God* render this verse (p. 62) thus :

"It is better to do your own duty, however imperfectly, than to assume the duties of another person, however successfully. Prefer to die doing your own duty ; the duty of another will bring you into great spiritual danger."

But Prof. Sarma (*vide* p. 59 of his *Lectures on the Bhagabad-Gita*) says :

"Now, coming back to the subject of Swadharma, we have to note carefully that the author of the Gita explicitly connects it not merely with the caste system but with the individual's own Swabhava or nature."

Whatever might have been the state of society at the date of the Gita, which is generally placed by scholars between the 5th and 2nd centuries B.C., when the caste system might have prevailed in its uncontaminated state and members of each caste were considered to have developed peculiar aptitudes for their caste professions and followed them, it cannot be said now, when any man is free to follow any profession he likes, whatever might be the caste in which he is born, that Prof. Sarma's interpretation of Swadharma will hold good, if the Gita is to be taken as a universal scripture for all mankind.

The other translations referred to above have clearly interpreted *Swadharma* as meaning *One's Duty*, or Task pertaining to whatever situation in which one may be placed, irrespective of the caste or religion into which one happens to be born. In this age when so much of fusion of castes and professions is glaringly apparent, it cannot be taken that one should live and die within the religion into which he was born performing the duties that are said to appertain to it. And much less can the words of the Gita be interpreted in such a narrow way as to hidebound persons in the religion of his caste or that of the family to which he belongs without allowing freedom to him to adopt some other religion with the help of which he sincerely feels he can progress much better in his path towards perfection. If that were so, there can be no kind of migration from one religion to another even by those who sincerely feel that such a change will distinctly enure to their spiritual benefit. But all through the history of the world there have been such honest and sincere migrations as a result of which men and women have made genuine spiritual progress.

What may be called an almost classical example of such migration from one religion to another is that of the late Dr. Annie Besant who, leaving the Christian faith into which she was born as unsuited to her spiritual progress, had assumed the Hindu religion which she had popularised ever so much by her liberal interpretation of its tenets and by her life in accordance therewith. Though an ardent student and expounder of the Gita, she never felt herself fettered by considerations of caste or caste aptitudes and professions which Prof. Sarma wants to import into the meaning of Swadharma.

In this view and giving the words of the Gita the natural, which is also the correct, interpretation thereof, in whatever way man approaches God, He is ready to accept him and as such there can be no restriction to man's choice of the faith or religion to help him in his path towards perfection. So, it may be definitely asserted that the Gita gives the fullest religious freedom to man to follow whichever way, he sincerely feels, would be helpful to him in reaching his appointed goal.

———:O:———

TOWARDS CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

The period between October 28 to the end of November is being celebrated among United Nations as the UNESCO Month

"That since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed ;

"That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of the suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war."

These two sentences, which crystallise so many volumes written on wars—one of the most terrible heritages of mankind—head the preamble of the constitution of the UNESCO—the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. One of the youngest offsprings of the United Nations, the UNESCO has a very ambitious programme—a programme which so far has been beyond controversy. On the first week of November as the General Conference of the Organisation foregathers in Paris, there will be held in the French capital a series of educational, scientific and cultural exhibitions, demonstrations and discussions. The delegates, visitors and the citizens of Paris will listen to lectures and discussions on world problems ; concerts of music, drama festivals, international exhibitions of paintings, exhibitions of technical discoveries, displays on the development of architecture since 1939 and publications and lectures on the progress of education and methods of teaching since 1939.

India, as one of the sponsoring nations of the UNESCO, and the heir to a vast treasure-house of knowledge and culture, will be represented by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and three other delegates. A representative collection of modern Indian paintings, numbering about 50, and 20 films depicting Indian life and culture will be on exhibition along with contributions of other nations.

Concurrently with the conference, it is the hope of UNESCO that the period from October 28 to the end of November, during which the annual sessions of the UNESCO will take place, will be known as the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNESCO Month when the peoples of the world can turn their minds to the more lasting things of life—to educational, scientific and cultural matters. Every year following the current UNESCO month in Paris, similar cultural celebrations will be arranged in one of the great cities of the world—wherever the General Conference chooses to sit—and thus would serve to illustrate and register from year to year the progress in the educational, scientific and cultural fields of life in the world.

Birth of UNESCO

The UNESCO was born just eleven months ago. It was recognised from the first when the United Nations met that the principle of organised international co-operation in cultural matters was the chief bases of peace and therefore the principle was included in the Charter of the United Nations—the first Article of which defines it as one of the purposes of the United Nations, *viz.*, "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect in human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, class, language or religion."

The lessons of two devastating world wars, the second more terrible than the first, emphasised that Peace could only be founded on comprehension and mutual understanding. It was felt that it shou'd be one of the duties of the United Nations to facilitate the exchange and dissemination of knowledge about national and cultural activities, so that culture is made accessible to all men.

Following these general propositions, formulated at the San Francisco Conference, the British Government, in association with the French Government, extended on behalf of the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, an invitation to all member-states of the United Nations to be represented at a Conference in London beginning November 1, 1945, for taking steps to establish a United Nations Organisation in the Educational and Cultural fields. Forty-four countries, including India, sent representatives and there were six observers from international organisations. The project for organised international co-operation in the cultural field was thus carried one step further.

The Conference, which lasted 16 days, discussed a draft constitution prepared by the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, and a draft submitted by the French Government, as well as certain other suggestions received from other Governments and from national and international bodies and drew up a constitution establishing an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Thus was born the UNESCO—supported by all the peace-loving nations of the world, and promising to become the most comprehensive international organisation ever to be established for cultural understanding and co-operation.

Last June, a draft agreement was initialled by representatives of the Economic and Social Council and by UNESCO which, when approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, will make UNESCO a specialised agency of the United Nations. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, President of the Economic and Social Council, and M. Roger Seydoux, Chairman of the Negotiating Delegation of the UNESCO, signed on behalf of their respective Organisations.

The objects of the UNESCO are summarised in the Preamble to its constitution which is as follows:

"The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare:

"That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

"That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

"That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races; that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

"That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind;

"For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

"In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims."

First Session of UNESCO General Conference in Paris

The first session of the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural) General Conference opens in Paris on November 19, 1946.

The Indian delegation to the Conference is headed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The other members of the delegation are Sir John Sargent, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, F.R.S., and Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (Indian States Representative).

The Secretariat of the delegation consists of Mr. P. N. Kirpal, Secretary, Miss Dorothy Bose, Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. M. Ashraf, Public Relations Officer and Mr. R. N. Chakravarti, Art Officer.

Fifty Indian paintings including those by the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Jamini Roy and Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Chugtai and sixteen docu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

mentary films produced by I.F.I. will be exhibited at Paris during the Conference. The paintings are representative of modern Indian art and the films relate to Indian village and social life, folk and classical dances, musical instruments and historical buildings. Paintings by Indian school children will also be exhibited during the Conference.

Unesco in the World of Modern Literature

UNESCO* is, until the end of 1946, a commission inquiring into the ways and means by which, in Science, Education and Culture, the United Nations Organisation may promote among the nations and individuals of nations "mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives."

At present, therefore, Unesco is an inquiry, an exploration into all the possibilities of helping intellectual activity and by such help promoting peace. There are really two complementary aims in the work of Unesco. One is to create a world organisation which will further Science, Education and Culture ; the other is to use these instruments of the human spirit to restore to men "dignity, equality and respect." The two aims become identical if we accept the hypothesis that the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the fight against ignorance will encourage a better understanding between nations.

Unesco has three main branches (Education, Science and Culture) indicated in its name. When the organisation at present being built up is in action, it may well be found that the name suggests a symmetry and a balance of three functions which will not be achieved in practice. For example, in science, Unesco may become the instrument by which the nations undertake spectacular and gigantic projects. In education there may during the next years be tasks of rehabilitation, very important, but less spectacular. And when we come to culture, it is evident that a complex system of international cultural relations already exists and that often Unesco will be helping already existing organisations, and filling in gaps in the cultural relations between certain countries and certain others, where economic or other difficulties have prevented relations developing.

The lines along which Unesco's cultural work is likely to develop are well shown in the projects for Translations and A Writers' Pool of the Section of Literature. These projects are worth discussing fairly fully because they enter into the situation of international relations in letters and they show the kind of work which Unesco can do here.

Although in many countries of the world many translations are published of foreign books, it is obvious that a great many excellent and valuable works which may not have a very wide appeal, are not translated. This is true of past literature as well as of contemporary works. Recently the editor of a French Review made a list of English books which reads like an intelligent survey of the less famous English classics. In fact this list is of books either never translated into French or else existing only in unsatisfactory or outdated translations. Obviously if one had a picture of the translation situation on the whole world, one would find that there is an astonishing neglect of the masterpieces of several countries in other countries, owing to the accidents of the present haphazard arrangements.

Unesco proposes therefore to compile lists of works in each country which are worthy of being translated. These works will then be recommended to publishers and perhaps Unesco will be asked, in some cases, to assist in their publication. It proposes also to have its own recommended translators, so as to assure that translations will be of the highest possible quality. Another proposal is for a yearly prize for the best translation of books which has been made.

The translation of poetry is a special problem. Most poets are attracted by the idea of translating foreign works ; indeed it is difficult to think of any great poet who has not made several such attempts. Translating is a fascinating exercise and it has for a poet a certain inspiration since he wishes to convey into his own language some work which he loves in another literature. Yet material reasons often prevent a poet from being able to devote as much time as he would like to the tasks of translating the work of a foreign poet into the poetry of his own language. Unesco proposes, therefore, to offer scholarships to poets who wish to translate those poems which have a special significance for them in a foreign language.

The Writers' Pool is a project concerned with the same unsatisfactory international distribution of the best literature as the project for translations. In the literary reviews of many countries where there is not a large reading public and where the cultural life is economically at a disadvantage to that of the richer countries, the work of some of the world's greatest contemporary writers is not published as widely as might be desired. Moreover, for the same reasons, the work of writers in the small countries is often not brought to the attention of the wide public of the reviews published in the larger countries.

It is proposed, therefore, that Unesco should set up a Pool to which writers should be invited to send some of their periodical works, so that the small reviews can draw on the work of the writers in the great countries and so that the editors in those great countries will have the opportunity to consider works of the writers of the smaller countries.

The Section of Literature of Unesco also includes a department concerned with the Theatre which proposes to encourage the creation of an International Theatre Institute. This Institute would act as a centre and clearing-house for all matters related to the theatre. Its objectives would naturally be the diffusion and propaganda throughout the world of the best work, past and present in theatre.

To encourage literature and international relations indirectly through literature, Unesco is concerned not only with the public interest in forming a truer picture of the literature of the world, but also in the conditions in which writers work. It is, therefore, working out an international copyright agreement. It proposes to appeal to various big foundations, such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, to create scholarships for writers.

At one of the meetings of Unesco with delegates of governments, a demand was passed by the meeting that Unesco should compile an Anthology of Suffering and Resistance in the Occupied countries during the years of war. At present the material for such an anthology, which will be translated into several languages, is being collected.

There are several other projects for translations

* United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and anthologies. All these will be submitted to the Conference which takes place in November 1946, and machinery will be set up immediately after the Conference to undertake the projects which are accepted. One can foresee then that the task of the Section of Literature will be to present a wide and disinterested picture of the literary situation of the world to the reading public in every country. In addition to this it will be to assist the production of the best literature in each country by making material available for editors and by improving the conditions of writers. It is essential that as these projects are realised, an active and living collaboration between editors, writers, readers and Unesco should grow up. Unesco will not succeed unless a stage is reached where everyone who cares for what is most living in contemporary and past literature can look to Unesco as protector and guide. —*UNESCO.*

———:0:———

THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

By N. B. ROY, M.A.

The foundation of the Muslim rule in India* is an episode so spectacular and dramatic and the period of that domination has been so potent a factor in the shaping of the Indian culture pattern that the question at once rises—what are the factors that conspired to effect the speedy overthrow of the warrior clans of Northern India in the twelfth century and instal in their places the Turks?

A Muslim or a Turkish mail-clad warrior with his turban tightly set on his head and galloping on a charger was not a bugbear to an Indian in the twelfth century, as is often erroneously supposed. As early as the eighth century A.D. Sind northward up to Multan was conquered by the Arabs and their continuous sway for more than a century and a half combined with their frequent raids into the Punjab and Gujarat had brought the people of Western India into contact with them.

After the decay of the Arab power appeared the Turks on the north-western frontier of India near the close of the tenth century. They gradually pushed their way into the Kabul valley and then into the Punjab by driving back the Shahis who had once ruled from the foot of the Hindukush to the Beas river, but it took them not less than two decades to extinguish the Shahi powers by a most sanguinary and protracted fighting on the part of Sabuktigin and his successor Sultan Mahmud. Their successors made the Punjab their home and Lahore the base of their power from which issued mail-clad Turkish horsemen into the Gangetic plains. But notwithstanding their violent attacks the territorial integrity of the country east of the Punjab was maintained.

Hence the rapid fall of the powerful Rajput clans at the close of twelfth century has remained a puzzle. The explanation offered in this book for this strange turn of affairs does no doubt supply a need of the historical inquirer, but it appears to us to be limited in range. 'Internecine war, unprogressive fighting methods, people's indifference owing to lack of national consciousness and other less important factors,' which are adduced by the author to account for the Hindu downfall have been the abiding factors of Indian political life—and were also operative in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

To what factors then is the divergence in the fortunes of India between the two epochs to be ascribed? (1) Altered political situation in India, (2) movements of new peoples and the rise of new powers beyond the western frontier of India, (3) the unregenerate social system of the Hindus which caused their intellectual inferiority, isolated them from the world and thereby encompassed their downfall.

The most noticeable fact in the political situation of India at the end of the twelfth century was the absence of even the vestige of that imperial power in the governance of India which had asserted itself during the time of the clash with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. It is hardly remembered that the Pratihara chief Rajyapal was the moving spirit behind the confederacies organised to oppose the Ghaznavite Sultans. Wearing the mantle of Harsha, Vatsaraja and Bhoja he commanded the allegiance of the lesser chiefs of India and could easily get them together in armed coalitions. But on the eve of the Turkish invasion about 1170, there was no such universally accepted authority under whom the Indian chiefs could rally. On the other hand, the three powers represented by the Chauhanas, the Chandellas and the Gahadwar clans had newly sprung into importance and the craving for imperial suzerainty which is reflected in Prithwiraja's widespread conquests and the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice by Raja Jaychandra had thrown the Rajput chiefs into bitter hostilities.

Outside India the territory represented by modern Afghanistan and Turkestan was in great ferment. Various tribes like the Ghuzz and the Khiljies were now pushing into this region from their Central Asian cradle-land and the Seljuqian empire was crumbling to decay. In this period of transition the chiefs of Ghor and Khwarizm made a bid for supremacy. The Ghori chief Alauddin (Jahan Suz) rose into prominence by seizing Balkh, Tukharistan, Gharjistan and Herat but they were soon wrested away by the Ghuzz and Aitigin, the ally of Alauddin. The Ghori power that suffered eclipse revived under Ghiyasuddin who not only beat the Ghuzz but made other conquests. His power too was short-lived and was completely overshadowed when the two sons of Ilarsalan, Takash and Sultan Shah composed their civil war by a mutual agreement and entered upon a career of aggression. Sultan's raids extended into the territories of Ghor but he died in 587 A.H./1191 A.D. and the quick occupation of his territories by his brother Takash caused a further

* *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* by A. B. M. Habibullah, M. A. Ph.D., (London), F. L. A. Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmir Bazar, Lahore. Pp. XI plus 354. Price Rs. 15.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

grandisement of the Khwarizm State and a corresponding eclipse of the Ghori kingdom. Checked in the west the Ghori naturally tried to compensate himself in the east by fresh conquests. Hence a determined thrust to the Gangetic valley was inevitable but of this concatenation of events the Rajputs were hardly aware.

The society in which the Rajputs lived was utterly unregenerate. The rules of ceremonial cleanliness and purity enjoined by it, not only prevented the growth of a *espirit de corps* among its constituent elements but also cut them off from the progressive ideas of the world. Like their descendants of the eighteenth century they kept no account of the progress made by other peoples, looked down upon all foreigners as unclean and thought very highly of their powers and capabilities. As the Muslim philosopher Alberuni says :

"All the fanaticism of the Hindus is directed against foreigners. They call them *Mlechchhas, i.e.,* impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marrigae or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner. The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste, among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is."—(Sachau's *Alberuni*).

Thus the aloofness caused by the observance of the rules of ceremonial purity and cleanliness made the Rajputs stranger in their own home, warped their knowledge of men and things, making them utterly deficient in worldly wisdom.

Read Ferishta's account made on reliable tradition (Sahi rubayet) of the Rajput's treatment of his adversary on the eve of the second battle of Tarain, (lith. copy, N.K.P., p. 58).

As the two armies met together at Tarain, says Ferishta, 150 Rajput chiefs who had joined the standard of Prithwiraj sent a message to Sultan Muizzuddin saying,

"You must have realised the strength of our army which is increasing from day to day by the junction of fresh levies. If you have any tender regard for your life or that of your troops, raise the standard of return to your country without being repentent at your arrival ; for we have sworn before our tutelary deities (Botan) that we shall neither pursue nor molest you in any way (during your retreat) otherwise we shall set the vast army which is beyond enumeration and cause your ruin within the ring (*dar-o-gir*) of our elephants."

Sultan Muizzuddin replied saying,

"The message you have sent is full of the sentiment of chivalry and humanity, but it is known to all that the army has been brought here not by my own authority . . . but in obedience to my brother's command ; be pleased to give us some rest so that we may communicate to my brother the report of your vast number and superiority."

The shrewd Sultan also began to flirt with the Rajputs by offering terms of peace on the basis of the *status quo, i.e.,* Sirhind, Lahore and Multan were to belong to him and the rest of India to the Rajputs.

The Rajput chivalry agreed to grant the adversary the desired interval, but on the very night the Sultan got his army ready and at day-break when the Hindus were busy in performing their morning rites, flung it upon them. A great confusion ensued among the Rajputs, yet a part of their men had time to form and joined battle with the enemy.

Fighting in the various fields of war, Muizzuddin had acquired a rich experience in the art of fighting. His last year's defeat was a lesson to him and he now employed tactics very different from those applied previously. As Ferishta says, "Realising the courage and intrepidity of the Hindus, the Sultan issued orders saying that the troops who had been divided into four divisions, were to attack the enemy by turns and in accordance with the technique of war to shake their feet of firmness in pretended flight as their horses and the elephants closed with them but they were to face about when the enemy would commence to pursue them under the impression of their having stampeded and relieve the wretches of the load of their head by the anvil-piercing arrow." "In this way," continues Ferishta, "the flame of battle was kept alight from morning till the hour of afternoon prayer." When these Parthian tactics exhausted the enemy, Sultan Muizzuddin "wearing the helmet of reliance of God on his head and putting on his shoulder the armour of patience charged upon the enemy with a body of 12,000 cavalry with drawn sword and spears flourishing above the ears of the horses and having dyed the battle field with the blood of the heroes caused a shiver in the ranks of the enemy within the twinkling of an eye."

There is hardly any reason for disbelieving the account of Ferishta, for his account of the battle almost corresponds with that of Minhaj (Tab. Nas. Text, pp. 119-20) who makes the Ghori Chief's tactics clear by saying, "Ten thousand mounted archers were to attack the enemy from the right and left, and front and rear and to fall back at the onset of the elephants, horses and the infantry of the accursed enemy and to keep away from the enemy by the length of a horse's course." An inkling of the preliminary pourparlers is also given by Minhaj when he says that previous to the battle he had gained the fortress of Sirhind by negotaition (*sulh*) and (not capitulation as translated by Raverty, p. 466).

This revealing account of Minhaj and Ferishta on the second battle of Tarain shows that Rajput defeat was not merely due to his enslavement to tradition, but also to his romantic notion of chivalry which dissuaded him from crossing sword with the enemy at the opportune moment and to his isolation from the world which made him ignorant of the happenings abroad.

The battles of Tarain, Chandwar and the repeated assaults on Delhi and Ajmir (Taj. Mas., R.A.S.B. MS, pp. 124 and 298, and Sir Jadunath's copy, 125 and 183), —very interesting episodes—have not been detailed at length in this volume, for the author has chosen to restrict its scope to a delineation of the part played

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by the Mameluke Sultans whose rule "witnessing" in the author's opinion "not only the gradual shaping of a state system but also the beginnings of many of the factors that constituted the composite culture and society of medieval India has been obscured by the brilliance of the Mughals :" hence the best pages are those that treat of the Mameluke Sultans and sketch the institutions and culture under their rule.

In the course of his narrative the author has adopted a method that differs from the usual pattern. He avoids microscopic investigation of the details but following probably the lines of Seely scans the political horizon at the beginning of each reign and then makes a rapid survey of it, factors which account for his narrative being so 'charming to read and easy to remember.'

Apart from a separate chapter on Mongol invasion, the most valuable pages of his book are possibly those that reveal the Hindu reaction (pp. 98-103 and 134-150) against the progressive consolidation of the Turkish rule and the magnitude of the opposition with which the Muslim Sultans had to struggle. It is usually thought that the overthrow of Prithwiraj and Jaichandra laid the whole of the Gangetic valley as far as Bihar at the feet of the Turkish conquerors ; the volume refutes the stupendously mistaken idea and brings into relief the solid fact that Muizzuddin's victories were not followed by the ready submission of the conquered. The flame of Hindus' opposition continued to burn throughout the thirteenth century, alternated between flicker and glow throughout the next half century and blazed up again at the close of the fourteenth century. Neither Iltutmish's sternness nor Balban's bloody slaughter of the Mewatis or the Katheriya Rajputs of Ahichhatra (see Zia Barni, Text, p. 59) reminiscent of the blood-bath of Jerusalem in 1099 when the Crusaders riding on horse-back were splashed with blood in the streets, could quench the Rajput thirst for gaining back their freedom.

One of the interesting facts of the period is the fleeting change of crowns between 1235-40. The author makes a commendable elucidation of the underlying causes that caused this kaleidoscopic shifting of the sceptre ; in the same way his estimate of the prominent figures portrayed here has been free from such rhapsodical outburst as (Sultan) Iltutmish, the Mystic,' an article which streamlines the page of Islamic Culture, April 1946, or such panegyric "as the prosperity and grandeur of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire excited the admiration of the Muslim world" (*Adm. of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 2).

But his appraisal of Muizzuddin Kaiqubad is an echo of Zia Barni's who has made a caricature of the aestheticism of the young prince owing to his violation of the canonical duties (*faraiz*) (*e.g., roza* in lieu of which he gave away money in charity) and would require modification. In spite of his failings and vices, Kaiqubad checked Mongol raids, made a military parade across the Doab, and foiled his father's design on the kingdom of Delhi by displaying his armed strength on the bank of the Sarju (*Qiran-us-Sadain* is apparently the auspicious junction of the two stars but in reality the meeting of two rival monarchs, see also Mumarak Shahi, text, p. 54) and preserved order throughout the kingdom by suppressing recalcitrants like Azbar Khan until he was overcome with palsy—a disease which is not necessarily the result of debauchery as inveighed by Barni. Some of his other findings, *e.g.*, (1) regarding the causes of the Turkish success as against the Arab failure and the position of the Zimmis are also open to criticism and easily admit of a different interpretation.

On the first point the Turkish success is ascribed to the "perseverant statesmanship of the Turkish rulers and luck." Omitting the latter cause which History refuses to take notice of, the consolidation of Turkish power should be ascribed not to their statesmanship of which not a jot of mark can be traced by us but (*i*) to their superior military power consisting in greater mobility and superior technique which won for them the dominion of India, (*ii*) to Rajput disunity which was still farther accentuated by the territorial split-up effected by the driving wedge of the Turkish military power across the Gangetic valley, (*iii*) to the continual inflow across the frontier of swarms of nomads and semi-civilised peoples, *e.g.*, the Khiljies and the Afghans whose pressure increased particularly after the deluge of the Mongol invasion across Asia, assuming the character of tribal migration. There is hardly any justification for the statement that the Mongol descent into India brought the conquerer and the vanquished together ; on the other hand, it strengthened the Turkish position by driving into the Indian soil streaming bands of the rugged refugees who fired with the prospect of abundant loot yearned for Jihad and formed the vanguard of the Muslim army, (*iv*) to the decentralisation of the Government which though inevitable in that age of defective communication provided the greatest incentive to the fief-holders (*iqtadars*) to wage war on their own account and to enjoy the fruits of their spoils by a nominal submission to the Sultans of Delhi (Muhammad Bakhtiyar's raid into Bihar from his fief at Bhuili, Nasiruddin Mahmud's from the fief of Oudh, Alauddin's from Kara, etc.)

A lengthy discussion on the financial affluence and religious liberty alleged to have been enjoyed by the Hindus in the Turkish state is discounted by the scrappy evidence adduced in support of the author's conclusion. The existence of a temple, on the road from Bareli to Mathura, of the Sun-temple of Multan till seventeenth century (due to superstitious awe, see *Al Idrisi*, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 82), three Jain images, endowment of twelve bighas of land to a temple of Vishnu erected near (not inside) Purana Qila, the celebration of religious rites below the imperial palace on the Jamuna during the reign of Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji are offset by the systematic destruction of the temples of Delhi, Benares (nearly 1,000 of which were destroyed by Qutbuddin alone in 1194, Taj-Masir, Sir Jadunath's MS, p. 168) in Bayana, Chanderi, Mandu, Ahmedabad and innumerable other seats of Muslim power where the fragments of the Hindu images and of the sculptured decorations can be seen embedded in the body of the ruined mosque (See *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*). Of course, the worship of Hindu deities was not stamped out, because a Sultan like Jalaluddin Khiliji, who had to encounter the sullen resentment of the Albari Turks and Balbani emirs for his usurpation of the throne and the hostility of the Hindu chiefs, had to put up much against his wishes (Read *Zia Barni*, p. 59 with the context where he laments that he lacked the strength of Jamshed and Kai Khusru, otherwise he would have made a total

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nihilation of the Hindus, with the practices of idelity near his palace.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the adu, very much like the Irishman in the early eteenth century, felt himself to be a hewer of wood d drawer of water in the land of his birth. The iziya, like the tithe, was a constant reminder of his miliation. It was to use Sir John Marriot's words "a ar upon his conscience and a drain upon his purse" d no amount of casuistry can explain away the fact at the Jiziya was a mark of servitude in the eye of aristocratic Hindu of those days. Hence the sustained d tenacious Hindu opposition for more than two nturies to Muslim rule. No doubt, the Baniya, a ditional money-maker and racketteer (*Cf.* Alauddin hilji's regulation and control of prices) and a literary ckster might not have felt deeply the stings of his miliation and use the conventional phraseology in scribing the Lord of Joginipura as an incarnation of ishnu but the disgusting sobriquet by which the olitically free Hindu designated his beef-eating dversary is too well-known to need repetition.

The sentiments expressed by Sayyid Nuruddin Mumarak Ghaznawi. Maulana Ziauddin Barni, the famous Muhaddis Maulana Shamsuddin Turk and Maulana Mughisuddin, the redoubtable Qazi, who said to Alauddin that the swallowing of the tax collector's spittle was the mark of Zimmi's submissiveness and pronounced that the prescription of "Imma-ul-katal-wa-Imma-ul-Islam (either Islam or death) was enjoined by all Imams except Abu Hanifa," breathe the fanatical crescentading spirit. Their lengthy polemics combined with the destruction of temples, forcible conversion (Taj Masir. *op. cit.*, p. 154, *Zia Barni*, p. 483, *Elliot*, VI. p. 376), exclusion of the Hindus from offices under Balban (*Zia Barni*, p. 72) and their utter degradation under Alauddin can never be reconciled with the picture of happiness, prosperity and peace of the Zimmis which our author draws.

In spite of the above criticism, the volume, we repeat, is a very able performance, "surpassing," to quote Sir Jadunath's words, "all other works on Indo-Muslim history in the author's mastery of the art of presentation and the distinction of his English prose style which combine to make this work so charming to read and easy to remember."

——:0:——

WHY THIS ANTI-INDIAN DRIVE ?

By Prof. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.

In the Foreword to Dharam Yash Dev's *Our Countrymen Abroad* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru points out that the problem of Indians overseas has engaged attention since the days when the Indian national movement took shape and that it will continue to do so till that movement ends in triumph. Nehru continues :

". . . The two (*i.e.*, the Indian national) movement and the problem of Indians overseas) are inseparably connected and the status of an Indian abroad must ultimately depend on his status at home."

There are about 225,000 Indians in the British Dominion of South Africa. What is their status there ? The following from the *Pravada*, Moscow, is well worth quotation :

"For sixty years Indian residents in South Africa have been deprived of elementary social rights. Their access to schools and universities has been restricted but the last law passed by the Union of South Africa on May 29 (1946) greatly aggravates Indians' inequality and renders their living conditions absolutely unbearable."

The United Nations Organisation is now hearing the Indians' case in South Africa. The sincerity or otherwise of such fine phrases as 'human brotherhood,' 'the four freedoms,' 'dignity and worth of the human person' and the whole gamut of them of which so much has been told and heard in recent months will be clearly shown by how the U.N.O. decides the Indian case. The taste of the pudding, they say, lies in the eating.

The Nehru Government has appointed a batch of very able spokesmen to represent India before that august body. The Indian Delegation includes such well-known names as the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Sir Maharaja Singh, the Hon'ble Justice Mr. C. M. Chagla, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and several others. A better and wiser selection could hardly have been made. There is little doubt that India's case will not go by default this time.

Thanks to the able advocacy of India's cause by the Delegation, South Africa's attempt to shelve the Indian question on the ground that it is a cent per cent domestic affair of the Union Government has been defeated. Attempts are now afoot to postpone the consideration of the Indian question by the U. N. O. and submit it to the International Court for arbitration. Latest reports from Lake Success where the U.N.O. is now in session indicates that there is a probability of the Indian question being settled by the U. N. O. in its current session.

Let us in the meanwhile make an attempt to analyse the charges levelled against the Indian settlers in South Africa by the White rulers of the Union.

It is now more than eighty years that the first shipment of Indian indentured labourers was allowed by the Government of India at the special request of the Natal Government. From that time onward Indians in Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape worked and do still work hard for the economic improvement of the territories. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Union of South Africa owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. But the power-puffed Whites of the Union seem to be blind to this and are bent upon crippling, crushing, nay, driving out the Indian residents of the Union.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One of the principal anti-Indian arguments is that Indians are foreigners in South Africa. "The Asiatics," so wrote Lord Milner long ago, "are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them." This was believed by the vast majority of White South Africans in Milner's day, as it is till today. Truth however points to the contrary. Eighty-five per cent of the present generation of the South African Indians are born in South Africa and a majority know no home other than South Africa. They have no intention of returning to the motherland except under pressure. They constitute an indispensable element in the social and economic set-up of the country. By no stretch of imagination can they therefore be regarded as aliens in the Union of South Africa.

The argument is untenable from a historical point of view as well. There are good reasons to believe that Indians laid the foundation of civilisation in South Africa. The ruins of Zimbabwe, in the opinion of Professor Forbenius, are a relic of Indian culture. Then again the Indians went to Natal only twenty years after the English and to the Transvaal but twenty years after the Dutch. Bad logic it is therefore to call the Indians aliens and to regard the Whites who came after them in thousands as the children of the soil.

Nor should it be forgotten that Indians went to South Africa at the special request of South African Whites themselves. Tempting prospects were held out to the Indians and their poverty induced them to swallow the bait.

The Indians are also accused of entering into unfair economic competition with the Whites. They, it is further alleged, have an abnormally low standard of living. The first of these allegations has no legs to stand upon. The secret of the Indian trader's success is his thrift, industry, contentment, cheap rates and consideration for his customers. Thousands of customers are attracted to Indian stores by their cheap rates, which are a blessing to the middle class and the poor people. They sell more reasonably than the Europeans and provide for easy, excellent terms of payment. This popularity of Indian establishments is, however, an eye-sore to the Whites and they give vent to their feelings by accusing the former of rate-cutting and unfair commercial competition. The Indian employers, it is said, pay starvation wages to their employees. It should be remembered that the Indian employer generally provides a free bed, free board and free clothes to his employees in addition to money-wages. Moreover, the salary paid to white girls by Indian concerns are on an average not lower than those paid by the European. Last but not least, the wage determinations instituted by the Labour Department of the Government in removing all causes of complaint have taken the wind out of the sails of the supporters of this view.

Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India, exposed the hollowness of the low standard of Indian living at the Imperial Conference, 1911, in the following words :

> "There is nothing morally wrong in a man being a vegetarian and a teetotaller, and his wife and family also, and being able to live very much more cheaply than the people who adopt the European standard of comfort . . . If a man is content on rice and water, and does not require pork, beef and rum, he naturally is able to support his family on a very much lower scale. Consequently, you have to convert the entire Indian nation to a theory of economics which they do not hold at present and to which I think it would be extremely difficult to convert them."

The Indians themselves do not admit that their average standard of living is low in comparison with the European. Even if it is so, it is of the white man's making in the main. Sir Benjamin Robertson thus submitted before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1914 :

> "He (*i.e.*, the Asiatic) is blamed as a poor spender : but any attempt to find an outlet for expenditure is either resented or prohibited."

The Indians are generally debarred from residing in the expensive hotels and from dining in good restaurants. They are in consequence forced to patronise the cheaper and less desirable places. The Indian's disabilities thus compel him to practise economies.

The meagre wages paid to the Indian agricultural labourer is a scandal. The quarters provided by mills and plantations for their Indian employees are a disgrace. "The only respectable thing," says a shrewd observer, "is the whitewash on the outside."

The third argument in favour of the anti-Indian policy of White South Africa is that the maintenance and extension of the Western civilisation, which predominates in the vast sub-continent of Southern Africa, necessitate the total exclusion of the Indians and their civilisation from there. The argument is casuistical. It is true that the white civilisation predominates South Africa today. But it is equally true that its roots have gone so deep that there are no signs of it being destroyed in South Africa. Every non-White community in the Union tries as best as it can to adapt itself to Western standards and the Indian community is no exception to the rule. An overwhelming majority of Indians in South Africa have taken to Western manners and customs. Their mode of living is more western than oriental. They claim that their standard of living is not lower than that of the whites financially equal to them.

Of South Africa's well-nigh two and a quarter lacs of Indians about two lacs are to be found in Natal. The Natal Indian may, therefore, be rightly regarded as the prototype of the Indian in South Africa. The Indian Colonisation Enquiry Commission (the Young Commission) thus speaks of the Natal Indian :

> "Generally speaking, the Natal-born Indian is educationally and socially in advance of his parents . . . while retaining his religion (he) has become largely westernised and is no longer content to live as his father did on the limited rewards of rough and unskilled labour."

It is really hard to believe in the face of all these that the Indians must be excluded from the Union of South Africa for the preservation of the Western civilisation there.

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit has fully exposed the hollowness of this argument. Says Mrs. Pandit in one of her speeches at the U.N.O. session :

> "When South Africa contends that the presence of Indians in that country constitutes a threat to Western civilisation, what is meant, of course, is that it is a threat to European domination. It is not the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

civilisation that is threatened, but the doctrine of White supremacy. Safeguarding White supremacy means, in effect, safeguarding the domination of a particular race over all others."

Mrs. Pandit continues :

"South Africa uses the pretext of Western civilisation to retain economic control over 8,000,000 non-Europeans. This is a classic example of the State representing the wishes of those who control it."

It is argued by the Whites themselves that the immiion of Indians into South Africa should altogether p as this in the long run would result in the idation of the White supremacy by making the dians a power in South African politics. The fear is olutely baseless. The proportion of the Union's dian population to the European does not warrant such suspicion. The table given below speaks for lf.

rovince	Year	Whites	Indians
e Cape	1911	582,377	6,609
	1921	650,609	6,498
	1931	749,231	6,500
tal	1911	98,114	133,030
	1921	136,838	141,336
	1931	177,449	163,400
e Transvaal	1911	420,562	10,048
	1921	543,385	13,405
	1931	696,120	15,500
e Orange Free State	1911	175,189	106
	1921	188,566	100
	1931	205,375	100

The figures show that there has been very little nge in the numerical strength of Indian settlers in e Cape and the Orange Free State since 1911. The nsvaal shows an increase of 33·4 per cent between 1 and 1921 and 15·6 per cent since 1921. Natal ords an increase of 6·2 per cent during the decade 1-21 and of 15·6 per cent since 1921. A glance at the le further reveals that during the period under iew the White population of the Union increased by ut 43 per cent and the Indian by about 25 per cent. consideration of the increase in the population of er communities in recent years proves beyond all pute that the fear of South Africa being swamped Indian immigrants has no foundation in fact. e increase in the native, Coloured and White Asiatic populations during the 15 years 1921-36 39 per cent, 38 per cent and 30 per cent, respecly.

Is it not silly to argue in the face of the Immits Regulation Act, 1913, which absolutely prohibited migration from Asia into the Union, the Smutsdhi Agreement, 1914, and the Cape Town eement, 1927, that the 'whiteness' of South Africa hreatened by Indians ? Since 1914 only a handful of ian teachers and priests have been admitted as cated' Indians by the Union Government.

The Lange Commission and the Young Commis- Reports leave no room for doubt that so gnificant a position do Indians occupy in the Union dies that they would thank their stars if they are n only the normal human rights. Thus, for example, the year 1933-34 there were only 15 parliamentary voters in Natal and 1471 in the Cape. Comment is superfluous. Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are in a still more pitiable plight. In 1945 there were only 29 Asiatics in the Orange Free State. The Transvaal Indians have neither parliamentary nor municipal franchise nor land rights.

Can anybody having the least pretension to that rare human virtue, common sense, ever believe that the Indian settlers in South Africa, who are numerically weak and are denied the most elementary rights of citizenship, "whose very existence trembles in the midst of danger" are a menace to the White supremacy in South Africa ?

The exponents of the anti-Indian policy further argue that the Indians intrdue upon the White society and exercise an unwholesome influence upon the White character and are harmful to White interests as such. This charge too is no more consistent with truth than the other anti-Indian arguments stated above.

The Indians in South Africa have taken to the western mode of living in the main, though a majority of them are quite good Indians at heart. The contact they have with Europeans is purely professional and is less intimate and more formal than the Indo-European contact in India. If a handful of whites in India are in no social danger from the children of the soil, how could they be so in South Africa where the Indians are so few in number—fewer than the Europeans themselves—and handicapped by all sorts of restrictions, prohibitions and disabilities ? Some white witnesses examined by the Lange Commission (1930) alleged that Indians had extra-marital relations with White women. But they could not substantiate the charge. Some ministers of religion however succeeded in showing several cases of such connection but the White woman in each of those cases was extremely poor, uneducated and backward. The Commission observed :

> "Such occurrences are admittedly rare, and would probably be found as frequently amongst the coloured populaion of the country as amongst the Asiatics. The evidence certainly did not disclose any serious grounds for the fear of miscegenation in the future which was expressed by some of the witnesses. Apart from other considerations, differences of religion would go a long way towards averting such a danger."

There were only 54 Euro-Asiatic marriages as against a total of 392,949 marriages and 1073 European-non-European marriages registered in the whole Union of South Africa during the period 1926-36.

The whites contend that Indians must quit the Union bag and baggage because they have a bad character, are undesirable citizens and because their presence in the Union is an undiluted evil. All these have been challenged by no other than Mr. Henry Burton, the Union Delegate to the Imperial Conference, 1918. He said :

> "It is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form . . . a very substantial part of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens ; and it is our duty to see . . . that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

None but an ignoramus would believe that the Asiatics are criminal-minded. The table below gives the lie direct to any such contention.

Race	*Conviction for serious Offences*	
	1934	1939
European	3,312	2,093
Native	23,931	20,376
Asiatic	322	272
Coloured	4,258	3,887

The true explanation of the anti-Indian drive in South Africa and in the British colonies all the world over is to be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in the fact that British colonial imperialism is tending towards a new economic policy. In his well-written brochure *Indians in Foreign Lands,* Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia observes :

> "Through the unrest in Uganda and Tanganayika, the strikes of labourers and petty peasants in Mauritius, and the refusal of dealers to handle Zanzibar cloves run the threads of the new economic policy."

The aim of pre-1918 British imperialism was to acquire an increasing volume of profits through extension of territorial scope. Large areas were yet to be opened to imperialist trade. The mediation of widely distributed traders and the development of communications as well were necessary for the maintenance and extension of the relationship between the producers of raw materials and the world market. India played a vital role at this stage and supplied a fair proportion of the Empire's need of traders and middlemen. She supplied at the same time the demand for labour for the development of virgin areas. Indians in large numbers migrated to British colonies in Africa as well as in other parts of the world. They served on the Empire's plantations and in its factories and kept them going at a time when acute labour famine threatened their very existence because indigenous labour was not forthcoming in proportion to the requirements.

Indians, as noted above, played also the role of the "Empire's middlemen in the colonies." British colonies all over the world are dotted today with thousands of small Indian stores, which collect raw materials from native growers and distribute finished products among them. The Indian petty traders thus ply a brisk but gradually diminishing two-way trade with the African, the Arab, the Guinese, the Malayan, the Fijian, the Ceylonese and other races. They have so long organised the Empire's net-work of trade. Thrifty, courageous, courteous, and industrious, they were admirably capable of the task. Such an economic structure served the purpose of imperialism in an epoch when there were yet mysteries in the world. "Extensive agriculture and middlemen's profits," we quote again from Dr. Lohia's brochure, "could be permitted while imperialist capital could yet derive increasing profits out of newer areas."

British imperialist capital has no more new areas to conquer today and what it has lost in the exhaustion of possibilities of all further territorial expansion it seeks to make up by tightening its tentacles round what it has already grabbed. What it has must be bled white and this squeezing in the first instance takes the form of squeezing out the middleman and thus of appropriating his profits. It has another aspect, *viz.*, nationalised and more intensive exploitation of labour in the factories and plantations and involves the squeezing out of the small peasant. This new economic policy is in operation today in Zanzibar, in Tanganayika, in Uganda, in Mauritius, in South Africa, in a word, in British colonies and Dominions everywhere in the world.

The new policy described above presents problems both racial and economic. It is racial in so far as the attack is at present directed almost exclusively against Indians in British colonies. In so far as the policy is motivated by a desire to prop up a discredited and rapidly crumbling imperialism, it is economic.

It his high time that India awoke to the gravity of the situation and clearly grasped the implications of this world-wide racial and imperialist onslaught. Indians must combine, organise and pursue a course of concerted action in defence of their racial and economic interests and in vindication of their national honour. They must realise at the same time that the new imperialist policy is in essence an economic policy which involves other colonial peoples as well, the Africans, the Arabs, the Creoles and the like. Imperialism will never rationlise itself unless checkmated by the united front offered by all the colonial peoples, those whom an unkind providence has decreed—with what justice we know not—to be "drawers of water and hewers of wood" in the lands of their birth. Much too is expected of the Labour parties in the imperialist countries themselves. The former, it is hoped and with good reasons at that, will carry on an unrelenting campaign against colonial oppression and the new imperialist drive. India can render effective assistance to the struggle of her children abroad and to that of other colonial peoples as well. The Zanzibar strike of the late thirties would have been of little avail but for the boycott of Zanzibar cloves by India. Nor can it be said that the recent snapping of the Indo South African trade agreement and the recall of its High Commissioner from the Union of South Africa by the India Government have been altogether barren of moral, if not material, consequences.

Much more however could have been done by a government truly democratic, inspired by patriotic idealism and gifted with courage, foresight and imagination. The Interim Government headed by that practical idealist Jawaharlal Nehru, handicapped as it is, by its courageous stand on the South African issue has gained great prestige and "has constituted itself as a rallying point for all nations who feel that they suffer under the colonial system."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

MARATHA HISTORY NEWLY PRESENTED

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

More than a century and a quarter has passed since Captain James Grant Duff wrote his masterly *History of the Marathas* (published in three volumes in 1826), and it has held the field among English readers ever since. C. A. Kincaid's *History of the Maratha People* (3 volumes, 1918-25) written on materials supplied by D. B. Parasnis, is too scrappy and meagre in substance to be its rival in any way. Historical materials in Marathi began to be printed in 1878, in the *Kavy-etihas Samgraha* magazine, and State-papers, letters, memoirs, and other valuable sources in the same language began to appear in a flood in 1898, and their volume has continued to swell since then without a break for half a century. In addition to these indigenous sources, English, French, Dutch and Persian contemporary records, (many of them unknown to Grant Duff and Kincaid) have been discovered and in a great part printed in our own days. A synthesis of this vast mass of raw materials has been the crying need of serious students of our history for one full generation.

Govind Sakharam Sardesai undertook this task 46 years ago, but modestly in the Marathi language. He began to write his history under the name of the *Marathi Riyasat* in 1901 and completed it in eleven volumes in 1932. Some of these volumes have gone into two editions and all are now sold out. This *Riyasat* is an incredibly painstaking and methodically arranged concentration of the sources of the history, with exact references to the authorities cited and a multitude of dates, place-names (with identification), genealogies and biographical sketches. In fact, it can be more fitly called an Encyclopoedia of Maratha history, so rich and varied are its material contents. At the same time the author has not confined himself to mere narrative, but discussed and criticised men and measures in the light of the facts unfolded in his pages.

In preparing the third edition of his Marathi book, Sardesai has adopted a new literary technique altogether. The work has been entirely rewritten and the former matter of fact, minutely detailed method has been replaced by a more attractive style marked by reflection and discourse ; here the facts no longer overshadow the broad movements and policies ; the reader never misses the wood for the trees. This series (begun in 1935) is being issued in handy well-printed, readable volumes, one for each of the four kings (Shahji, Shivaji, Shambhuji, and Rajaram) and one or more for each Peshwa. As yet it has reached the year 1750 in seven volumes, while the eighth volume (Panipat) has been held up in a press copy. Here the veteran historian has poured forth the fruits of a life's cogitations and given everywhere the why and how of events, at the same time that he has brought the subject abreast of the latest research by utilising every scrap of newly discovered information, including my translations from Persian and Chevalier Pissurlencar's materials collected from the Portuguese archives, as well as the Peshwas' State records and the English and French Factory records and despatches which are now available in print. He has also taken stock of the conclusions reached among Maratha scholars on most of the disputed points in their history.

But all this is beyond the reach of the vast world of readers who cannot read Marathi. For them Sardesai, now in his 82nd year, has completed an English work in three volumes, under the title of *A New History of the Marathas* (Dhawale publishers, Samartha Sadan, Bombay 2). The first volume of it (from the early age of Maharashtra and its people to 1707) is just out, and the second (covering the Early Peshwai, 1707-1761) is ready in a press copy for the compositors, while the third volume has reached 1808 in manuscript and needs only two or three chapters more to complete the tale down to the extinction of the Peshwas' power in 1818.

But Sardesai's history in its English garb is no mere translation of his Marathi life's work. It is a new book in most respects. Here he has been constantly conscious that he is appealing to a different and wider audience than his Maratha compatriots, and he has, therefore, chosen a different literary device in order to serve the general reader all over the world. The minute details, the multitude of personal sketches and the host of dates and place-names, which add to the value of the Marathi book have been judiciously excluded, and we have been given instead the reflections on the rise and fall of the Maratha political power and the main currents of their history and social life, the influence of personalities and the impact of world movements on the narrow stage of Maharashtra, with just the minimum of factual evidence required to support his conclusions and make a smooth but rapid flowing narrative. As we read it, we feel that the ancient sage is talking to us from his armchair, in a free and easy manner but on methodically planned lines and giving us the fruits of a long life's study and reflections.

In writing this English book, Sardesai has a special aim to fulfill. He believes that the Maratha race and the course of their growth through the ages have not always been justly understood by the outer world. His own views on this subject are set forth here, not dogmatically but in the form of well argued and documented judgments. He would prefer to call it the Maratha *apologia*, or the presentation of the Maratha case at the bar of world opinion. And as such no fair-minded reader can cavil at it.

Sardesai has been always known as a very impressive and popular speaker and writer in the Marathi language. We are delighted to see how he has succeeded in mastering the difficult medium of a foreign tongue. His prose in this English book flows smoothly in a simple pleasant style, free from verbosity and rhetorical display alike.

The rise of the Maratha people under the inspiration of Shivaji as a strong and united nation has been aptly called the Dawn of Maratha National Life. But why should we call the fall of the independent kingdom of the Peshwas, "Sunset over Maharashtra"? The year 1817, no doubt, saw the end of a short-lived dynasty at Poona, the disappearance of one among the many "protected native States" of India—or rather three when we add the annexation of Satara and Nagpur which followed shortly after. But the political change that coloured the map of Western India red was no sunset for the *people* of the land ; it ushered in for them a glorious future far surpassing their past greatness, when all things are taken into consideration. They ceased to live under the yoke of a caste-ridden orthodox obscurantist priesthood, isolated in their narrow

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

corner ; they now issued forth (no doubt slowly and hesitantly for the first two generations) as equal partners in a greater India and became freely and fully subject to the rushing waves of modern thought and modern progress. How fruitfully the sons of Maharashtra have utilised this opportunity is written on every page of the intellectual and political history of India since 1857. Contrast the visit of Bal Gangadhar Tilak to Bengal in the 19th century with that of Bhaskar Pandit in 1743, or of Gopal Krishna Gokhale to Delhi with that of Baji Rao in 1736. Was a Senior Wrangler of Cambridge possible in the Poona even of Nana Fadnis ? Could a Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar have come out of the school of the Nyayadhish Ram Shastri ? Or a Govind Sakharam Sardesai out of the comrades of Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis ?

If my Deccani friends still insist on the simile, let them call the final scene of the history of the Peshwas, not a Sunset, but the dipping down of a sickly waning moon, which precedes the rise of a bright new Sun. The so-called sunset overtook a State and Society that was rotten to the core with official corruption and inefficiency, endless internal discord, the extinction of the breed of true leaders in war and council, and utter financial exhaustion. Surely, nature could not have let it continue even if the British had not intervened in December 1802.

Repine not over your past, the dead and never-to-return past. Look forward and seize the opportunities of the present, by plunging into the full rushing stream of modern world-progress and world-thought.

History when rightly read has a lesson for every race. This is the lesson of Maratha history when viewed dispassionately in the long perspective.

——:O:——

COMBATTING CLOTH FAMINE

By MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI

No country in the world today can boast of averting this ugly monster—famine. Even India, China and other rich Asiatic countries, which constituted and even now constitute, the granary of the world, are in the clutches of this horrible monster, thanks to the present chaos in the blessed twentieth century. And peculiar is our land—inscrutable are the ways of her life, even more inscrutable are the ways of her guardians, so that India is perhaps the singular country where people commit suicide for a piece of cloth ! This is simply paradoxical. A country which clothed other countries and even contributes a significant quota of world's requirement of raw cotton today, is herself a victim of cloth famine. A people of four hundred millions, despite having the second biggest amount of raw cotton at their disposal, cannot fight this cloth scarcity ! Before the advent of the British and the blessings of the machineries, even our weavers could clothe such a big nation. And today a joint fight of man and machinery cannot avert cloth famine ! The problem rests on our shoulder for immediate solution. So, here in the following lines, we shall envisage the present position of the cotton textile industry in our country and the possible avenues to solve the present scarcity.

Cotton Mill in India : Past and Present

The first cotton mill in India came into existence as early as 1818, at Fort Gloster near Calcutta. But real development and work on modern lines began with the establishment of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mill in 1851 at Bombay. Shortly after other mills were established at Bombay and Ahmedabad. Thanks to the high rates of dividends that these mills were paying, more and more capital and enterprise were drawn to the industry, so that towards the end of the last century, we had no less than 156 mills, with a total nominal capital of Rs. 14,19,50,000 and equipped with a total complement of 36,000 looms and 4,046,100 spindles. The Swadeshi movement of 1906-10 gave a great impetus to the development of the cotton mill industry in this country and by 1914, the number of mills were 239, with a total nominal capital of Rs. 20,00,14,000 in rupee stock and £200,000 in sterling stock and equipped with a total complement of 90,268 looms and 6,308,758 spindles.

On the eve of the Great War (1914-18) India obtained the fourth place in order amongst the greatest cotton manufacturing countries in the world. The first three were, Great Britain, U.S.A. and Germany. Restriction of imports from the belligerent countries became a blessing to the industry and it experienced unprecedented prosperity for a time, so much so that about the closing years of the war, the industry earned a profit of about 30 per cent.

During 1937-38, the cotton textile industry made a marked recovery both in internal and external markets partly due to the Sino-Japanese conflicts and consequent curtailment of Japanese production and shipments to various markets and Lancashire's inability to fill up the void due to higher prices of Manchester goods. Indian cotton goods thus easily captured markets which had been monopolised by Japan. But the earlier part of 1939 was not a very happy time for Indian textile industry on account of low commodity prices that then prevailed. These low prices had their repercussions on the piecegoods and yarn markets, with the result that demand was poor. This resulted in a heavy slump in prices and the industry sustained heavy losses. Bombay, the home of Indian textiles, was suffering under various burdens in the shape of wage increase, Urban Immovable Property Tax, etc.

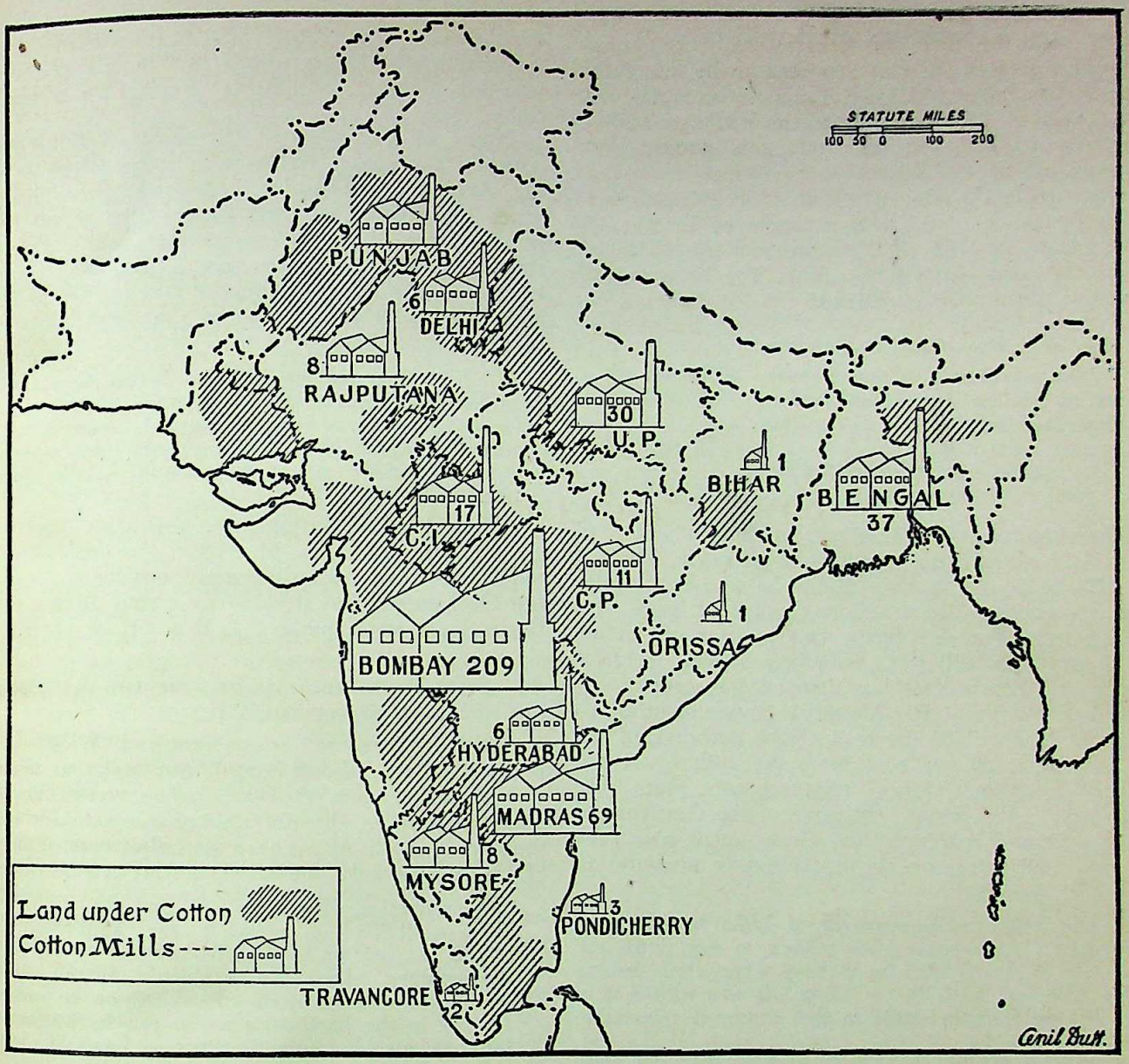
> "At this juncture came an additional import duty on raw cotton, and a reduction in the import duties on Lancashire piecegoods. Sorely embarrassed, the industry thought of curtailment of production as the only solution of the problem—but just then the second World War broke out and that completely altered the situation in many respects in a few months".—M. P. Gandhi, *Cotton Textile Annual, 1944.*

Mr. M. P. Gandhi in his *Report of the Cotton Textile Industry*, 1944 Annual, observes :

> "The real turning point, in the cotton textile industry during the war-period, should be traced to the establishment of the Eastern Group Supply Council in Oct. 1941, following the deliberation of the Eastern

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Group Conference at Delhi in Oct. 1940. In fact the growing importance of the Middle East theatre of war could be said to be the major factor that altered the outlook for many industries. The geographical and strategic position of the country enhanced the importance of other Indian industries as well. India, which is the biggest member of the Eastern Group Supply Council, is making a large number of textile articles for the supply and Defence Services in India and throughout the Eastern Group.

"It will thus be seen that the real improvement in the position of the industry commenced in the last quarter of 1940. Since then, there has been a high level of production which is on the increase through rationalisation of production, adoption of multiple shifts, arrangement of priorities, regulated supply of raw materials, etc.".

Obviously India has been an important manufacturer of cotton piecegoods in the world market. Though, however, many of the mills had to be closed down due to shortage of coal and also of insufficient supply of yarn, yet in view of the number of mills that we just now possess, the total production may be far greater if only the supply of yarn be regular and continuous. Mr. Gandhi observes elsewhere :

"The only other manner in which we can increase the total production of cloth in the country is by production of more yarn and for this purpose, the possibility of working the spinning section of the industry, up to 3 shifts per day, in all parts of the country, should be explored. If this is done, more yarn will be produced which can be earmarked for use in the handlooms which can be worked more fully by giving special impetus to hand spinning as well as hand weaving in some manner."

Let us consider the number of mills now existing in India in different provinces :

(Distribution of mills throughout India as at 31-8-1944.)

Bombay	..	209
Rajputana	..	8
Berar & C.P.	..	11
Bihar & Orissa	..	2
Mysore	..	8
Hyderabad	..	6
Central India	..	17
Bengal	..	37
Punjab	..	9
Pondicherry	..	3
Delhi	..	6
U. P.	..	30
Madras	..	69
Travancore	..	2
	Total:	417

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India's Production of Raw Cotton

The total production of raw cotton in the world in 1943-44 was 25,643,000 bales. India is the second biggest producer of raw cotton in the world, only next to the United States, her total production amounting to 4,554,000 bales.

Total Requirements of Cloth for 400 millions : *Available Output* : Taking an average of 16 yds. per capita consumption, the total requirement for 400,000,000 amounts to 6,400 mill yds. of cloth. The total output, on the other hand, is as follows :

Net available Indian mills production (after deducing export)	3880 mill yds.
Estimated hand-loom production	1650 mill yds.
Estimated hand-woven cloth from hand-spun khadi ..	12 mill yds.
Net available for consumption (cotton piecegoods) ..	5542 mill yds.

These figures reveal that we can have about 6,000 mill yds. of cloth, if no export is at all made, which is about 600 mill yds., in spite of the handicaps the mills have to encounter due to shortage of coal, yarn, etc., resulting from war emergency. Our pre-war production was about 6,200 mill yds. deducting export, inclusive of mills and handlooms. The demand for meeting the cloth requirements of His Majesty's Government which amounted to about 30 per cent at the outbreak of the war and about 20 per cent more recently, could not even tell upon our home requirements, since the figures supplied above are exclusive of the Government requirement and moreover, the Government also took and pretended to take some precautionary measures to avert cloth scarcity.

> "In 1943, the Government of India launched the standard cloth scheme, with a view to peg down the soaring prices of cloth at a time when cloth famine was supposed to be in the offing. It was with a view to making cloth available to the people at reasonable prices.
>
> "On and from the 1st December, 1943 the cloth control order also became effective to make cloth cheaper, prevent hoarding and profiteering and crush black-marketing".

Moreover, restrictions were imposed on exports and the Government maintain that the requirements for military purposes were also curtailed. Yet : "Why this misery—why cloth famine ?"

The Bengal Cloth Famine

So far as the Bengal cloth famine is concerned, the authorities believe that it is simply due to "hoarding and profiteering"—a phrase which is so familiar to us—and also due to absence of ban on exports of cloth to Tibet.

> "It is being pointed out that hoarding and profiteering in cloth has been rampant in Bengal. Cloth is being increasingly smuggled to China at a fancy rate of Rs. 10 per yd. Until recently, there was no ban on exports of cloth to Tibet, with the result that large consignments of Indian piecegoods found their way from Kalimpong to Tibet on mules and yak, resulting in a depletion of the stocks meant for Bengal."

Black-marketing and the habit of selling ready-made garments have been said to be contributory causes. But no statistics is available, and in spite of increased production due to "war-impetus," Bengal had to witness her children commiting suicide for a piece of cloth.

None can gain-say that the problem of distribution is one of the potent factors accounting for cloth shortage. Against criticisms for inadequate per capita allotment it is pointed out that Bengal used to get 12 yds. per head per annum in normal years and during cloth shortage only 2 yds. less per capita was supplied, whereas in the Punjab, it was 18 yds. instead of 22 yds. and Bombay 18 yds. instead of a pre-war allotment of 25 yds. per head per annum.

> "For this no one but the Bengal Government is responsible. Either the local administrative machinery is bungling or corrupt or there is some leakage in supplies, which it is high time was put an end to." (Mr. Gandhi's report on Cotton Textile Industry Annual 1944).

With the cessation of hostilities, the cloth crisis is not yet over. Moreover, the crisis is all the more acute and one will simply wonder to hear that the Government has decided to curtail 10 per cent of the regional cloth quotas ! Is it a gift of peace ?

Some Practical Way Towards the Solution of the Problem

Still the mystery remains unsolved. What we have reviewed above, about Bengal, can make us aware of things elsewhere, in the vast Indian continent. Under no circumstances, therefore, there can actually be any shortage of cloth. As we have seen elsewhere, if shortage of yarn be the only one cause, well, it can be mitigated

> "by production of more yarn; and for this purpose, the possibility of working the spinning section of the industry up to 3 shifts per day in all parts of the country, should be explored. If this is done, more yarn will be produced, which can be earmarked for use in the handlooms which can be worked more fully by giving special impetus to hand spinning as well as hand-weaving in some manner."

A Man-Charkha Miracle : A Gandhian Move

Taking an average per capita requirement of 16 yds. it can be shown that a battle for 6,400 mill yds. can easily be won by a population of 400,000,000 which can very easily get over such a crisis and solve the problem of yarn requirements.

One person can easily spin 150 yds. a day spinning for two hours.

So, even if 200,000,000 spin only for 300 days a year the result is $200 \times 300 \times 150 = 90,00,000$ mill yds. of 1,200 yds. (count 10) can give one yd. of cloth, so that we have 90,00,000 mill—1200-7500 mill yds. of cloth.

One finds that in Bengal villages the weavers have suspended their work for want of yarn. What more, they have no raw cotton even at their disposal for spinning purposes. What then is wanted is to supply them with raw cotton so as not to let this industry die. And do we lack in raw cotton ? We produce much more than our home requirements, and are the world's second biggest producer of raw cotton. If spinning is encouraged enough power devoted to spindles can be saved, thus making a great economy of power also.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PLASTICS IN THE TOY INDUSTRY

By M. A. AZAM

The inherent characteristics of plastics—colour, high lustre and ability to be fabricated into intricate shapes—have enabled their wide use in the toy industry. In the U.S.A. modern plastics have been used in toys for more than 50 years and their uses have continued to grow at a particularly rapid rate during the last 15 years. Many different types of plastics are used in the toy industry and the choice of a specific material depends on numerous factors. Important among these are cost, degree of precision required, volume and mechanical properties. Plastics vary widely in their characteristics and there is no typical plastic. The toy designer or manufacturer, in general, looks to the fabricator or plastic supplier for information, or depends on experience in the field. The main types of plastics of interest in toys are as follows :

Cellulose Nitrate (*Nitron*)

Cellulose nitrate sheet materials in thin gauges running up to ·030 have been used for a great many years in producing such items as rattles, dolls, toy animals, and similar hollow objects. Cellulose nitrate is used in a wide range of colours including clear transparent with red, yellow, green and blue translucent types heavily favoured. Formed objects have excellent appearance and are highly attractive to children. The principal shortcoming of such product is flammability. It presents fire hazard particularly in storage; and due to the use of very thin gauges, formed objects are easily dented or torn.

Cellulose nitrate is fabricated into finished objects by blowing, swaging, forming, stretching or machining.

In the blowing operation two sheets of cellulose nitrate lightly cemented together are inserted in a mould provided in both halves with cavities that reproduce the desired shape. Steam is injected between the sheets to expand the material to the shape of the cavities. Parts so formed are then trimmed free of excess material.

In swaging or related heat forming processes simple dies mounted in mechanical presses are used to form the material to the desired shapes. The nitrate sheet is softened by pre-heating on a hot plate or by immersion in hot water. Balls used in rattles are often formed in this way, two halves being formed one within the other simultaneously. The two halves are separated and cemented together to form a complete sphere.

Nitrate rod stock and thin sheets are often machined into shape by any one of numerous machining operations. In this end in other methods of fabricating a great deal of ingenuity has been expended in increasing the efficiency and improving the designed flexibility involved in fabrication.

Cellulose Acetate (*Fibestos*)

Cellulose acetate is chemically related to cellulose nitrate but overcomes the handicap of flammability. It is rated as slow burning. The other important advantage of cellulose acetate in toys is that it can be used in the injection moulding process. In injection moulding parts are formed in machine steel dies mounted in injection moulding machines. The acetate is fed as a powder to a separate heating cylinder where it is softened and then squirted through runners into the mould cavities. Moulds may have as many as 50 cavities and the machines operate almost automatically, enabling very high production at relatively low cost. Like cellulose nitrate, celluose acetate is made in a full range of colours including transparent. In general, it duplicates the appearance and saleability features of nitrate. Cellulose acetate, although widely accepted by consumers, does not enjoy a particular good reputation among merchandise buyers. Toys have been made and marketed of cellulose acetate using scrap material of poor durability and toughness. There has also been a marked tendency to cheapen moulded parts by reducing wall thicknesses and otherwise making the products as flimsy as possible. These failings are not inherent in the nature of the material as shown by the use of cellulose acetate in heavy duty industrial applications. They can be overcome by a proper design and proper selection of compound.

Polystyrene (*Lustron*)

Polystyrene is a relatively new plastic but prior to the war was growing very fast as a material for toys. Like acetate it can be injection-moulded. It has, however, certain important advantages over acetate in some applications. Polystyrene has all the colour advantages of acetate and its transparency, and has further advantages in freedom from warpage and immunity to effects of water even when immersed for prolonged periods. Polystyrene was successfully used in children's tableware prior to the war where its colour and general attractiveness created a wide sale for the item. During the past four years the price of polystyrene has been reduced successively to the point where it is considerably cheaper than acetate. It is expected that when this material is available in large quantities again, it will be an important material in the toy industry.

Phenol Formaldehyde (*Resinox*)

Phenol formaldehyde is widely used in certain types of toy products, in general, in uses quite different from those of the thermoplastic materials. Unlike Lustron and Fibestos, Resinox type materials are not injection-moulded but are fabricated into finished parts by compression moulding. Most compression moulding is carried out on semi-automatic presses in which are mounted moulds which are charged by hand. After charging the material in the form of powder or pills the mould is closed under pressure and the plastic flows to fill the mould. For production of small parts such as used by the toy industry fully automatic compression moulding machines have been adopted which require virtually no attention and thus operate at low labour cost.

Phenol formaldehyde type materials are usually used only in black and brown. For this reason the uses of phenolic plastics in toys are largely in functional parts where colour is not vital. Typical of these are switch bases for model railroads, housings, for model train operating units and moulded locomotive parts. In such applications, phenolic materials have important advantages in that it is possible to reproduce with great fidelity the details of the full scale prototype and to incorporate into one moulded part a number of different elements which in some other materials would require separate fabrication and assembly. The design of units

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

using phenolic parts is further simplified by the electrical insulating properties of Resinox type materials which eliminates the necessity in many cases for bushings and collars required in metal design.

Urea Formaldehyde Materials

Urea moulding materials have been used to some extent in toys because they combine some of the advantages of the phenolic type with a range of colours including white. They are somewhat more costly than phenolics and in general they have not been able to compete with the thermoplastic materials such as Lustron and Fibestos except for specialized toys for infants and babies.*

* With grateful acknowledgement to the Technical Advisory Branch of the Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

———:O:———

JIVA GOSVAMIN : A GREAT APOSTLE OF VAISNAVA FAITH

By Prof. Dr. J. B. CHAUDHURI, ph.d. (London), f.r.a.s. (London), b.e.s.

Jiva Gosvamin is undoubtedly one of the greatest Saint-Philosopher-Poets of India and it is only unfortunate that not many of our people know much about him. Bengal is legitimately proud of her sons—Rupa, Sanatana, Puridas or Paramanandadas of Kanchrapara (*i.e.*, Kavikarnapur Gosvamin, a Vaidya by caste), Kayastha Raghunath Das of Satgaon, Visvanath Chakravartin, Baladev Vidyabhushan, Kasinath Vidyanivas, Ratnakar Vidyavachaspati, Dipankar Srijnana, Abhayakar Gupta, Danasil, Nagabodhi, Chakrapani Dutt, Trilochan Das, Vanga Sen, Sahudiyal Sulapani and so on, whose peer the whole of India can hardly produce and it is very regrettable that we have not cared even to publish their works and place them before competent scholars all over the world for the assessment of their real merit. Even those works that have been published are mostly available only in Bengali script and therefore, practically useless to the majority of non-Bengali scholars. It is high time that modern Bengal revert her attention to her heritage—a heritage that is unique, a heritage of which any nation in the world may legitimately be proud.

The date of birth of Jiva is wrapped up in darkness. He was certainly not born before 1429 Saka year, *i.e.*, 1506 A.D. nor was he born later than 1440 Saka year, *i.e.*, 1517 A.D.

The lineage of Jiva Gosvamin is as follows :

Jagadguru Sarvajna of Karnat
||
Aniruddha
||
———————————————
|| ||
Rupesvara Harihara
||
Padmanabha of Naihati, favourite of
|| King Danujamardan
———————————————
|| ||
18 daughters 5 sons, *viz.* (1) Purusottama, (2) Jagannath, (3) Narayana, (4) Murari and (5) Mukunda.
||
Kumaradeva
||
———————————————
|| || || ||
Name not known Amara (*i.e.*, Sanatan) Santosh (*i.e.*, Rupa) Vallabha (*i.e.*, Anupama)
||
Srijiva
||
and so on.

Jiva lost his parents at an early age. His father Vallabha died on his way back to Bengal from Vrindavan in the company of his elder brother Rupa. Jiva was religious-minded from his early days and constantly experienced divine ecstasies. He came from Bakla Chandradvip through Fateyabad to Navadvip for meeting Nityananda who wanted him to go to Benares for his studies and subsequently to Vrindavan for leading a holy life there together with his uncles Rupa and Sanatan. He read with Madhusudan Vachaspati[1] Kavya, Smriti and Vedanta for six years and established his reputation there as a great scholar. He then went to Vrindavan and became a direct disciple of his uncle Rupa there and read with him the Bhakti Shastra. All the well-known Vrindavan Gosvamins, *viz.*, Sanatana, Rupa, Raghunatha Das, Raghunatha Bhatta, and Gopala Bhatta were at that time engaged in codifying Vaisnava Theology and Philosophy at the express desire of Mahaprabhu himself. This was the atmosphere Jiva was so long longing for. Soon Jiva proved himself most useful to his uncles, collaborating with them in their literary activities, revising their works and so on. Jiva was once expelled from the Holy Order by Rupa on account of the former's indulging in a debate with Vallabha Bhatta and defeating him. The completion of the *Laghu-Bhagavatamrita* of Rupa was consequently delayed and when asked by Sanatana as to the reason of his abnormal delay, he expressly admitted that it was absolutely due to the absence of Jiva from his hermitage. Sanatana, however, interfered, got Jiva back—to the great joy of both Rupa and Jiva.

Jiva was a life-long bachelor and dedicated himself completely to the propagation of Vaisnava Religion and Philosophy. He was a born genius and his environments were most congenial too. Moreover, he was very long-lived. He completed the composition of his *Gopala-campu* in 1592 A.D., when he was probably 85 years old. In the Dvitiya Prakas of his *Bhakti-*

1. The extant works of this celebrated Bengali scholar are (1) the *Advaita-mangala*, (2) *Asauca-samkshepa*, (3) *Madhumati Commentary on the Mugdhabodha*, (4) *Durgarca-Kala-niskarsa*, (5) *Vrata-Kala-niskarsa*, and (6) *Sraddha-kala-nirupana*, none of which has as yet been published.

2. श्री रूप श्री हंसदूत आदि ग्रंथ कैला ।
सनातन भागवतामृतादि वर्णिला ॥
श्री वैष्णवतोषणी करिया सना ।
श्रीजीवेरे आज्ञा दिला करिते शोधन ॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

amrita-sesha, he says that he composed this work r the completion of the *Gopala-campu*. The *kalpa-kalpadruma* referring to both the parts of the *pala-campu* was composed still later. He was, as he s, at that time *jaranjiva i.e.*, much advanced in e. The result has been wonderful. The works that he left behind him entitle him to the foremost position only among the Vaishnava Philosophers but also ong the greatest Apostles of Truth in the whole rld. We give below a classified list of these works h very short comments here and there, from which real nature of Jiva's whole-hearted devotion to d, intense craving for religion and depth of learning l at once be manifest. Without any fear of slightest ggeration, we may assert that his works will shine ever as some of the best gems in the whole range Sanskrit Literature.

A. Kavyas and Commentaries

(1) *Madhava-mahotsava*. This work deals in nine apters with the holy consecration ceremony (*Abhi-ka*) of Radha by Krishna himself and the merri-nts consequent thereupon. It was composed in 1555 D. when Jiva was about 49 years old. (2) *Samkalpa-lpadruma*, a philosophico-poetical work in three rts on Vaishnava doctrine. (3) *Gopala-campu*, the st voluminous Sanskrit Campu (running over 4,000 ges in print) on the life of Srikrishna. (4) *Gopala-udavali*, a panegyrical work on the 'Vrindavan-lila' Sri Krishna. (5) *Dana-keli-Kaumudi-vyakhya*, a mmentary on Rupa's *Dana-Keli-Kaumudi*.[3] (6) Jiva mpiled, and also commented upon, a very valuable llection of *stavas*—64 in number—called *Stavamala*, mposed by his uncle Rupa. The commentary is con-se and true to the point and deserves much appro-tion.

B. Alamkara-Shastra

(1) *Durgama-samgamani*, a commentary on Rupa's *hakti-rasamrita-sindhu*. (2) *Locana-rocani*, a com-entary on Rupa's *Ujjvala-nilamani*. In those two works *hakti* or Devotion is recognized as the soul of Kavya d this is again subdivided into twelve varieties, *i.e.*, *aya, sakhya, vatsalya* and the nine well-known *rasas* Sanskrit Rhetorical Literature. All the illustrations ve some bearing or other to the Radha-Krishna isodes or legends. The Gaudiya-Vaishsavas chose the edium of Sanskrit Belles-Lettres as well for imparting eir religious instructions and naturally, the theories rhetorical literature had to be recast for this purpose particular. These works are full of quotations not ly from the Puranas, and various Vaishnava works t also from the *Vidagdha-Madhava, Lalita-Madhava*, e. of Rupa Gosvamin himself. The Sanskrit Belles-ttres served as a matter of fact as the most important hicle for imparting the religious knowledge to the dite scholars of Bengal as well as other provinces. e exhaustive classifications, and fine subtleties and e distinctions of one of master-analysts of the world ould have remained in many places obscure to us if va Gosvamin had not written these commentaries for us. As stated before, Jiva was not only a nephew and disciple of Rupa but also a collaborator in, and reviser of, many of Rupa's works. As such, Jiva was the fittest person to explain all the intricacies of the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu* and its supplement—the *Ujjvala-nilamani*. (3) *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu-sesa*. In this supplement Jiva deals with the figures of speech, the qualities and defects of Poetic composition, style or *riti*, after the *Sahitya-darpan* of Visvanatha except that the subject-matters of its chapters 3, 5 and 6 have been here left out. There are seven chapters in it, on (1) the real nature of the Kavya and (2) that of the sentences, etc. (3) Suggestiveness, (4) Figures of speech, (5) Defects, (6) Style, etc. and (7) Qualities. The predominantly religious nature of the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nilamani* broadbased upon Psychology became thus well-suited for the practical purpose of a critical study of the Kavya Literature as well.

C. Vyakarana

(1) For the use of the devotees of Hari, Srijiva composed a Sanskrit Grammar called *Harinamamrita Vyakaran* (*Brihat and Laghu*), associating the names of Radha, Krishna, etc., in all the grammatical rules as well as their illustrations. This work served the double purpose of imparting simultaneously religious and secular knowledge, thus keeping the minds of readers suffused with religious thought and inspiration. His (2) *Dhatu-sutra-malika* or *Dhatu-samgraha* is an abridgment of the section of verbal roots of the *Harinamamrita Vyakaran*.[4]

D. Vaisnava Ritual Literature

(1) *Radha-Krishnarchana-dipika*. In this work Jiva has established the truth that the worship of Radha-Krishna together with the Gopis is essential for religious advancement. Further, the real nature of the different Shaktis, *viz., samdhini, sambhit* and *hladini*, that of the Gopis, the identity of Lakshmi with Rukmini, etc. have been ably discussed. (2) Ramnarayana Vidyaratna attributes the *Dikdarsini* or *Dik-pradarsiri* commentary on the *Haribhakti-vilasa*[5] of Gopala Bhatta (Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1882-83) to Jiva Gosvamin. This attribution appears to be wrong as authoritative Vaisnava works attribute this work to Sanatana Gosvamin.[6] This appears more so as Sanatana wrote a commentary of the same name on his *Bhagavatamrita*.

---

(4) हरिनामामृतस्यैषा संक्षेपाद्धातुपद्धतिः ।
मया कृता प्रयुक्तान्य धातुंस्त्यक्त्वा क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥
इति श्रीजीवगोस्वामिपाद-विरचितो धातुसंग्रहः ॥

(5) हरिभक्तिविलासः...श्रीयुक्त-जीवगोस्वामि-कृत - दिग्दर्शिनी नाम्नी-टीकया सहितः ।

(6) अथाग्रज-कृतेष्वायं श्रील-भगवतामृतम् ।
हरिभक्तिविलासश्च तट्टीका दिक्प्रदर्शनी ॥
लीलास्तवटिप्पणी च सेयं वैष्णव-तोषणी ।
या संक्षिप्ता मया क्षुद्र-जीवेनापि तदाज्ञया ॥

Cf. the list of works of Rupa and Sanatana given in the *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, Madhya I and Antya IV.

3. This work is not mentioned in the list of Jiva's works given in the *Bhakti-ratnakar*. But see the Berhampore Radharaman Press edition (pp. 4, 244), 1879—
दानकेलिकोमुदी नाटिका ···श्रील—
श्री पूज्यपाद-जीवगोस्वामि-कृत-टीका-समेता

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

E. Vaisnava Theology

1. *Laghu-Vaisnava-tosini,* an abridgment of his uncle Sanatana's *Vaisnava-tosini* commentary on the tenth *skandha* of the Bhagavata. 2. The *Karma-samdarbha* commentary on the Srimad-Bhagavat. 3. *Vivriti on the Gayatri-vyakhya* as given in the Agni-purana.[7] 4. *Gopala-tapani Upanishat-tika* (not as yet published). 5. *Brahma-samhita-tika.* Mahaprabhu got a MS. of the *Brahma-samhita* copied for himself during his visit to the temple of Adikeshava situated on the bank of the river Payasvini in Mallar in the South about 1910-11 A.D. The *Brahma-samhita* is regarded as one of the canonical works of Gaudiya Vaisnavism.[8] The *Brahma-samhita* is said to have been complete in 100 chapters of which the fifth was the most important. Mahaprabhu appears to have brought from the South only the 5th chapter on which Jiva subsequently commented. (6) *Commentary on the Yoga-Sara-Stava* as given in the *Padmapurana* (Uttarakhanda, only a section of chapter 127 or chapter 128 of the Vangavasi edition). Jiva has not commented upon the introductory (23) and *Phala-sruti* (29) verses of this section but only on the 42 verses of this panegyrical hymn addressed by sage Devadyuti to Hari. Jiva has explained the difficult words and brought into bold relief the real significance of the hymn which was otherwise very obscure and harmonised the contradictions therein. The *Bhakti-ratnakar* has aptly remarked :

योगसार-स्तवेर टीकाते सुसंगति ।

(7) *Commentary on the Radha-Krishna-pada-cihna* sections of the Padmapurana (not as yet published).

F. Vaisnava Philosophy

1. *Sat-sandarbhas, viz.,* (1) Tattva, (2) Bhagavata, (3) Paramatma, (4) Krishna, (5) Bhakti and (6) Priti.[9] These Sandarbhas together with their supplement *Sarva-sambadini,* the name of which is not, however, included in the *Bhakti-ratnakar* list of Jiva's works, form not only the very solid foundation of Gaudiya Vaisnava Philosophy but also represent a very strong edifice that was merely ornamented upon here and there by his successors. Jiva Gosvamin is undoubtedly the greatest Vaisnava Philosopher of Bengal.

Thus it is self-evident that Jiva wrote on almost every branch of the Vaisnava Shastra. A versatile genius, born ascetic, religion incarnate as it were,—Jiva Gosvamin surpassed even his great uncles Rupa and Sanatana in a detailed exposition of the mystical Philosophy of Bengal Vaisnavism. Sri Jiva was not only a lucky disciple but also a lucky master. His disciples Srinivas, Narottama and Syamananda Prabhu overflooded the whole of the Vaisnava world with gushing currents of Vrindavan thoughts and ideas, particularly those contained in the works of the Vrindavan Gosvamins.

7. The same opening verse—

सनातनसमो यस्य ज्यायान् श्रीमान् सनातनः ।
श्रीवल्लभोऽनुजः सोऽसो श्रीरूपो जीवसद्गतिः ॥

is found in Jiva's commentaries on the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu, Ujjvala nilmani, Radha-Krishnarcana-dipika, Brahma-Samhita-tika* as well as this work.

(8) सिद्धान्तशास्त्र नाहि ब्रह्म-संहिता समान ।
गोविन्दमहिमा ज्ञाने परम कारण ॥
अल्प अक्षरे कहे सिद्धान्त अपार ।
सकल वैष्णव शास्त्रमध्ये अति सार ॥

9. The *Bhakti-ratnakar* says :

सप्त संदर्भ विख्यात भागवत-रीति ।
तत्त्व-भागवत्-परमात्म-कृष्ण-भक्ति-प्रीति ॥
एह छय क्रमसंदर्भ सह सप्त हय ।
प्रयोजनाभिधेय सम्बन्ध इथे त्रय ॥

———:O:———

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE "GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION"*

By Prof. D. S. NAG, M.A., B.Com.

In the history of India the people's representative will, for the first time, have an opportunity to frame a constitution for a free India. Under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi our country has marched forward and will now effect a bloodless transformation from an alien rule to a people's government. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the basic principles of Mahatma Gandhi should act as our guiding star in formulating the essentials of Indian constitution. Gandhiji is not a constitutionalist although he has guided all constitutional discussions for more than two decades. He is the embodiment of resurgent Indian Nationalism and of all that Indian culture and tradition stands for. If we want to reap the advantages of this resurgence we should give due place to Gandhiji's ideals in our constitution. As the Constituent Assembly is going to meet in the month of December it is worth while to invite the attention of the public towards the fundamentals of Gandhian Constitution.

Non-Violence the Basis

Non-violence, the fountain-spring of Gandhian ideals, should be the foundation-stone of our administrative system. Mahatma Gandhi firmly believes unadulterated democracy alone can ensure 'the full development of every section of the Indian people without

* *The Ganthian Constitution for Free India* by Principal S. N. Agarwal (Publishers Kitabistan, Allahabad).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

distinction of caste, creed, colour, race or sex.' But he lays down the *sine qua non* of true democracy in the following words : 'Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian, or, if they are to become democratic, they must become courageously non-violent.' In order to root out exploitation and to establish a social order which will provide free full opportunity to the individual for his unfoldment, a non-violent State has to be established.

Naturally the question arises how to achieve the ideal of non-violent State. As long as the exploitation of one man by another goes on, gross economic inequalities shall prevail rendering democracy a farce. According to Gandhiji, the exploitation of one man by another can be ended by decentralising power in the economic as well as in the political spheres.

> "He is, therefore, of the opinion that the future constitution of India should be essentially based on the organisation of well-knit and co-ordinated village communities with their positive and direct democracy, non-violent cottage economy, and human values."—*Gandhian Constitution* by Principal S. N. Agarwal, page 39.

Therefore, the State organised on the basis of truth and non-violence must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities. Our constitution-framers, therefore, would be well-advised to make self-sufficient and self-governing villages as the basic units of administration, of course, with necessary modifications in the ancient village panchayat system in order to meet the requirements of modern conditions of life.

Decentralisation

Contrary to all constitutional plans placed before the country so far, the Gandhian Constitution contemplates to reverse the process of centralisation of political power and entrust the village panchayats elected on adult suffrage through joint electorate functions of a very wide character covering almost all aspects of social, economic and political life. In order to co-ordinate the functional activities of the autonomous village panchayats, there shall be taluka or district panchayats. But these shall function as advisory and not mandatory bodies elected by the members of the village panchayats. Over the district units there shall be Provincial Panchayats functioning as the Legislature of the Province. It shall guide, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the District panchayats and also initiate organised provincial activities like university education, irrigation, inter-district communications, etc. At the top, the Central Government shall consist of Presidents of the Provincial Panchayats. It shall be uni-cameral. The responsibilities of defence and foreign policy will be entrusted to the centre. Besides, it shall co-ordinate the provincial plans for economic development. Regulation of currency, customs and international trade and the national system of transport and the means of communication may also go to the centre. But it is expressly mentioned in the Gandhian constitution that the all-India Panchayat shall be a voluntary federation of the Provinces and the States with the largest measure of local autonomy for the federating units. As the accession is voluntary the right of secession is also implicit in it. But it is also hoped that cultural and traditional indivisibility of India shall create necessary atmosphere for close collaboration and the development of common national consciousness. And this brings us to the question of the rights of minorities or the demand of Pakistan.

Communal Issue

In a non-violent State of Gandhiji's conception, the question of minorities should not arise at all : "As the essence of non-violence is tolerance and respect for one another's rights," there will be absolutely no cause for fear, distrust and insecurity to the minority. Gandhiji is definitely against partition of India, as to him "partition means a patent untruth" and it means 'the undoing of the centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation.' He has no shadow of doubt that the 'iceberg of communal difference will melt under the warmth of the sun of Freedom.' Incorporation of Fundamental Rights providing for the fullest protection of the culture, language and religion of the minorities and the observance of these rights in spirit and form shall remove the doubts and fears of the minorities. Yet Gandhiji has gone to the length of approving grouping of provinces as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission Plan provided there is no element of compulsion and the provinces join such groups of their free will. He says, "The liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired—this freedom is inherent in every province."

There are other matters of detail to be dealt with by the Constituent Assembly in the near feature. But the fundamentals of our constitution must suit the Indian culture and tradition. We have not to ape the West, where top-heavy administration has become the order of the day. We have our own magnificent past on which we can safely build our future. Our administrative system should be just like a pyramid, the broad base of which should be the village as the 'real and moving unit of the entire administration.' Let the Constituent Assembly lay the foundations of Gandhian order and I have no doubt the small village republics shall become the 'bright models of genuine and lasting democracy'—the only safety against the catastrophe of recurring wars.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH (1917-42) : *By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, 35 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. 1943. Price Rs. 4.*

The greatest gift that we in India have received from Europe has been not the much-vaunted railway and telegraph and other amenities of modern civilisation, not the much-advertised *Pax Britannica* which has been for us a veritable peace of death and has latterly ceased even to be a peace but has become a pandemonium of death and destruction, but her spirit of enquiry, her scientific curiosity, which has enabled us to know ourselves ; and this self-knowledge into which we have been initiated by the broad humanity of Europe, which has been her great heritage from the deathless culture of Ancient Hellas, has become for us a source of power and of rational endeavour in all the walks of life. We are grateful to the scholarly mind of Europe—of England, of Germany, of France, of Holland, of Italy, of Russia, and of the other advanced countries of Europe, as well as of the United States,—for helping us to get back in our national life the figures of Buddha and Asoka, of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, of Harsha, of Akbar, and of all other great personalities who form not only India's roll of honour but are in some cases India's gift to humanity. We are grateful also for knowing something about the origins of our race and culture, and, what is more *apropos* for the excellent book under review, about the part played by India in helping her neighbours to find themselves and to come up to the full height of their being by bringing to them her message of self-realisation, of inner self-culture and of outer peace and goodwill. It was through the researches first inaugurated by a distinguished English soldier and administrator Sir Stamford Raffles and then carried on with so great a success by French and Dutch scholars that India and the world have been enabled to know of a *Greater India*—not only of a projection of India into the lands of Indo-China and Idonesia in South-east Asia and India Minor and Serindia in Eastern Iran and Central Asia, but also of the great fellowship of spirit which subsisted between India and China and India and Tibet for so many centuries and then through these lands between India and Korea and India and Japan as well as India and Mongolia.

The story of this *Greater India* as it has been slowly revealed in the snows and deserts of Central Asia, in the tropical forest lands of Indo-China and in the emerald islands of Indonesia, is one of absorbing interest and as yet it has not become the common property—as a precious inheritance—of the educated man in India, much less in the other countries of Asia, and of the rest of the civilised world. The *Brihattara Bharata Parisat* or *Greater India Society* of Calcutta, started in 1923 by a small group of enthusiastic young scholars of Indian history and culture who had some knowledge of the work done in this field by the *savants* particularly of Holland and France, and stimulated by the visit of some of them to Indonesia and Indo-China and also by visits of the illustrious Rabindranath Tagore to Indonesia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Malaya, has come to stay ; and it has largely served its purpose by making the Indian *intelligentsia* become for the first time alive to the importance of the lands of Greater India for a proper knowledge of Indian history and Indian culture. The *Greater India Society* of Calcutta, without any official or university support, and solely under the patronage of a few interested scholars, has been doing its good work ; and the present energetic secretary of the Society, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (till lately Professor at Presidency College, Calcutta), who took up the burden from Dr. Kalidas Nag, one of the founders of the Society and for a number of years its Secretary, has by bringing out the journal of the Society regularly and by his own personal researches into Greater India and other topics of Indology has so long kept up the prestige of Indian scholarship in this domain of scholarship—a task in which he has been ably supported by other Indian scholars who have specialised in Greater Indian history and culture. The *Greater India Society* has brought out a number of valuable monographs, and now we have before us the present work from the learned and painstaking Dr. Ghoshal, which was published some three years ago (in 1943), giving a conspectus of the *Progress of Greater Indian Research* during 1917-1942.

The value of this work of some 120 pages is not merely bibliographical. Dr. Ghoshal has given narrative accounts of the problems of Indological research in the different areas of Greater India (rightly omitting China, as China is a world apart and a peer of India and does not come under Greater India and Korea and Japan as well as Tongking and Annam are cultural off-shoots of China). He thus has very lucidly set forth the situation with regard to the study of Indian culture in the countries of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa or Cochin China, and the lands of Indonesia—Java, Bali, Borneo and Celebes, Sumatra and Malaya Peninsula, as well as in the island of Ceylon. In this account he has unfolded the story of absorbing interest, of the opening up of the past and the antiquities as well as the present cultural conditions of a considerable tract of Asia, and the reader can form his own appraisement of the value of the contributions made by so many distinguished orientalists from among so many advanced nations, including those of Asia. At the end there is a select bibliography of 20 pages giving names of the most significant works on the culture of the Greater Indian lands written during the last quarter of a century and more. We congratulate Dr. Ghoshal and the Greater India Society on the publication of this useful volume, which we hope will be widely known.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VOICELESS INDIA : *By Gertrude Emerson Sen. Revised edition with Introduction by Pearl S. Buck and Rabindranath Tagore. Indian Publishers, Benares. 1946. Pp. 356 + 8 + 8 plates. Price Rs. 7-8.*

In trying to understand India, Mrs. Emerson Sen chose a small village in the northern edge of the United Provinces and spent a year of her life in trying to serve the people of the locality through her amateur medical abilities. The life of the people whom she daily met, and their character and aspirations served as a commentary upon what she had gathered about India from an extensive reading of books.

Voiceless India consists of three parts. The first is devoted to a story of the author's pilgrimage to rural India, of the men whom she met there and with whom her life was tied through silken cords of love and service. The second part tells us about the economic and political facts operating behind ; while the third is devoted to the social and cultural aspects of rural life. The author displays an extraordinary measure of human sympathy ; but she is able, at the same time, to preserve a healthy, balanced attitude of mind which prevents her from lapsing into sentimentality. It is this objective, truly scientific attitude which has enabled her to reach the essential human element which lies at the bottom of the civilization of India as it does that of every other land.

INDIA : A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING : *By Dorothy Hogg. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. First Indian Edition. 1946. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3.*

A passionate plea by an English woman for a fair deal towards India. She has tried to explain to her fellow countrymen the meaning of the Quit-India Resolution by means of copious extracts from the *Harijan*. Along with the Bishop of Birmingham, her prayer has been, "We must link India to our Empire, not by might, nor by power, but by the spirit of Christ.'

May God grant her prayer, provided the words 'our Empire' are taken out of it, for we, in India, have had enough of that commodity dispensed to us. And, again, does the spirit of Christ recognise 'our' and 'their' among human beings ? Are they not all supposed to be children of the same Father ?

THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF GANDHI : *By Dorothy Hogg. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. 1946. Pp. 38. Price eight annas.*

Gandhi is not an enigma, but his non-violence offers a challenge to the civilization of today which it must answer successfully, if it is not to perish in the grave of its own digging in the world's battlefields.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL : *Published by Radical Book Club, Calcutta. Pages 65. Price Re. 1.*

The program was adopted at the Sixth World Congress in 1928. Stalin helped in formulating the theoretical basis of the International struggle for Communism. The program is divided into six parts, *viz.*, (1) The world system of Capitalism, its development and downfall ; (2) General crisis of Capitalism and the first phase of revolution ; (3) Aim of Communist International ; (4) From Capitalism to Socialism—Transition Period ; (5) International Social Revolution and U.S.S.R. and (6) Strategy and Tactics of Communist International.

During the second World War, Communist International was dissolved for the solidarity of Allied nations of which U.S.S.R. was a member and as a result, the program of Communistic world revolution under the leadership of the U.S.S.R. had been abandoned. But Communists of different nations were given freedom of action so far as their national program was concerned. Since the victory over the Axis powers, the differences between Anglo-America and U.S.S.R. are becoming more prominent and it is not known as to what would be ultimate movement of the Soviet in what would be the ultimate movement of the Soviet in regard to the maintaining of the international character of Communism. Communism and Capitalism both being international in their range, it will be no wonder if the inevitable conflict between the two again disturbs the peace of the world.

A. B. DUTTA

MEN AND RIVERS : *By Prof. Humayun Kabir. Hind Kitabs, Bombay.*

Prof. Kabir has scored a significant triumph in the present venture into the sphere of fiction. A poet, critic and scholar, he can now claim an important place among the novelists of modern Bengal.

The river Padma, against whose arid background the present story is set up, has always been a mystery to Professor Kabir, and his *Mahatma and Other Poems* owes much of its multi-coloured poetry to this indefatigable river, with its queer amalgam of beauty and terror. Nazu Mia, with his little son, Malek, is placed against the background of Padma's inexorable course, and it not only entombs the village yeoman in its depths, but like Hardy's Wessex, impinges upon this eventful story like an invisible character. Nazu Mia's difficult past is kept a secret until the end of the book, where his son Malek, willing to marry Nuru Bibi, the daughter of Asgar, learns that his beloved fiancee is his own sister.

MAHATMA AND OTHER POEMS : *By Prof. H. Kabir. Hind Kitabs. Price Rs. 2.*

Among the Indian writers of English verse, Prof. Kabir's position is undisputed, as will be evident from the present volume of excellent poems. His poems in Bengali have already received great appreciation, and the present poems in English deserve to receive no less. The poems are intensely lyrical, mostly meditative in vein, and touched here and there with a tender melancholy. Prof. Kabir is not concerned with love alone but with the baffling mystery of life, with its pathos, tenderness and sober joy. The two poems on Gandhi and Tagore reveal a grandeur of conception which borders almost on the classical. Passionate but not wildly so, soothing but with a touch of sadness, gay but tinged with pensiveness, the poems show a fine equilibrium and laudable command over technique.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU *of Bhatta Lakshmidhara, Vol. V, Danakhanda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. No. XCII. Edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Price Rs. 9.*

This is a beautiful edition of the fifth of the fourteen sections constituting the *Krityakalpataru*, one of the earliest and most comprehensive digests of Hindu law and rituals, which at one time enjoyed much popularity but is comparatively little known in the present days. The edition is based on seven manuscripts, variants from which are noted either in the foot-notes or in the appendices. An exhaustive introduction gives a critical account of the contents of the volume besides dealing with the available details of the author including the position he occupied among writers of Smriti works.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SRI SRI CHANDI : *Compiled by the Late Pundit Ramanath Chakravarty and edited and published by Bhakti Ratna Umesh Chakraborty from 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 24 + 200. Price Re. 1-8.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We have here a very handy and beautiful edition of one of the most popular hymnical book of Hindu Philosophy called *Durga-Sapta-Sati Sri Sri Chandi*. Every Hindu has the greatest regard both for Saptasati Chandi and Srimad-vagavad-Geeta. The first encourages the worship of God as World-Mother and the second as World-Master. The world-renouncers, the worldly people and almost all the sects get religious inspiration and guidance to their respective faiths from these supreme works of Vyasa without fail. Chandi strengthens the most weak and the helpless to stand on their legs as well as to fight out their way against all drawbacks and hindrances. For the degenerated and misguided ones it is the fountain-head of courage, confidence and strength.

The editor has very ably discussed all the systems of Chandi-reading prevalent in different parts of India and has furnished many a valuable information and an index of all the slokas useful for every reader. He has enriched this edition with simple literal translation and necessary annotation covering every important subject of the main Chandi texts as well as *Ratrisukta, Devisukta, Argala, Kilaka, Kavacha* and three *Rahasyas*. The book is also illustrated and nicely got-up. The editor and publisher has dedicated all rights and profits of the book to the temple building fund of Sri Sri Anandamayee Kali installed at his village home in eastern Mymensingh.

NAGENDRA NATH SASTRI PANCHATIRTHA

BENGALI

CONGRESSER PATH : *By Arun Chandra Guha. Published by Sarasvati Library, C 18-19 College Street Market, Calcutta. Pages 94. Price Re. 1-8.*

"The way of the Congress" is the theme of the book under review ably written by a veteran Congressman whose life has been a life of sacrifice and suffering for the cause of India's independence. The philosophy and practical efficacy of non-violence as a political weapon for fighting the battle of freedom, have been fully explained by the author. He has made a brief survey of the resolutions of various countries and has shown that a revolution conducted by violent means leads to the capture of power by a handful of men and as such can not lead to the establishment of democracy in the full sense. It is non-violent revolution which transforms the ideology of the masses and when the power is captured by them, a real democracy of the people is established. The Indian National Congress aims at such a revolution for the country. In supporting the action of the Congress in banning the Communists from its membership, the author asserts that the latter fully deserves the treatment having betrayed the country by supporting an imperialist war. Readers of the book will find it an interesting and illuminating study clearing mass misconception about the Congress aims and views.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HINDUON KI AVANATI KI MIMAMSA : *By Pandit Raghunath Shastri Kokje. Jogal and Sons, 570 Shanwar Peth, Poona 2. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2-8 for white paper edition and Rs. 2 for plain paper edition.*

Why have the Hindus been steadily becoming a decadent people? The learned author has probed into the various causes, primarily social and religious, which are responsible for the present sorry state of affairs. In his opinion, chief among these are an exaggerated notion of racial purity to the point of giving rise to the curse of "touch-me-not-ism" in all its hydra-headed form, and a lack of one common adhesive ideal for the community. The book breathes forth a spirit of progressivism, together with a plea for a deep study of the tenets and traditions handed down to us from generations, before under the accent of impatience, we reject them as being unsuited to our times and ways of living. A heart-searching book!

G. M.

LAJVANTI : *By Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar. Published by Anand Swarup Bhatnagar. 25 Tughalaq Road, New Delhi. Pp. 213.*

Lajvanti is a collection of Dr. Bhatnagar's 54 poems on varied subjects ranging from God, Prophecy, Love, Thought, Life, etc., to Sorrow and Suffering, Poverty, Chemistry and Philosophy, Wife and the Book, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the Child, the White traveller, the Exploiting Government, O.B.E., the American Soldier and the Astrologer, etc. The poems are of varied interest and are a direct outgrowth of the poet's emotions and reflect it beautifully. Some of the poems have a direct personal appeal, but they, undoubtedly, have something more to offer to the reader than self-interest and expression of the poet's self. They bear testimony to the fact that the poet has attempted to compass some of his violent soul-storms in them. The moods and sentiments reflected in them are far from unreal and grotesque. There is some exquisiteness and an elegant simplicity and clarity in them.

M. S.

KANNADA

VISHA NIMISHAGALU : *By Mr. Hiremallur Ishwaran. Published by Keleyara Kuta Byadgi, Dt. Dharwar. Crown octavo. Pp. 8 + 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review is a fine collection of a few tragic scenes to observe which was the unenviable misfortune of the author. Hence the title—*Visha Nimishagalu*—the poisonous moments. The writer depicts in this book the series of miseries which overtook his family. The cruel and icy hand of death not content with snatching away young brothers and sisters, took away the tendermost urchin Shivu. This sad incident in the life of the writer wakes him up to the tragic aspect of it and impels him to pen these poisonous moments. The pictures portrayed here are no mere imaginary outbursts of a dreamer but they are palpably realistic. Simplicity, naturalness and fidelity to life—the three important attributes of good writing—are much in evidence here. It is perhaps this that has prompted Mr. G. P. Rajratnam to write a foreword and give unstinted tribute to the writer's style and diction. He says, "The style is as simple and charming as the sweet juice of a tender cocoanut—no artificiality—no showiness. The filth and dirt so much in evidence nowadays in Kannada literature are conspicuous by their absence." Mr. Ishwaran's book deserves a few moments' thoughtful reading at the hands of Kannadigas.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

SHRI TAMAS FALA PRAKARAN SUBODHINI: *Edited with commentaries and translated into Gujarati by Prof. Govindlal N. Bhatt, M.A. of Baroda. Published by Vadelal N. Shah, B.A., LL.B. of Bombay. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 368 + 7. Price Rs. 4.*

Shrimad Vallabhacharja's Subodhini on Bhagvat X. 26. 32 (Ras Lila Chapters) is a monumental and scholarly work. To edit it critically and translate it into as popular Gujarati as is possible for this highly philosophical work calls for a close and intimate knowledge of Sanskrit, Vallabha's philosophy, and with acquaintance with Gujarati vocabulary of that type. That Prof. Bhatt has been able to discharge his self-imposed duly successfully shows that he is possessed of all the three requisities. The subject is most mystical and allegorical, and of special interest to the followers of Vallabh. We are sure they would duly appreciate the la-

K. M. J.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MEERAT CONGRESS

Vallabhbhai Patel's Speech

Nov. 23, 1946.

"What is being done today is with the object of getting the Congress out of the Interim Government. We shall not allow ourselves to be caught in this net," declared Sardar Patel today at the Plenary session of the Congress, moving a resolution ratifying the decisions of the Working Committee and the A.-I.C.C. leading to the formation of the Interim Government.

He gave a stern call, in his fighting speech, to Indians to organise self-defence against hooligans.

The resolution was passed.

Explaining the difficulties that stand in the way of the Central Government's intervention in provincial matters such as the Calcutta and Noakhali disturbances, he said that the Centre had no power to do so.

He had warned Bengal's leaders who saw him after the Calcutta riots that East Bengal was bound to be the next scene of trouble. He told them: "If you want independence you must learn to defend yourselves and your neighbours and other helpless people."

Sardar Patel in his speech referred to the situation in Bengal and assured that the whole of Hindusthan was behind Bengal in her tragedy.

Sardar Patel dealt with the circumstances in which the Interim Government was formed and said its formation was made possible by the assurance given during the negotiations that the Government would have the same status as a Dominion Government and would work as a Cabinet with joint respinsibility, although it was asknowledged that it would be difficult to amend the Act in order to put this position on a legal and constitutional basis.

Referring to the position of the League, he quoted extensively from the letters of the Viceroy published today, particularly the one dated Oct. 23 in which His Excellency conveyed the assurance given to him by Mr. Jinnah that the Muslim League would come into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly with the intention of co-operating.

The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals on the solemn declaration of Prime Minister Attlee that no minority would be allowed to veto progress towards independence.

Mr. Jinnah, as the House knew, rejected the Interim Government proposals at first, but later came in on the plea that Muslim interests demand the League's entry. "Similarly, I know that the League will come into the Constituent Assembly on the same plea."

"What was being done today was with the object of getting the Congress out of the Interim Government. We shall not allow ourselves to be caught in this net. We joined the Government with the full and firm determination to remain there. We have no intention of leaving it ourselves (cheers). The only way to make us leave it is to dismiss us or to convince us that continuance in it is futile."

It had been stated on behalf of the Muslim League today that they objected to the description of Pandit Nehru as Vice-President of the Cabinet. League spokesmen had earlier stated that the Vice-President had no special position in the Cabinet.

"If so, why did the League ask for the appointment of Hindu and Muslim members as Vice-President by rotation? (laughter). The fact is that in spite of all that the League might say, it is a Cabinet and it is known to the world at large as the Nehru Cabinet or the Congress Cabinet (cheers). It has been recognised as a Cabinet by the British Government."

Direct Action

Recognising it as a Cabinet, people in different provinces asked the question why it did not bestir itself in connection with the present disturbances in the country. The former Government of India used the full armoury of its weapons against the Congress in 1942 when it passed the Quit India resolution and had not even decided to implement that resolution.

But here was a party, whose members had made violent speeches and which had launched a programme of direct action without the slightest pretentions to non-violence. Yet the Government did nothing. The people asked why?

It was a legitimate question and in reply to it, he would first point out that 1942 was not 1946, or rather that 1946 was not 1942. Secondly, today the fight was not with the British Government but among ourselves. Thirdly, the British themselves were engaged in a life-and-death struggle in 1942 and the Government had special and extraordinary powers which had now lapsed.

Freedom of Killing

Recalling the Bengal Governor's statement that India had attained 15-anna indepesdence and that only one anna still remained, Sardar Patel announced that the 15-anna independence had only given the Indians complete freedom to kill one another. The Governor had witnessed the killing in Calcutta and yet had merely stated that the Ministry had full power to deal with the situation.

But the Bengal Ministry did nothing and the people took the law into their hands. The Interim Government was asked to provide police and military protection. Leaders from Bengal came to him and asked for intervention. He told them the Centre had no power and that they had the Centre's moral support.

He warned them that East Bengal was bound to be the next scene of trouble and he asked them to prepare themselves to face it. He told them: "If you want independence you must learn to defend yourselves and your neighbours and other helpless people. You should not run to the Army or the police for protection."—

Aruna Asaf Ali's Opposition

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali who opposed the resolution was received with great cheering.

She referred to Tilak, Gandhi and other personalities and said that revolutionaries like them had succeeded every time they came into conflict with orthodox Congressmen. Only recently had there been no victory of the revolutionaries.

Patel's Reply

Sardar Patel replying reiterated his conviction that the sword must be met by the sword. Mahatma Gandhi said that it was better to use violence than to be a coward. Non-violence, said Sardar Patel, was a weapon which it was beyond the power of ordinary men to use and, therefore, he urged people to adopt violence in self-defence and only in self-defence, or in defence of neighbours.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He gave this advice, because there was no Government at the Centre at present. The present Central Government during the transference of power was in a state of paralysis. (Laughter).

As regards revolutionary spirit Sardar Patel said some people deceived themselves by imagining that they were bringing about revolution. This was like the dog in the fable which while walking under a heavily loaded cart imagined that the cart would not move if it stopped. (Loud laughter). Revolution could only be brought about by hard-organised work.

He denied that by being in the Interim Government they were co-operating with the British Government. The British were quitting and were we co-operating with them if we helped them to pack their belongings? (Laughter).

Appeal to Bengal

In an appeal to Bengal, Sardar Patel said that that Province had been his inspiration since childhood. It had given the lead to the rest of India, but he called upon Bengalees to close their ranks and help themselves and he assured them that the whole of India would then support them.

The resolution was passed.—*A.P.I.*

Patel's Stern Warning to Political 'Goondas'

Nov. 23.

With all its demonstrative adjuncts chiselled away, the austerity session of the Congress under Acharya Kripalani's presidency today seemed to be stripped for action.

The impression was confirmed by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel who in their speeches during today's six-hour sitting lashed out at the Muslim League and the permanent officials who were charged with acting as if they were members of the League.

"The sword must be met by the sword," declared Sardar Patel in a stern warning to those who, he said, were trying to achieve a political objective by violent means.

He made what was described as one of the most aggressive speeches of his career.

"We are not resigning from the Interim Government", he asserted. It was for the League to make up its mind whether it was coming into the Constituent Assembly. If it was not coming in the Constituent Assembly, it had no place in the Interim Government, he added.

He quoted passages from Nehru-Wavell letters released today which he suggested left the League no alternative but to accept both or neither of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech

A Retrospect of Events

Nov. 23.

The plenary session of the Congress today unanimously passed the resolution giving a retrospect of events during the past six and a half years and calling upon people to end internecine conflict and to face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence.

Pandit Nehru moved the resolution and Pandit Pant seconded it.

It was the one passed by the Subjects Committee.

Pandit Nehru spoke with warmth on the movement of 1942—which he described as a year of sorrow, suffering and sacrifice—and the part played by the official world in dealing with it.

"I can never forget the part played by British as well as Indian officers in that year. I realise their position and am prepared to sympathise with them. But those who were responsible for the atrocities committed on the people must not escape punishment. We can show neither fear nor favour in punishing them." (Cheers).

He called the attention of provincial Premiers and Ministers to this matter. He wanted the Viceroy also to take note of it.

Pandit Nehru disclosed that the Viceroy had once suggested to him not to "oppress" officials. His reply was he had no intention to oppress them, but had also made it clear more than once that he was not prepared to compromise with officials guilty of wrongs during 1942 whether they were British or Indians.

He recognised they had to depend on officials, but they must also keep them on the right path and not let them degenerate or be demoralised. They must also protect them. They included good and intelligent men.

Fossilised Services

But the Services were fossilised in their mental outlook. They were wedded to bygone and obsolete methods and refused to move with the changing times. British officers in particular looked to the Muslim League for sympathy and collaboration. They were in effect members of the Muslim League. Both League and the British Servicemen still lived in the medieval age mentally.

"It remains to be seen how long we can function in these circumstances. The experience of the past three or four months has shown us that the conduct and attitude of the officers have not changed."

The British Government in England might be true to their promises but had to depend on their agents in India and be guided by their advice. The British in India talked of quitting India but at the same time plotted to impede our programme.

But they were not the only enemy. "We have enemies in our camp. We must weed out corruption and defeat these enemies in the final struggle for India's liberation." (Cheers).

The resolution was passed unanimously.—*A.P.I.*

Sardar Patel's Speech

A Warning

Nov. 23.

Sardar Patel moved the resolution ratifying the decisions taken on the British Cabinet Mission's plans on India and various other political developments.

Referring to the League decision not to participate in the Constituent Assembly Sardar Patel made it clear that they (Muslim League) would have to quit the Interim Government if they did not honour the pledge of co-operation both regarding the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly. He said that neither the British Government nor Lord Wavell could keep them there if the League's Bombay resolution (regarding the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan) stood.

Sardar Patel read out extracts from certain recent correspondence that had passed between Pandit Nehru and Lord Wavell in which the latter said that he had Mr. Jinnah's assurance that the Muslim League would accept the long-range plan and enter the Constituent Assembly and would come into the Interim Government and in both the spheres work in a spirit of co-operation. He asked whether that assurance of Mr. Jinnah stood and demanded that logically the League should come into

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Constituent Assembly or get out of the Interim Government.

In his view fratricidal war would not stop until those who injected communal poison and hatred into the body-politic for political ends, desisted therefrom, either through fear of God or through disgust. He announced that Congressmen would not get out of the Interim Government until forced and until it was necessary to blacken the faces of Britishers before the world.

In unfaltering accents he said that Congress members would not run away but fight and fight "till the face of the opponents was blackened".

Reiterating his odvice to the riot-afflicted people to defend themselves he said. "If you depend on police or army, you justify the British taunt that you could not live without them." He asserted that British would quit India whether we quarrel or not. They could not stay but naturally their psychology provoked them to work in support of their allies, the Leaguers, and it was surely futile to expect them to be friends of those who fought to make them quit India.

Anglo-Muslim League alliance would neither succeed nor last long. If the present fighting did not end, he would advise the likely victims of communal attacks to defend themselves with sword in hand, but it must be only in self-defence.

Stung by attacks by succeeding speakers Sardar Patel, in his reply to the debate, justified his position by stating that the police and the army were undependable and inadequate. Provinces had no army and the army was not under the control of a Congress member of the Central Government in an effective sense. Under these circumstances the people should be left to themselves and would be justified in using violence in self-defence.

Reply to Socialists

Replying to Sicialists' criticism that office acceptance was wrong and that those who wanted to co-operate with the Government should leave the Congress, Sardar Patel asked whether if one helped an unwanted person to pack up and go, it could be called co-operation.

Bengal Riot—a Political Game

Referring to the Calcutta killing Sardar Patel observed that he had hoped that when those who started it had the balance sheet before them, they would realise that bloodshed did not pay. But more bloodshed and other crimes started in East Bengal.

He did not accept the theory that it was the work of goondas. It was not the work of goondas but was a game played to achieve political ends. Worse than killing was forcible conversions.

"Even the death of 30 lakhs of people in the Bengal famine did not grieve me so much as these forcible conversions. Death is any day preferable to forcible conversion. But did any Muslim leader raise his voice against these forcible conversions?"

Two or three Muslims among the delegates stood up at this point to object to the statement that no Muslim leaders had protested against forcible conversions.

Sardar Patel said that all the remarks he had made were against Muslim League leaders.

The interrupters suggested that the speaker should mention the Muslim League and not Muslims in general terms.

Sardar Patel went on to refer to Mahatma Gandhi's efforts in East Bengal and said, there could however be no peace unless those who disturbed the peace suffered and felt the agony.

Transfer of Population

After Bihar, the League was suggesting transference of population. "You are welcome to it. But remember this was what Hitler tried to do and if you do it the same fate that overtook Hitler will overtake you."

He appealed in God's name for a stoppage of the disturbances because the disturbances were not only doing harm to the country but were bringing India's name into disrepute abroad.

"Whatever you do, do it by the method of peace and love. You may succeed, but the sword will be met by the sword (cheers). Pakistan cannot be achieved by the sword or by bloodshed (cheers). If you want to get Pakistan by this means, then there will be no peace in India."

Public Servants Warned

Sardar Patel gave a warning to public servants who did not work faithfully and said there would be no alternative but to get rid of them.—*Hindusthan Standard.*

Pandit Nehru's Speech

Nov. 24.

In the plenary session today Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved the resolution on the communal situation.

Supporting the resolution Pandit Nehru referred to a note which he had received yesterday from a delegate holding Pandit Nehru responsible for thousands of Hindu lives lost in Bihar as a result of alleged air bombing.

Bihar Casualties

Pandit Nehru categorically denied reports of bombing in Bihar during the disturbances and described the circumstances under which about 24 men of a Madras Regiment came to a clash on half a dozen occasions with a crowd of 2,500 Hindus who were involved in a pitched battle with 1,200 Muslims in a place called Nagarnosa. The Regiment was entrusted with the task of evacuating 1,200 Muslims to a place of safety.

According to army sources about 40 people were killed but unofficial sources estimated the death roll between 50 and 60. His enquiry revealed that in the communal clashes at Nagarnosa about 25 Muslims and between 10 and 15 Hindus were killed in three days' clashes. He was shocked at the exaggerated figures of casualties in Bihar circulated by interested parties.

Pandit Nehru traced the genesis of the communal trouble in the country and the deterioration that had occurred in the last ten years. He said that the Muslim League adopted Fascist tactics. Their strategy was based on the Hitlerian technique and had many things in common with Hitler's methods.

Muslim League leaders like Hitler indulged in a hymn of hatred and violence. The League had no constructive or economic programme for the country or for the Muslim masses. The League had never clarified their position because its leaders had always shelved discussion of questions which might falsify their claims to represent all sections of the Muslim population.

Jinnah's Hymn of Hate

Pandit Nehru said that a prominent member of the League Council told him that he once asked Mr. Jinnah to place the League's constructive programme before the Muslim masses, but Mr. Jinnah replied that any such programme would lead to differences and disruption in the Muslim League ranks. Hatred of Hindus was a uniting force. Mr. Jinnah said: "The programme of the League was to preach hatred against the Congress and Hindus."

Pandit Nehru went on: "I am not afraid of bloodshed. The present civil strife in the country has no doubt moved me but it has to be faced with a brave heart. I hope the situation will improve. It is true that incidents in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

one part of the country have repercussion in other parts. Congress has faced many a danger in the past and will not shirk its responsibility in a crisis like this even though some of us may have to lose our lives."

League Fascism

He declared that the Fascist policy of the League was giving birth to a rival fascism which he termed "Hindu Fascism". All types of Fascism exploited the name of religion and his fear was that the growing Hindu Fascism possessed all the dangerous potentialities of Muslim League Fascism. Both were the enemies of the unity and progress of India.

Congress, Pandit Nehru said, had liquidated British Fascism and it was his conviction that it would similarly deal with the two-pronged Indian Fascism which threatened to wipe out our proud culture and civilisation.

Acharya Kripalani's Concluding Speech

Tribute to Netaji Subhas Bose

Nov. 24.

"To go away from the prison house that India is and to organise an independence movement outside India is the most patriotic service that a man can do (loud cheers) provided he believes in armed resistance."

In these stirring words Acharya Kripalani paid his tribute to Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose.

The President in winding up the proceedings of the Plenary Session today explained why Netaji's name had not been included in the condolence resolution.

Acharya Kripalani said, "I do not believe in that but I do not want to impose my standards of conduct upon others. I judge people by the standards they have kept before themselves provided those standards are recognised by humanity as high standards."

Continuing the President said, "That evil should be resisted by war and violence is recognised by the priests of great religion even today. How can I pit this new religion of Mahatma Gandhi who has converted me to non-violence and condemn a brother of mine who has done the greatest service to the country? Remember that when once it was said that he was dead, Mahatma Gandhi was the first man to send a telegram to his mother and the Working Committee joined in it.

"Let nobody make an all-India leader a party leader. Subhas Bose does not belong to the Forward Bloc or to the I.N.A. or to the Radicals of any group. He belongs to India (cheers) for whom he worked and for whom, I hope, he is still living (renewed cheers). In Bombay I was asked to speak about the I.N.A. I said that but for my creed of non-violence I would have acted exactly as Subhas Babu did (cheers). I would not have felt ashamed but I would have felt proud. I would have thought I had done the greatest service for my country and I would have said that I had done what in history many great people have done."

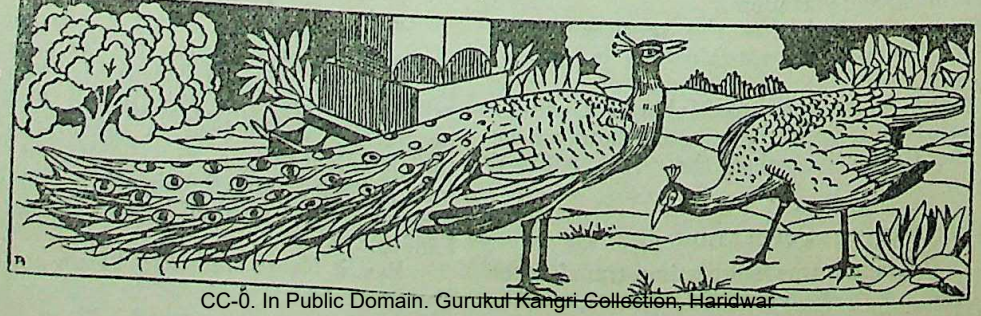
Acharya Kripalani again made a fervent appeal for communal unity. He said, "I told you and I repeat that we in India—whether we are Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians or followers of any other faith—cannot leave this country. There is no other country that can be ours. We have to live together. Let us live in peace and brotherhood. If we do not so live, nature will make us suffer and after great sufferings we will have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that those whom God united nobody can separate. Any Hindu who offends a Mussalman is doing injustice to his community and his country and any Muslim who offends a Hindu is destroying his religion and the freedom of his country.

Violence & Non-violence

Addressing his radical friends, Acharya Kripalani said, "I have learnt non-violence from Gandhiji. I do not hesitate to tell you that I used to believe in violence and belonged to the group of revolutionaries in 1906 and 1907. Even in the days of my revolutionary life, I hope, I was a brave man and I would not have hesitated to mount the gallows but I never felt so fearless, so bold, so strong, as when I accepted the creed of non-violence from Gandhiji (cheers).

"If this country is to rise, it will rise by non-violence and by no other method. We are divided into so many groups—political, economic and religious—that if we use violence against the foreign enemy we are sure to use that violence against each other also. They who live by the sword shall die by the sword (cheers). The world has introduced the atom bomb but something worse will come unless it takes stock of what it has been doing hitherto. I do not condemn people because they use violence.

"Non-violence is a new creed but I want to place it before you because I have tried both the methods and found that non-violence is the superior method. The light has been lighted and it will guide us whether you wish it or not. If you are going to solve your problems by untruth, by crooked diplomacy, the world's problems will not be solved. In one word the difference between Socialism and Gandhism is that Gandhiji says that the means shall be as pure as your ends are high. High aims cannot be served by crooked means. This in a nutshell is the difference between western Socialism and this eastern Socialism of this old Bania. The world will not be safe from war or strife or bloodshed until this doctrine is accepted. Whether you accept it today or tomorrow or after a century it does not matter but, remember, that century will be a troublesome century for humanity."—*A.P.I.*



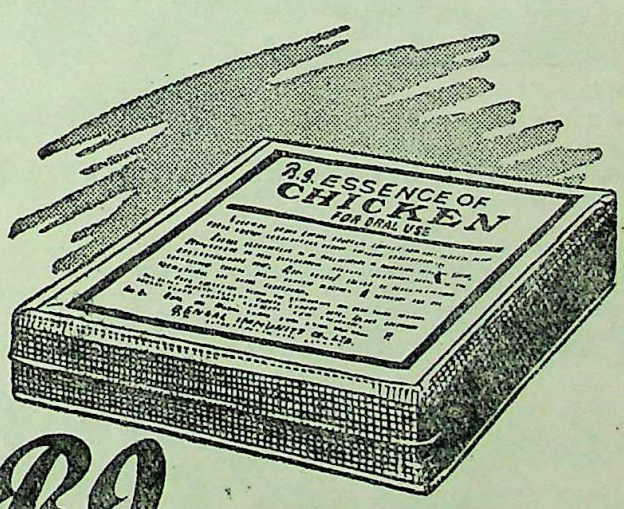
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



During
CONVALESCENCE

Secure rapid 'pick-me-up'.
BI-NUTRITIONAL RESEARCH
SECTION gives you

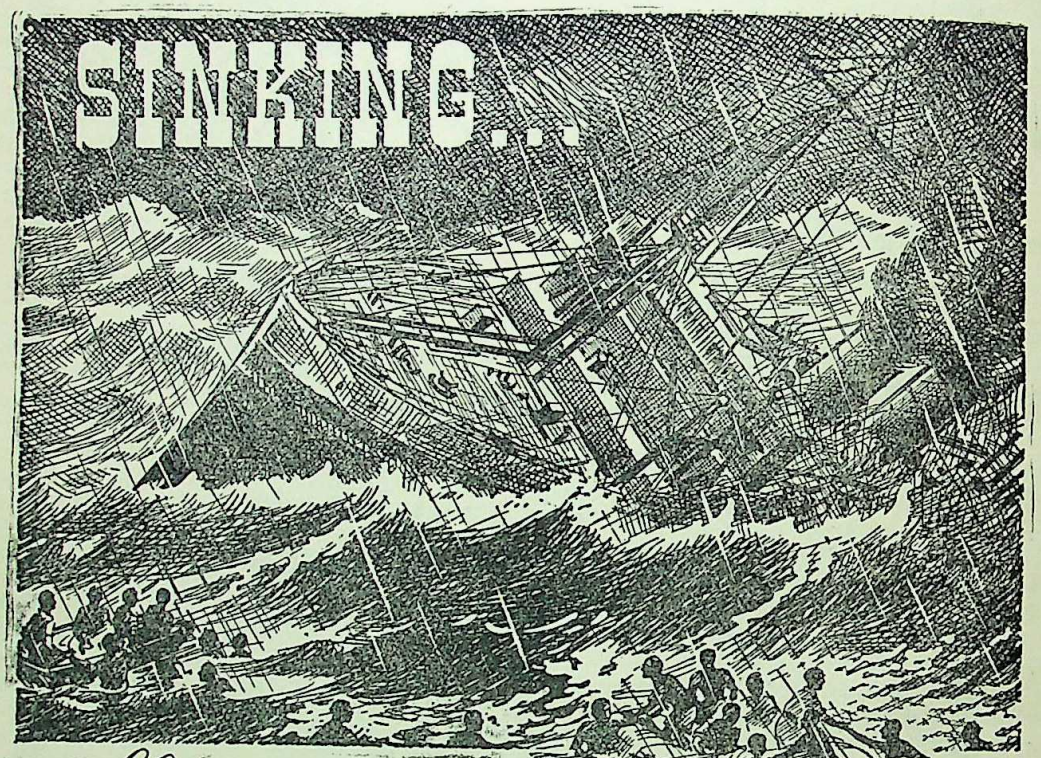


B.I. ESSENCE OF
CHICKEN
A REAL NUTRITION

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO. LTD.
CALCUTTA

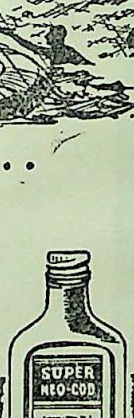
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HOW MANY LIVES ARE PITIFULLY LOST...

Although with a timely help they might be saved. Whenever you feel sagging or you think you should feel better, you may be sure your health is wrong somewhere.....it must be remedied.....or you roll at the bottom. Super Neo-Cod—a multi-vitaminous preparation with fruit juices is an admirably well-balanced tonic in all cases of sub-normal health—Malnutrition, pre-Tuberculosis stage and convalescence.



Rebuild your sinking Stamina with

★ ★ ★ ★

BENGAL IMMUNITY CO. LTD., CALCUTTA.

SUPER NEO-COD
The Multi-vitamin tonic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Andrew's Early Life in England

Marjorie Sykes writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Charles Freer Andrews was born in 1871, the second son and fourth child of a family of fourteen children. His early childhood was spent in the industrial districts of the north of England at Newcastle-on-Tyne, but in 1876, when he was five years old, the family moved to Birmingham, which was his parents' home for the remainder of their lives. Here the boy grew up, and in course of time was admitted to an old and famous boys' schoold, the King Edward VI Grammar School. In 1890, at the age of 19, he won a scholarship at Pembroke College, Cambridge. After a distinguished career of five years as a student, he worked for about five years longer as a Christian Priest among the very poor, first in the industrial north where he had spent his own childhood, and later in the slums of East London. The strain of the work was too much for his health, and late in 1899 he returned to Cambridge as a teacher of theology. Here he remained till February, 1904, when he felt himself called to India to take the place of his own greatest college friend, Basil Westcott, who after a short period of service on the staff of St. Stephens' College, Delhi, had died of cholera a short time before.

There is still very little material available in India for the study of this formative period of Andrews' life. One book however is of absolutely unique value; it is Andrews' own autobiography, *What I Owe to Christ*. The first eight chapters of this, very nearly half the book, contain his own account of the influences under which his early life was spent. It is unique because while its somewhat scanty framework of dates and external facts can be amplified from other sources, nothing can take the place of his own description of his inner religious experiences, the hidden realities which integrated his whole life. I shall refer to this book very largely—indeed I am almost wholly dependent on it for the materials of this article—and I can only urge you to read it too.

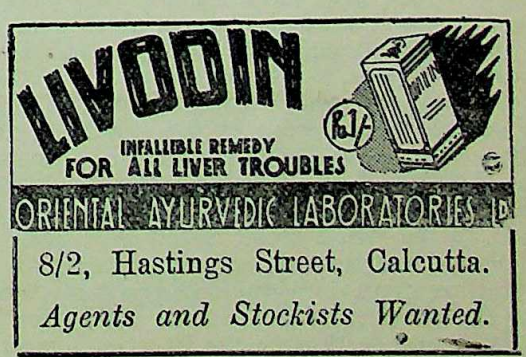
Andrews tells in most moving terms of the beauty and purity of the religious atmosphere in which he was brought up. His father's family belonged to the Eastern counties of England, a rich farming country inhabited by a sturdy, independent stock of small farmers, and steeped for three hundred years in the traditions of the Puritan religion. John Milton had been one of Andrews' forerunners in Cambridge University; Oliver Cromwell had found in the Eastern farmers the backbone of his "Ironside" army of sober, God-fearing soldiers; John Bunyan of the little Eastern market town of Bedford, imprisoned for conscience sake, had written in Bedford Jail his immortal "Pilgrim's Progress": and from these same Eastern counties the Pilgrim Fathers had set sail in their tiny ships to establish at peril of their lives the magnificent American tradition of religious freedom. Such was the stock from which Andrews sprang—men to whom the call of conscience and duty was absolutely paramount. This tradition was strong among his own immediate ancestors. His grandfather had been minister of that same Baptist Church at Bedford which two centuries earlier had heard the ministry of John Bunyan: in mature life he was convinced by the preaching of Edward Irving, the prophet of the "Catholic Apostolic Church"; true to his Puritan traditions he forfeited his good worldly position and his reputation among his Baptist friends to follow, in obedience to his conscience, the despised leader of a sect which was then held in ridicule. Andrews paid tribute to the same uprightness of spirit in his own father:

"He used to give us one simple, practical lesson on religion which to him was worth everything else put together. It was this: that if our conscience ever told us clearly, at any time, that a certain path was right, then we were to take that path in spite of all consequences."

Andrews himself in later years was called upon more than once to face the misunderstanding of those whom he loved most deeply and whose sincerity he reverenced most wholly, when in his turn the paramount claims of conscience compelled him to take a path in religious matters which differed from theirs.

Such an inflexible standard of integrity sometimes leads to the formation of a harsh, censorious and unlovely habit of mind, but in the elder Mr. Andrews it formed the outer garment of a deep and tender understanding of the essential teaching of Christ. In *What I Owe to Christ* his son tells the story of the loss of all his mother's money by the defection of a trustee who had been his father's trusted friend. The child never forgot the gathering for family prayer on the evening of the day when the loss was known, when his father poured out his whole soul in compassionate intercession and over-flowing love for the man who had done him wrong. Such stories as these give us a glimpse of the foundation of a man's character.

The mother had an even deeper influence on her son than the father—so at least it seemed to him. She was a quiet, practical, loving woman, devoted to her home and children, and she was bound by especially close ties of affection to her second son. This intimacy, as is so often the case, had its roots in the child's delicate health. In his fifth year he had a serious illness, and for a long time it was uncertain whether he would recover. That he did so in the end was due solely to the supremely sympathetic understanding with which his mother nursed him. Their intimacy was lifelong; when he left Cambridge for India the parting with her was the sharpest; her death was his heaviest bereavement. Her gift to him was a natural,



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

simple, altogether real faith in Christ—a Christ who was the living Friend of all little children, and whom he first knew as his own Companion and Comforter in that painful illness of his childhood.

Andrews tells of an incident in that illness which reveals to us another side of his nature. This is what he says:

"One morning, when I opened my eyes, I noticed a flower by my bedside which my mother had put there while I was asleep, hoping that it would attract my attention when I woke. It so happened that the sight of that flower proved the turning-point in the struggle that had been going on within me, drawing me back to life. For its beauty touched me with a rare joy. It brought with it the desire to live, when life itself was hanging by a thread."

That spontaneous joy in beauty is the mark of the artist in him. That trait too seems to have been in some degree inherited. His father had a poet's mind, buoyant, keen, and full of wonder, and when old age set him free from outward duties he spent happy hours verse-making. The son had some of these verses, written at the age of eighty-three, published in India in the *Modern Review*. His grand-father's brother had artistic talent; he painted the grand-father's portrait, and the picture was accepted for exhibition in the Academy. The passion of the artist is evident in the following sentence descriptive of Andrews' own childhood:

"Wild nature was a passion to me. Sudden gleams of light, such as sunshine in a forest glade, the blaze of colour from some cottage garden, the sunset glow catching the ripened corn, the ripple of light on the water, the clouds reflecting the glory of sunlight after the rain—all these entranced me."

Had it not been for the supreme hope which his parents cherished that this son of theirs should follow his father's sacred calling as a minister of Christ, and the promise they saw in him that he would be able to do so, it is probable that Charlie might have been trained as an artist. In later years he delighted to employ moments of leisure in the practice of the poet's or the painter's art, and though it is not for his poems or his pictures that he will be remembered, they help us to understand the deep affinity of spirit which drew him in after years to Rabindranath Tagore.

A closely allied aspect of his nature is revealed in some of the most intimate pages of *What I Owe to Christ*. Reading them we can feel how his whole soul would go out to the poet of *Gitanjali*. He described how as child he had the faculty of visualising outwardly his inner world, the things that he saw with his mind. This faculty which is not in itself very unusual among children, survives with some into later life. In Andrews it seems to have re-awakened on rare occasions when some experience of beauty had stirred his nature to unwonted depths. At a time of great spiritual exultation, just before he went to College, he had gone for a country walk on a perfect day among scenes of wonderful beauty, which were crowned by the unexpected vision of the lovely Cathedral of Lichfield among its trees. Andrews went on "in glorious exultation" and entered the great church in the early evening sunlight as the music of the prayers began:

"Then something happened which I cannot well describe. I became lost altogether to time and space and outer things as I passed upward into realms of unimaginabl light. In the end, I found myself back again among external things, and went on my way rejoicing."

At another time, in Cambridge, he was "constantly living in the presence of the unseen world", for at that mortal illness and death were the lot of a number of his most cherished friends. One summer evening, as he stood along in the twilight in the court of Pembroke College, he saw someone approaching slowly, clad in priestly garments, and carrying the sacred vessels in his hand.

"There was no sense of mystery or alarm as I watched him approaching. Everything seemed quiet natural to me, and my mind was untroubled and at ease. I was preparing with reverence to stand aside—when instead of proceeding further, the figure turned towards a door in the Old Court and vanished away. The door that he was facing when he vanished was half covered with a creeper, and unused...It is literally true that for many years afterwards the intensity of that spiritual moment of luminous vision helped me to keep fast my hold on those unseen realities which are not temporal but eternal".

Andrews' nineteenth and twentieth years were a period of strenuous intellectual growth and revolutionary changes in spiritual outlook and experience. Just before he first went to College, there came upon him a heart-shaking experience of religious conversion, a new knowledge of the depth of his own human helplessness and need, and of the forgiveness and all-sufficient grace of God. That this was no mere emotionalism was proved by its sequel. The new-found joy in Christ led him straight out to visit the poor people living in his own neighbourhood in Birmingham, and to seek to enter as a friend into their sorrows, needs and joys. This inner certainty held fast amid the "storms of doubt" about the intellectual formulations of religious belief current in his father's church, which almost immediately assailed him in the "keen and biting" intellectual atmosphere of Cambridge. In those months the inexorable call of conscience led him, after bitter struggles, to break with the Catholic Apostolic Church and enter the Anglican communion. It is difficult to imagine what it cost a devoted son thus to take a path in religious matters which diverged from the traditions of his parents and in which they believed him mistaken; but that he did so was in accordance with the sturdy teaching of duty in which they had brought him up.

Calcutta City Bank
Limited

Head Office:
102B, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

3-YEAR CASH CERTIFICATES

ISSUE PRICE	ON MATURITY
Rs. 8-10	Rs. 10-0
Rs. 86-4	Rs. 100-0
Rs. 862-8	Rs. 1,000-0

INTEREST:

Current A/C ...	... 1/2%
Savings A/C ...	... 2%
Fixed Deposit for 1 year	... 3 1/2%

FULL CLEARING FACILITIES
All kinds of Banking Business Transacted.

For particulars
Phone: Cal. 3447

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Then as always, Andrews found relief from intellectual doubt and turmoil in the joy of active service of the needy. We have already seen how such service had been the natural expression of his first flush of religious enthusiasm. His delight in it grew throughout his student days, as he shared as an undergraduate in the work of the College Mission in London, and when he completed his studies he was ordained to the priesthood with an increasing sense of his vocation for social service among the very poor. In after life he always spoke of the years spent among the ship-builders of the Tyne and the dock-labourers and costermongers of the London streets as the happiest period of his life. It was a period full of significance for his later work in India. It gave him, as no other experience could have done, an intimate knowledge of the problems of industrial civilisation in their impact upon individual human beings. It taught him to value the Trade Union movement and to throw in his lot with the Labour Party. It opened his eyes to the terrible evils that follow the drink trade, and made him a lifelong enemy of drink and drugs. It taught him to look at life from the point of view of the helpless casual labourer in a monotonous round of drudgery. It made him, in a word, what India by a true instinct has chosen to call him, the Friend of the Poor. Time does not permit me to elaborate these points, but they can be illustrated over and over again both from *What I Owe to Christ*, and from the reminiscences of those days which he delighted to give, and some of which have been preserved for us in articles in the *Modern Review*.

Two points among the five that I have chosen for study, remain to be dealt with, and in neither case shall we be able to trace back so definitely the fruit to its seed as we have been able to do up to the present. These two are Andrews' passionate preaching of racial equality as a fundamental Christian principle, and his almost equally passionate pleading for the political independence of India. Let us deal with them in this order.

So far as I have been able to discover up to the present, there is very little indication in any of Andrews' writings that a concern for racial equality as a specific and urgent Christian problem was consciously present to his mind, before his experience of India forced it upon his attention. There are in fact signs that the circles in which he moved were healthily free from any taint of racial pride. He tells us, for example, that while he was in charge of the Pembroke College Mission, it was the custom for the most popular student of the year in the College to be made responsible for collecting the undergraduates' subscription and that in one of those years that honour and responsibility had by universal acclaim been assigned to an Indian student. East London itself, like many another great port, is the home of the poor of many different races, and the College Mission staff, like other social workers, regarded *all* the inhabitants of their district, irrespective of race, as having an equal claim upon their time and effort. This was so much a matter of course that the fact is not even mentioned. If one may hazard a guess, it may well be that the contrast between the natural and just traditions in which Andrews had previously worked, and the actual situation which he found in India and still more in South Africa, was such a tremendous shock to him that it turned him into the prophet of that equality which from his youth up he had practised.

There is something rather different about the development of Andrews' early interest in India. His father, he tells us, in common with the rest of the church to which he belonged, held that as power is from above, from God, it is little short of blasphemy to teach that it is of the people. Such opinions, a reaction against Puritan radicalism, "led inevitably to conservatism in politics and an ardent belief in the divine right of Kings." The elder Mr. Andrews held that the British Empire in India was "the most glorious achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race," and fired the imagination of his children by his stories of Indian Munity heroes, such as Havelock, Outram, and Lawrence. The enthusiastic Charlie longed to go to India, and once when he was a very small boy asked his mother to let him have rice for his meals in preparation for his future career. It was a long journey from such a political attitude to the realisation that there was in fact "another side of the medal" of which the father, in his innocent faith in the goodness of Queen Victoria's government, had known nothing.

Aside from the political aspect, however, the young Andrews' interest in India was developed in the best possible way during his Cambridge days. His friend Basil Westcott, whose death was the signal for his own momentous decision to work in India, was the son of the saintly and distinguished Cambridge scholar Dr. Westcott, the influence of whose own deep interest in India was such that no less than four of his sons gave themselves to work here. This Dr. Westcott, of whom Andrews saw much during college vacations spent in his friend's home, was one of the founders of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. His own attitude towards Indian thought was far removed from the ignorant and arrogant proselytisation which has so often marred the work of Christian missions. He felt very deeply the power and beauty of India's spiritual heritage, and often spoke to the young men of his hope that from India would come an interpretation of some of the aspects of Jesus Christ which it was almost impossible for the west, unaided, to understand or appreciate. It is true that in later years Andrews' own thought of Christ and India went far beyond that of other members of the Cambridge Mission in the boldness of his break with tradition, but this was in the true sense a development, and not a contradiction, of his earlier attitude. His quick appreciation of Indian history, literature and philosophy was prepared, like so much else, in the keen air of Cambridge.

ONE STEP FORWARD

From the Thirty-second Annual Report of the **Western India Life** it becomes quite clear that in 1945 this trusted Life Company has gone one step forward on its path of progress. Sound financial position, efficient management, dutiful service to policy-holders, and a number of other things become clear from the report. Call for a free copy and be convinced.

Just the Company for you to insure with or to have agency connections.

WESTERN INDIA
LIFE INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,
Satara.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

External Affairs

The New Review observes

Pandit Nehru's statement on India's foreign policy was candid and stimulating. His stand for universal peace and co-operation, which is commonplace with all statesmen, is coloured with two principles which are rarely voiced as strongly: no political subjection of any nation to a single power, no racial discrimination. The bearing of both principles will be tested in the immediate future.

The first test will come with the case of the Indonesian Republic, which is not yet officially recognised by Delhi but has all the sympathy of the new Central Government. Indian troops will be repatriated as soon as shipping is available; in no case will they be used to restore Dutch rule. Self-determination is the birth-right of all nations and the stability of Dr. Shariar's Government is sufficient proof of the Indonesian sentiment. The Dutch do not have ambition much more than co-operation with Indonesia. They did a shrewd piece of business when they paid for Java with a few places like Chinsurah; it was a financial operation which they want to prolong by co-operation. India will not help. On the same principle, India will oppose the annexation of South-west Africa by the Union of South-Africa; and in general if any colony is at present unfit for independence, the only remedy is trusteeship, preferably the trusteeship of the U.N.O.

A more irritating problem which India's delegation will face on landing in the U.S.A. is the position of Indians in South-Africa.

Were India to interfere on behalf of her minorities in Africa or Australasia, would other powers refrain from taking the case of certain minorities in India to the U.N.O.? On the other hand, can she give up protecting her nationals in foreign lands?

Our Department of External Affairs will soon develop enormous dimensions; the establishment of an embassy in China and the U.S.A. is only a first step. Few men are available at present to staff the offices of ambassadors, trade-commissioners and consuls. Apparently the Educational Department has no scheme in readiness to train men for those jobs. One wonders if international orders of missionaries who run Foreign Service schools and have plentiful resources for teaching foreign languages should not come forward and offer to assist India in her special need of the moment.

—

Invention of Kaviraj-Churamani Birendra Kumar Mallick, President, All-Bengal Ayurved Chikitsak 6th Mahasammelan, Hony. Member, G. C. & State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.

Rudrak Eradicate Asthma, Whooping Cough, Bronchitis & Hiccup. Relieve painful symtoms in a few minutes. Price Rs. 2/-.

Pachak Cures Colic, Acidity, Winds & Liver complaints like charm. Price Re. 1/8.

Pledge:—Rs. 10,000, offered if the medicines proved inefficacious.

KAVIRAJ BIRJENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnanik Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

YOUR MONEY IS AT ITS BEST
WHEN INVESTED IN OUR
"FIXED DEPOSITS"

Rates of Interest

1 Year	...	3½%	7 Years	...	4¾%
2 Years	...	4 %	8 Years	...	5 %
3 & 4 Years	...	4¼%	9 Years	...	5¼%
5 & 6 Years	...	4½%	10 Years	...	5½%

It is Safe, Sound & Profitable
BENGAL SHARE DEALERS'
SYNDICATE LTD.
"SHARE DEALERS' HOUSE," CALCUTTA.
Phones: Cal. 1464—65.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dust Storms in India

Keshvasharan Agarwala writes in *The Indian Review*:

The severe dust storms that swept over the United Provinces, Delhi, Rajputana, Baluchistan, and Sind in May last are by no means a rare phenomenon in this country. In fact, the occurrence of such storms is very common in India and is somewhat of a periodical nature. During dust storms the wind carrying dust or sand blows with a high velocity. It is the tremendous force of the wind that causes damage to property while the accompanying dust results in serious deterioration of the visibility and proves so dangerous to traffic, etc.

Dust storms are known by different names in different parts of the world. They are called 'Haboobs' in Sudan, and the term 'Simoom' is applied in the Sahara and Arabian deserts. They are popularly known by the term 'Andhi' in northern India.

It is usual to distinguish between dust storms, dust raising winds and dust devils. Dust storms occur over a considerable area at the same time and are often associated with squalls and thunderstorms. Dust raising winds are strong winds which raise dust or sand from ground to higher levels and carry it to a considerable distance. Dust raising winds are common in Baluchistan and northwest India mainly in the hot season. A dust storm has a smaller duration than the dust raising winds. Dust-devils also known as sand-pillars are isolated eddies or whirlwinds carrying up the dust or sand into the air with them. They have a rotary movement, both in clockwise and counter-clockwise direction and reach a height up to 3,000 ft. As they develop, dust-devils raise small clouds of dust which rise high enough to obscure vertical visibility.

The incidence of dust storms in India usually causes considerable damage to house property, fruit-gardens and standing crops and is therefore a matter of great concern to fruit-growers, farmers, etc. An idea of the extent of damage done will be obtained if one goes through the reported accounts of dust storms. During the severe dust storms that visited Delhi on 20th and 21st May last, the wind reached a speed of 50 to 60 miles per hour and resulted in the uprooting of many trees, destruction of huts and dislocation of traffic. The worst sufferers are usually the fruit-orchards on account of the untimely falling down of unripe fruits in large quantities from the trees. These storms occurred both in the morning and afternoon as well as at night and were followed by refreshing showers of rain which brought a welcome break in the spell of sweltering heat otherwise prevailing.

Another kind of havoc which dust storms often cause is that serious fires break out during such storms. On account of the high wind the storm only fans the fire once it has started, and makes it widespread, causing loss of property as well as life. During a storm that occurred in the village of Fatehpur in Cawnpore District in May last, a devastating fire broke out and resulted in the destruction of 32 houses and serious injury to two boys. The storm that swept over Almora on 28th and 29th May last was reported to be so severe that apart from the enormous damage it caused to property, a person was blown off by it and received serious injuries. A dust storm which was reported from the west U. P. on 23rd May, 1946, was so severe in intensity that loose wagons lying in the yard for unloading at Sonari railway station were caused to collide with one another by the storm. As the onset of the storm threw a blanket of dust over the whole yard, the persons unloading one of the wagons took shelter under the wagons; as the wagons collided, five of the persons were killed instantaneously and eight others sustained injuries.

Apart from the damage that they cause to property, dust storms sometimes prove very dangerous to aircraft in flight. With the visibility generally becoming poor or bad due to the air being laden with dust, flying when a dust storm is on, needs the highest skill on the part of the pilot and is still full of hazard.

Here is a description of the flier's experience in a North Indian dust storm:

"We had risen high above the Agra plain and were some 70 miles on our way (to Jodhpur) when in the

Bangalakshmi Insurance Ltd.

Head Office:

9A, CLIVE STREET, CALCUTTA

CHAIRMAN:

C. C. DUTT, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)

BE TALLER



In 16 days only. HITOGEN method is easy guaranteed harmless. HITOGEN growth food gland tablets increases height amazingly in a short period.
Thousands are benefited.

RESULT WILL TESTIFY.

Age.	*Increased.*	*Time.*
20	3½"	2 Weeks
19½	5"	6 Weeks
22	4"	18 Weeks
28	1½"	6 Weeks

"With profound joy, I inform you that I found improvement in using your HITOGEN, send me another bottle" *Sd.* S. P. T. S. E. A. C. 29-11-45.

Ask for Ultra tropic smart packing.

Hitogen GROWTH FOOD REGD.

Price Rs. 5-4. Postage and packing As. 14. Send As. 14 in stamps with order. Write your address in block capitals.

L. G. Sukhija & Co.,
Prospect Chambers Annexe, Dept. 44. (M.R)
Hornby Road. Fort, BOMBAY.

(Copyright)

Other Products:—LIONS FAT Rs. 5.
For debility and impotency. Results in 4 to 5 hrs. after massage.

SIGOLA (99) Chinese Secret of Sex Rejuvenation Rs. 3-12, Postage Free. Large Rs. 10-8, Postage Free.
Available at all Leading Chemists & Stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

far distance a mighty wall seemed to rise sheer out of the earth, a barrier that mounted higher and higher and became ever more thick and menacing as though it would say 'thou shalt not pass.' We pressed on to meet the challenge, rising still higher until the altimeter registered 12,000 ft.; but we might as well have risen to the stratosphere in the effort to get clear of the enemy, for the dark brown wall rose higher than we did, its vanguard was already in touch with us, whistling and howling around our tiny aircraft like a legion of devils. . . . It was getting black as night, nothing was visible but the rampart of dark brown dust. . . ."

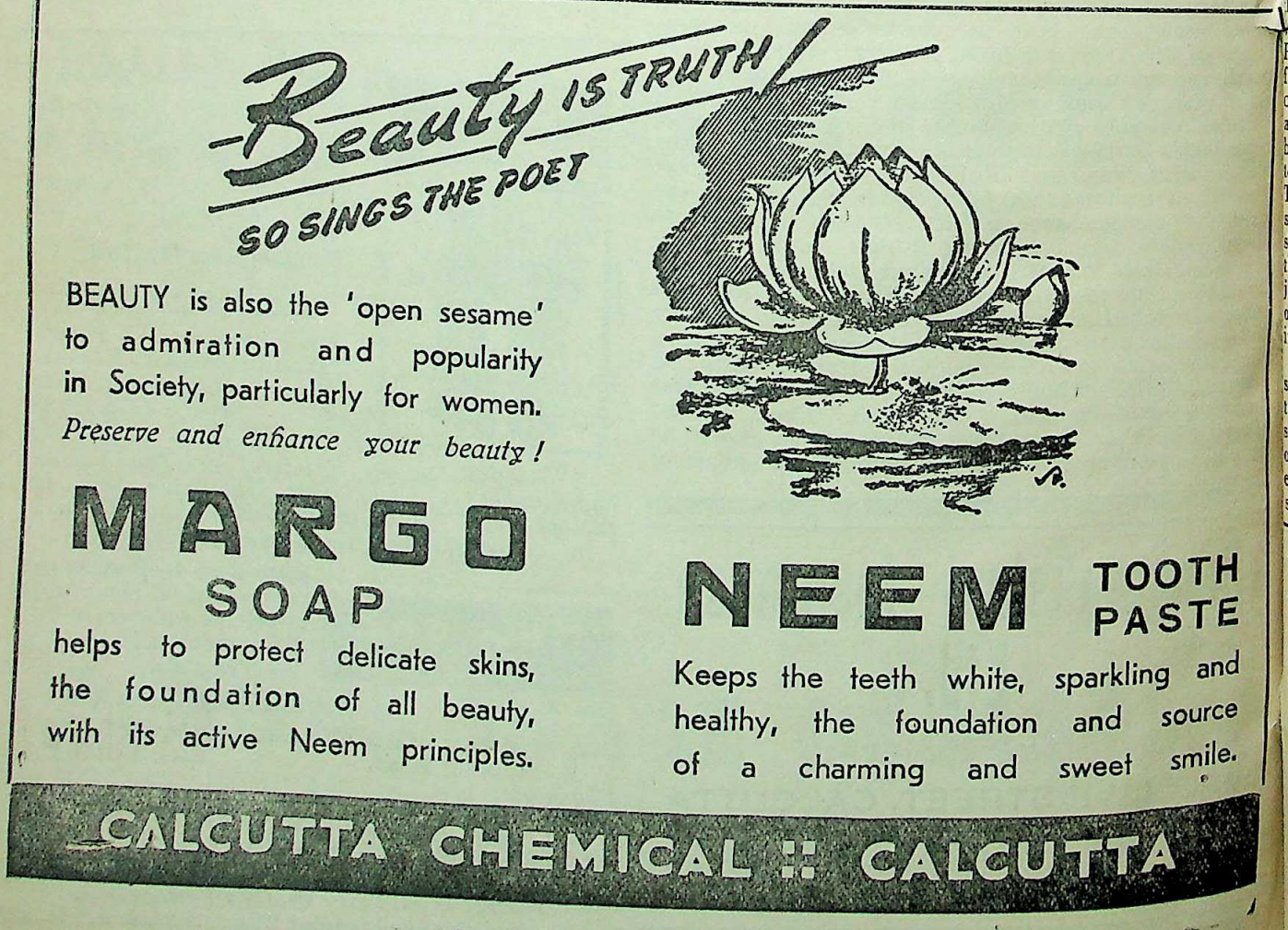
It will be clear from the above as to how hazardous it is for the airmen to fly when a dust storm is on and how very important it is for him to make himself familiar with the different types of dust storms and to be supplied with timely and accurate forecasts regarding their approach. It is rarely practicable to fly over the storms and in most cases it is best to avoid them. If a landing is contemplated, the airmen must make it in good time so that the aircraft may be placed under cover and protected from the penetrating dust and the violent wind.

Besides the immense national loss that they inflict on the country in the form of damage to property etc., dust storms have adverse effect on the health of the population.

Dust finds its way into the human system in large quantities during dust storms and gives rise to serious types of ailments. It is said that during the last war a few of the soldiers who served in the African desert for a considerable period, had developed some disease as a result of deposit of dust and sand in the chest and stomach.

Dust storms in India occur chiefly during the hot weather months April to August. They occur occasionally during the months of March, September and October and are rare during the remaining months. Dust storms are the most frequent during the months of May and June when they occur on about one-third of the days in a month in Rajputana. They are experienced chiefly in the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, the Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and U.P. and in the central parts of the country. Their incidence is occasional in north-east India and the Deccan ; elsewhere they are rare. During the period April to June, strong dust storms and thunder storms in north-west India are associated with cold fronts of western disturbances. Earlier in the period they are accompanied with little rain but as the season advances, they are attended with more and more rain.

The hour of occurrence of dust storms in India is different with different storms, and dust storms may occur at any time of the day or night. The dust storm reports, however, indicate that a large majority of them occur during the day hours and in the afternoons or evenings. On the other hand, the occurrence of dust storms at night is not uncommon in India. The duration of a dust storm in the country is generally some minutes and it rarely lasts for several hours at a stretch. To cite an example, the dust storm that visited Cawnpore city and its suburbs on the 23rd May 1946, lasted for about half an hour in the afternoon.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These Agricultural Colleges

J. C. Kumarappa, writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

It is a scandal that crores of rupees should have been spent on the researches carried on by the so-called "Agricultural Colleges" of India and yet the production of rice per acre in India is 939 lbs. as against 3909 lbs. in Japan. Similarly, the production of wheat is 774 lbs. in India as against 2010 lbs. in Japan. India is subject to repeated famines. Is it any wonder? Does not the situation call for an enquiry into the working of these Agricultural Colleges? Crores of public money have been sunk in these Colleges and in their researches. Why then is our production a mere fraction of that of other countries?

The answer is fairly clear, A great deal of first class research work has been done by these institutions but not in food production. They have concentrated their work mainly on evolving long staple cotton suitable to be used in textile machinery, on juicy but thick rind sugarcane for the sugar mills, on growing tobacco for the Imperial Tobacco Co. etc. If they had done any researches in food grain it has been only to fill show windows at Exhibitions as an apology to justify their existence.

Under these circumstances is it not right that the cost of running these institutions should be charged to these beneficiaries instead of being saddled on the impecunious farmers?

To be honest they should call these colleges "Mill Raw Mterial Research Institutes." It is no use masquerading under false names only to sponge on public money.

The real agricultural colleges must be situated in rural areas, their buildings etc. should be in consonance with their surroundings and keeping with the standards prevailing among the people they profess to serve. The Principals and Professors must themselves be cultivating farmers. They may well be allotted a certain acreage out of the produce of which to support themselves. Their activities must be confined to the needs of the people—being chiefly limited to food production, short staple cotton and such other materials in demand in the villages. They should take the lead in the supply of selected seeds and in grain storage. The medium of instruction should be the language of the locality. The students themselves would then be prospective farmers instead of job-seeking city young men whose one need is a degree of some kind. The whole policy needs to be reoriented if famine prevention is our goal.

We would suggest an enquiry committee should be set up to investigate the working of all existing institutions from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research downwards and to recommend the reorganisation of these institutions in such a way as to concentrate their efforts on fighting famine. Money spent on such researches will be truly and effectively a famine insurance.

IN OTHER WORLD.

Are you interested in the affairs of those beloved who are gone? To bring and control the departed Spirits, to get direct answers from them, Mr. S. B. Ghose, as a "Medium" has experience and experiment of a very prolonged period, through "Planchette" and other systems. He has references in this from influential circle. For particulars, please write to:

Mr. S. B. Ghose,
233, Upper Chitpur Rd., Calcutta-3.



We have opened a "Clinical Department" under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. All persons suffering from loss of vitality and vigour, premature old age, lack of stamina, married and personal hygiene problems, MENTAL AND NERVOUS DISORDERS (psychoanalytic and suggestive therapeutics under deep hypnosis), OBESITY (planned diet, re-educative exercises, electro vibratory massage and hormone vitamin mineral feeding), ALL CONSTITUTIONAL CHRONIC DISEASES WHICH HAVE DEFIED ALL TREATMENTS, etc., can now secure personal individualised treatment and expert guidance. Latest laboratory equipment to facilitate exact diagnosis available. ELECTRO-THERAPY (diathermy ultra short wave therapy, electro surgery, deep X-ray therapy, actino therapy, ultra violet and infra red radiations, electric ionisation etc., etc.,) with latest, modern apparatuses is a SPECIALITY at our CLINIC. Consultations free. Strictest privacy and confidence guaranteed. Consult in person during 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 6-30 p.m. on any week day. Saturdays 11 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. If you cannot visit us personally, send the full history of your case in detail, (if possible, ask your family physician to send us a detailed report) and a STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE for "diagnosis and suggested treatment" of your case.

Send Rs. 2 (postage 8 as. extra) by Money Order or Postal Order, (or by V.P.P. for Rs. 2-10) for a copy of the latest revised and enlarged 3rd edition of "Health and Vitality by Modern Methods." Contains over 450 pages and 200 illustrations. Everything you want to know about hormones, vitamins rejuvenation, etc., etc., is described in minutest detail in this handbook. Nothing like it ever published before. ASK FOR OUR FREE CIRCULAR DESCRIBING MOST OF OUR OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS.

Hering & Kent

Post Box 323 (M.R.C.) opposite Lloyds Bank,
261-263, Hornby Road,
Fort BOMBAY—...Phone No. 24297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extra-ordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America :**—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America :**—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China :**—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa :**—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon :**—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). In case of failure, Money refunded.

DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, fame, vast wealth, long life, all-round prosperity in life. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.—To overcome enemies it is unique. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unparalleled. This is also a preventive to any accident or danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

MOHINI KAVACHA.—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. **Rs. 11-8.** Special **Rs. 34-2.**

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

(The Biggest, Most Reliable and Oldest Astrological Society in India and the Far East).

Head Office :—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta.

Consultation hours :—H. O. 8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M., B. O. 5 P.M.—7 P.M. Phone : B. B. 3685.

Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Text of Churchill's Zurich Address

The following address is reproduced from *The New York Times*, Friday, September 20, 1946:

London, Sept. 19 (*AP*)—The text of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill's address delivered in Zurich, Switzerland, today and monitored in London from the Swiss radio by Exchange Telegraph:

Ladies and gentlemen: I am honored today by being received in your ancient university and by the address which has been given to me on your behalf and which I greatly value.

I wish to speak to you today about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the Western world. It is the foundation of Christian faith and Christian ethics.

It is the origin of most of the culture, art, philosophy and science, both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, the prosperity and the glory which its 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 people could enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that has sprung that series of frightful and nationalistic morals originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and which have for a long time wrecked the peace and marred the prospects of all mankind.

Europe Senses New Terror

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller states have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings gaze on the ruins of their cities and scan the dark horizon for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror.

Among the victors there is a babel of voices, among the vanquished a sullen silence of despair.

That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient states and nations—that is all that the Germanic races have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realized that the ruin or enslavement of Europe has involved their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and guidance—but for that, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor.

They may still return. There is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in the many lands, would, as if by a miracle, transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today.

Urges a United Europe

What is this sovereign remedy?

It is to recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.

The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong, and to gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing. Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the planned European Union, which owes so much to Count Coidenhove-Calergi and which demanded the services of the famous French patron and statesman, Aristide Briand.

There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure which was brought into being amid high hopes after the first World War. I mean the League of Nations. The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those states who had brought it into being. It failed because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts and act while time remained.

This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build and also bitter, dear-bought experience to spur the builders.

Advocates Regional Grouping

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend, President Truman, had expressed his interest and sympathy with this great design. There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations.

On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon broad natural groupings in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own commonwealth of nations. These do not weaken—on the contrary, they strengthen—the world organization. They are, in fact, its main support. And why should there not be a European grouping which can give a sense of national partriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty Continent, and why should it not take its proper, rightful place with other great groupings and help to shape the destinies of man?

In order that this may be accomplished, there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part. We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of a vain passion of a newly united Germany to play a dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed which have no parallel since the invasion of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and have no equal at any time in human history.

The Book of the Hour!

The Indian Problem and its Solution

By **R. P. Dutt.** Pages 478. Price Rs. 6-8.

A thought provoking book on the questions which confront India on non-party lines.

"Mr. Dutt has done a real service to the literature of the country in modern times by giving us this really worthy book which makes very interesting reading from page to page."—Says **"The Whip"**, April 15, 1946.

"Mr. R. P. Dutt who has studied with care the Indian problem declares that our starting-point should be the abolition of caste-system and the stoppage of image worship."—**The Amrita Bazar Patrika**, March 3, 1946.

VIDYASAGAR BOOK-STALL
41, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta-6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

110825
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PLEADS FOR "BLESSED OBLIVION"

The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, then there must be an end to retribution.

There must be what Mr. Gladstone called a blessed act of oblivion. We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past.

If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery and, indeed, from final doom, there must be this act of faith in the European family and this act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past, and the free peoples of Europe must rise to the height of these resolves of the soul and of the instincts of the spirit of man.

If they can, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted will have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured.

Is there any need for any further conflicts or agony? Is the only lesson of history to be that mankind is unteachable? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The people have only to will it in order to achieve their heart's desire.

I am now going to say something which will astonish you. The first step in the reaction of the European family must be partnership between France and Germany.

In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe.

There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany.

The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important.

Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honor by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, newly joined together into a federal system, might take their individual place among the United States of Europe.

I shall not try to make a detailed program for hundreds of millions of people who want to be happy, free and prosperous, and wish to enjoy the four freedoms of which the great President Roosevelt spoke, and live under the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter.

"DANGERS HAVE NOT STOPPED"

If this is the wish of Europeans in so many lands, then they have only to say so and means can certainly be found and machinery erected to carry that wish to full fruition. But I must give warning; time may be short. At present there may be a breathing space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped, but the dangers have not stopped.

If we are to form a United States of Europe, or whatever name it may take, we must begin now. In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I will even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a State and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom, but it may very well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilization but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before us. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations organization. Under and within that world concept, we must recreate the European family in a regional structure, called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step would be to form a Council of Europe.

If at first all states of Europe are not willing or able to join the union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and can. The salvation of the people, of the common people of every race and land, from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations, and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny.

In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America and, I trust, Soviet Russia—and then indeed all would be well—must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe. Let Europe arise!

The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty

K. M. Panikkar notes the following main points for consideration of such a treaty in the Introduction of his book *The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty* which has been reproduced with his permission in *The Asiatic Review*, October, 1946:

The question has to be considered at the very beginning as to why there should be an Indo-British treaty, a long-term agreement between England and India, which would necessarily limit the initiative of both countries and tie them together in a partnership which might not be welcome to either. Is there between the two countries that range of interdependence which makes such a development inevitable? Is there no other alternative which will serve the interests of either party better? Unless these questions can be satisfactorily answered, the mere fact that India is now within the British Empire, and, therefore, from the point of view of peaceful evolution, a partnership between the two will be the most satisfactory process of development, will not carry conviction, however reasonable such



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a point of view may be. Indian nationalists fervently desiring independence, and unhappy in their present relations with Britain, will have to be satisfied that it is in the *interests of India* to have such a long-term agreement, and that there is no better alternative open to them. Equally, the British people have to be satisfied that, in undertaking new commitments in the East on the basis of a free and independent India, they have no better alternative for safeguarding their position. The inescapable necessity of such a treaty is, therefore, the first thing to be demonstrated.

Today space is an essential factor in national strength, in combating the atom bomb and propellent artillery. The small nations have ceased to count, and can exist only under the protection of Great Powers. Another point which needs to be emphasized is the change in geographical conceptions brought about by the growth of air-power. The arrangement of power in the past was only with reference to land and sea. The air played no part. Today it is different. We have to adjust our geography to the conditions of air-power. In a recent contribution General F. S. Tuker has tried to work out the revolutionary implications of air-power on geography and national power. The abolition of frontiers as we know them, the pattern of invasion directly in the heart of a State (as in Holland in 1940), the ineffectiveness of narrow seas for protection —all these cleary mean the doom of the small State.

More than all this, the three Great Powers have not only taken up their positions, but defined their areas. America's supremacy is hemispheric and is not immediately open to challenge. The position in the Eurasian continent is what is of vital and immediate importance to us. Here the heart of the continent has expanded from the Pacific to the Adriatic, and controls the Baltic. For the first time after what turned out to be the abortive attempt of Jenghiz Khan, the Heartland of the Eurasian continent is united under one iron control. The genius of Mackinder pointed out long ago that the power that controls the land mass from the Carpathians to the Pacific will have established an impregnability in power, an extent of space which cannot be penetrated, and a strategic position which can strike anywhere it chooses. That power today is organized not in the primitive manner of Jenghiz, with bandaged horsemen for communications and catapults for artillery. It is industrially powerful, closely knit, capable of the highest reaches of science in every sphere, and with its military forces at a high pitch of efficiency and prestige.

The transformation of the steppe land from mere space into a seat of industrial and military power which Mackinder foresaw has already taken place. The old weakness of the Heartland, that its centres of production were situated in areas vulnerable to external attack has been overcome, in the first place by a dispersal of industries necessitated by the German invasion and secondly by the complete elimination of Central European Powers. Today the Heartland has taken up its position as the one organized land mass in the Eurasian hemisphere.

As against the heart of the continent, so organized, the previous Great Powers of Europe have become puny States. The only land-power which could have organized a continental resistance has been destroyed, and Russia has made it amply clear that they will not permit the revival of a new Reich. In effect, only what the geo-political thinkers call the Rimland is left outside.

The power of Great Britain always lay on the Rimland, based on Portugal, Gibraltar and Malta. So long as Asia was unimportant, this gave her the necessary power of offence and defence. Today the position is completely changed. The organization of the Rimland, if based on England alone, will be insufficient against the power of a great continental nation, not dependent on sea communications and self-sufficient in every respect. If the maritime areas of Rimland have to be organized, it can only be with the assistance of a large land mass which is oceanic in its interest, and which can be made reasonably safe from air-power. The organization of maritime areas is possible only on the basis of an Anglo-Indian Treaty. The great land area of India organized to a high pitch of industrial efficiency at one end, and Great Britain at the head of a Western Bloc at another, can keep the maritime areas together. There seems to be no other way. From the point of view of Britain, the necessity of an Indo-British alliance is clear. Without it her position in world politics will be untenable.

If, from the Western point of view, an alliance of Britain with India is necessary, it is equally so from the point of view of India. It is clear that, without such an alliance, India must inevitably fall within the orbit of Russia. Why should it not be so? It may be asked. The reason is simple. So far as Russia is concerned, the Indian Peninsula is merely a Rimland area, of particular importance to either her strength or her position. India's organization as a Great Power is of no vital concern to Russia. India's weakness and backwardness will not materially affect her, any more than the weakness of Mexico affects the United States. All that Russia will be concerned with will be to see that India does not join any other group. On the other hand, in the organization of a maritime State system India will be one of the pivotal areas. It will be in the interests of all her associates that she is strong, well-organized, industrially advanced—in fact, a nation in a position to play her role in the world. A weak, ineffective and industrially backward India cannot be a prop of the alliance, for, without India being such a prop, the alliance must fail. In her own interest, therefore, India has the best chance for fulfilling her national destiny as a partner in the maritime State system.

The essential fact is that India is a maritime State with a predominance of interest on the sea. She is the one true Rimland, whose continental affiliations are comparatively negligible. From the continental point of view of Eurasia she is only an abutting corner, walled off by impassable mountains. From the sea and air point of view, on the other hand, she is one of the great strategic centres. From the maritime point of view she is claimed to be an "air island." She is the natural air transit centre of the maritime areas. To the maritime State system India is invaluable. To the continental system she is unimportant.

Therefore, it goes without saying that India's true interest lies in the capitalization of her national and positional importance, and not in being absorbed within an orbit where she will not count. She can ensure future peace and work out her destiny as a Great Power only in such an alliance.

—

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
(সচিত্র ও মূলসহ) শ্রীশ্রীচণ্ডী ১৷৷০
অর্গলা, কীলক, কবচ, মূলচণ্ডী, সূক্তাদি এবং রহস্যত্রয়ের সরল বঙ্গানুবাদ ও ব্যাখ্যা, পূজাবিধি এবং সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধে 'চণ্ডী' বিষয়ক বহুল জ্ঞাতব্য বিষয়াদিতে ও বর্ণানুক্রমিক শ্লোকসূচীতে সুসম্পূর্ণ।
শ্রীশ্রীলক্ষ্মীপূজা ও কথা ৵১০ ত্রিসন্ধ্যা ।০
প্রাপ্তিস্থান—সব বইয়ের দোকান এবং প্রকাশক—১২।১২ আপার সারকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BENGAL COTTON CULTIVATION & MILLS LTD.

Regd. Office: Grosvenor House, 21, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

Dividend Paid

Garden			*Mill*
Bengal Cotton Estate Tripura	MARCH 1942 —	15%	SONARPUR (B. & A. Rly.)
	" 1943 —	10%	
	" 1944 —	10%	
	" 1945 —	10%	

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED
For 3 years — — @ 7½%

PLANTERS' SYNDICATE Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

NO BETTER INVESTMENT THAN OUR GUARANTEED PROFIT SCHEME!

FIXED DEPOSITS ACCEPTED:—

For one year @	...	...	4½ p.c. p.a.
" two years @	...	...	5½ p.c. p.a.
" three " @	...	...	6½ p.c. p.a.

For sums usually Rs. 500/- or more in our Guaranteed Profit Scheme plus 50 p.c. of additional profits as bonus. Since 1940 we have accepted thousands of Rupees of public money as deposits and repaid with interests and profits.

We deal in all sorts of shares and securities. Please apply:—

EAST INDIA STOCK & SHARE DEALERS' SYND. LTD.

5/1, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, :: CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—Honeycomb. Phone :—Cal. 3381.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

G. B. S. on the Indians in South Africa

August, 1946.

George Bernard Shaw has just made the following observation in response to questions put to him by a South African correspondent on the Indian question in South Africa:

QUESTION:—The South African Government have passed a law restricting the Indians' right to buy land in the Union. What is your opinion of these measures?

ANSWER:—British South Africans are mentally lazy and snobbish. In trade they cannot compete with the mentally alert and flexibly witted Indians. But having the whiphand politically, they can and do persecute him. The Ghetto legislation is flat persecution like that of the Jews by the Nazis.

QUESTION:—Do you consider General Smuts, who passed this Bill as a progressive individual and the South African Government as a civilized Government?

ANSWER:—General Smuts is one of the deepest political thinkers in the world but he cannot impose his standards on shallow, ignorant and irresponsible democracy. White South Africans are very imperfectly civilised. The Afrikaners are notably better bred than the European immigrants.

Egypt's Most Ancient Architecture

Dr. Etienne Drioton, Director General, Egyptian Antiquities Department, Cairo, further elucidates in the *Middle East Opinion* on the illuminating discoveries made by the Sakkara excavations in the Cairo area:

There was a general surprise when in 1942, Archaeologist Cecil Firth, of the Antiquities Department, having started excavations on the north-western side of the Sakkara Step Pyramid, discovered a series of monuments of a style totally different from anything that was so far known in Egyptian architecture.

Excavations continued until 1930, first under the direction of Firth himself and later from 1928 onward, under the supervision of architect Jean Phillippe Lauer. He brought about the discovery of a vast group of buildings occupying the summit of a plateau around the pyramid: several temples, a long hall with columns, and the whole within a rectangular enclosure more than half a kilometer in length, defended with bastions and ornamented with inserted notches and redans.

This is the scenery or decoration. The word should be taken literally as most of these buildings are fake and have only the exterior aspect of such, though they are massive in the interior.

This is where the ancient Egyptians celebrated the jubilee feasts of King Zoser, near the pyramid where his remains lay.

Unusual Art Forms

What was most surprising in this layout already strange in itself, were the architectural details with which Egyptian art had so far not made us familiar; instead of the usual irregular dispositions of big blocks, a small dressing in fine limestone of perfect regularity was used; further, in lieu of gigantic conceptions, proportions more related to human dimensions were resorted to, and in particular, several varieties of channelled columns appeared more closely related to Greek art than Pharaonic.

Opinion had begun to crystallize among Egyptologists that these discoveries referred to monuments of the lower period executed by artists in contact with Hellenic art, when this theory, which at first sight appeared alluring, suddenly and completely broke down. Inscriptions in ink written by a visitor on the walls of a chapel, at the time of Rameses II were discovered.

The monument was consequently older. But it could not be traced to any of the known periods since the Fourth Dynasty. It therefore had to be anterior and dating of the same period as the Step Pyramid (about 2770 B.C.).

One was therefore confronted with one of the most ancient types of Egyptian classic architecture, of the same age as the great Pyramids of Ghiza.

Formerly Made of Wood

Its analysis is particularly instructive. All the characteristics which surprise us are but a reflection in stone of elements which were made of wood, reeds and raw bricks, formerly used in prehistoric construction. These buildings of Sakkara mark the period connecting this type with Pharaonic architecture. They appear to be a first attempt due to the genius of architect Imenhotep, Zoser's minister. An old Egyptian tradition was preserved until the Greek period, to the effect that he had invented the art of stone building, and that his name was found inscribed on a statue of Zoser near the Step Pyramid.

It is well known that Greek architecture, as the study of its elements sufficiently prove, derives also from a primitive architecture based on wood. What treasure, what advancement of learning would have resulted if Greece could show us the monument where this transposition had occurred. More fortunate than her, Egypt in the monuments recently discovered at Sakkara, possesses the inaugural edifices of its stone architecture.

It behoves Egypt therefore, not only to preserve these vestiges, but also to study them and draw from them the lessons in stone, the smallest of which offers such great interest.

She has not failed in this duty. For more than 18 years, Architect Lauer, well versed in the most minute at the time of its discovery with its dispersed stones and rigorous methods of archaeological methods used in other countries, has been examining every bloc found, interrogating and co-ordinating their meaning, which he concretizes in "anastylosis" of the highest class.

DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN-DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYARSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 23, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Let Your Money Grow

In

LAND TRUST OF INDIA'S

"FIXED DEPOSITS"

Accepted at the rates of

For 3 Months	... 2½%	For 5 & 6 Years	... 5 %
For 6 Months	... 3 %	For 7 Years	... 5¼%
For 9 Months	... 3½%	For 8 Years	... 5½%
For 1 & 2 Years	... 4½%	For 9 Years	... 5¾%
For 3 & 4 Years	... 4¾%	For 10 Years	... 6 %

YOUR SECURITY ?

IN ADDITION TO OUR VALUABLE LANDS IN BENARES, CALCUTTA AND THE SUBURBS WE HAVE AGAIN PURCHASED VERY RECENTLY BIG PLOTS OF LAND WITHIN CALCUTTA CORPORATION JUST ADJACENT TO HINDUSTHAN'S NEW ALIPORE COLONY. THESE LANDS HAVE BEEN MADE INTO SMALL PLOTS AND ARE NOW BEING SOLD.

LAND TRUST OF INDIA LTD.

ESTD. 1941.

A Progressive Dividend-Paying National Concern.

HEAD OFFICE: 12, CHOWRINGHEE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

Phones: CAL: 1464 & 1465 :: :: :: Telegrams: "ARYOPLANTS".

Complete Fragments Reconstituted

Complete fragments of this architecture have already been reconstituted by him. The "ensembles" which they now form insure the definite protection of these old stones, which had they been left on the ground where the ancient demolishers had abandoned them, would have finally been destroyed; besides they recreate before the eyes of the wondering visitors the most characteristic elements of this architecture which disappeared too rapidly.

When one compares the facade of the Southern Palace to the partial restoration effected by Lauer one may without further comment gauge the value of the work done by the Antiquities Service and realize the amount of archaeological documentation and clarity that has been afforded from these ancient stones. One obtains the same conviction when beholding its colonnade at the exit of the grand hall which with its fasciculated columns representing bundles of reeds, creates the impression of some mysterious link with the primitive doric of the temples of Sicily.

More specifically Egyptian in our view, but with greater sober elegance, are the fragments of the "Wall of the Cobras" rebuilt at the angle of the great courtyard within the perspective of the columns-hall or the papyrus-columns carved near the Northern Palace of which they were the heraldic plant.

The work undertaken is far from complete, as it requires very minute workmanship and infinite patience, but it is well on the way and other discoveries, more especially that of the entrance colonnade and its porch are on the eve of being completed.

Thus, bit by bit, Egypt is now retrieving from devastation all that she can save of what was once one of the most celebrated monuments and a major achievement in the development of pharaonic art. The model executed by Mr. Lauer during the war for the Brussels Museum, gives an idea of this architectural group at the height of its splendor.

Related to Greek Architecture

The impression that this new architecture, as revealed in the Sakkara excavations, is closely related to that which 2,000 years later was to be Greek archaic architecture, is, all told, quite correct. The one and the other, though of different time and place, derive from a type of buildings made of prehistoric civilization in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean. Both have followed the same laws: they have used the regular small rubble-stone masonry, the transposition in the brick laying, channelled columns.

In all their details they adapted themselves to human measurements. Had it continued to develop within this line, Egyptian architecture would have finally crystallized into something approaching Greek architecture from light materials which were those in its general characteristics.

But as soon as they had conceived the art of cutting stone, the wealth of the Egyptian soil opened before the architects of the Nile Valley, possibilities far exceeding those of Greece. The granites of Aswan and the basalts of the deserts permitted them to hew enormous blocks.

They attached themselves to this task and the use of materials of gigantic proportions imposed on their monuments a simplified geometrical mass form.

The titanic architecture which characterizes the era of the great Pyramids (about 2650 B.C.) marked with a definite stamp the Egyptian ideal in the art of building. When during the Fifth Dynasty (about 2500 B.C.) the aesthetic born around the Step Pyramid of Sakkara, became once more the fashion, it was able to embellish with a few details the sober architecture elaborated during the Fifth Dynasty. It was however powerless to profoundly modify its structure. Pharaonic architecture was by then definitely moving in other directions.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GRAY HAIR CURED PERMANENTLY



H-34-V

You can't cure gray hair by just putting something on it, unless, of course, you are prepared to run the risk of using dyes. But dyes are definitely harmful and spoil all your chances of effecting a permanent cure.

The only way to cure gray hair permanently is to go to the roots, where the trouble lies. Gray hair is caused by a lack of natural hair colour production within the scalp. Hennol, which is specifically meant to overcome this weakness, contains the essential basic ingredient of hair colour known as Keratamine, and by supplying this to the hair roots in an assimilable form, overcomes gray hair as basically and permanently as nature herself could do.

VITEX cures Baldness Rs. 5/12 per bottle

Hennol is the only natural and permanent cure for gray hair. *Rs. 5-12 per bottle. For advanced grayness use concentrated Hennol Pomade Rs. 6-14 per jar. Postage extra. Available everywhere.*

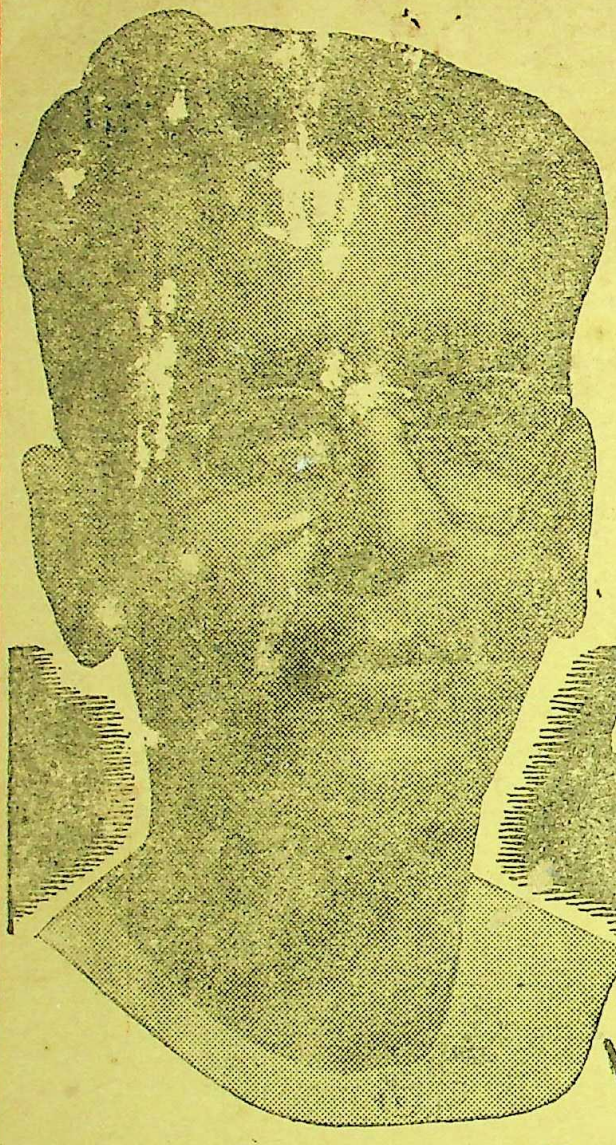
HENNOL

ENDS GRAY HAIR PERMANENTLY

Copyright PEARLINE-PARIS Ltd., P. O. Box 493, BOMBAY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



IT has been said of Dr. Johnson, pe
the most celebrated tea drinker of all
that he considered his mind good fo
without tea. Anywhere he went, anythi
did, he always turned to a strong infus
this fragrant leaf to quiet his troubled
and fortify his spirit. To many other
genius who stamped their names ind
on the intellectual life of their days—
Lamb and, of course, Cowper, "the tea
poet of English letters," tea was more

Tarashanka Banerje

drink ; it was comfort, solace and ins
all blended together.

This association of tea with literary t
is no longer confined to English
only. It is universal to-day. Rea
Tarashankar Banerjee, the rising
Bengali fiction, says of tea :

"In the spiritual solitude and
calm so essential for literary
tea offers inspiring company.
a lot on its gentle stimulatio
ments of fatigue and menta

Born at Labpur in the district of Birbhum in 1898, Tarashankar Banerjee has appeared like a meteor in the horizon of Bengali fiction. His Kalindi, Dhatri Devata and Dui Purush have already proved best-sellers and have won the heart of his fellow country men. His interpretation of modern Bengali life and society is marked by poignant realism and broad human sympathies. Critics are unanimous in forecasting a great career for this lite- rary genius.



tea

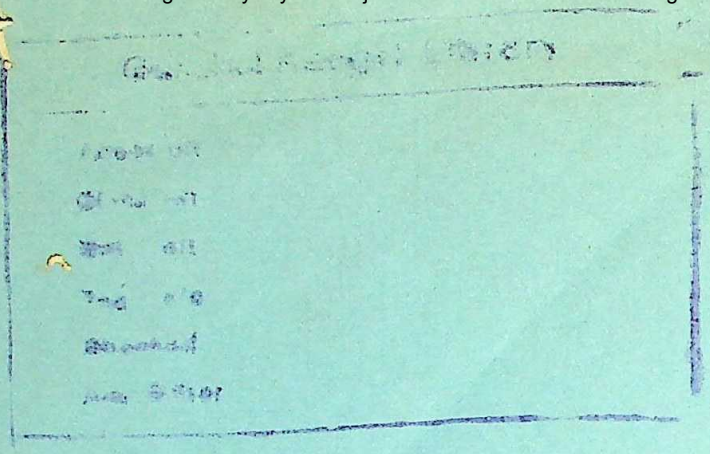
INSERTED BY THE INDIAN TEA MARKET EXPANSION BOAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri